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PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

FROM THE

ORIGINAL GREEK,

WITH NOTES,

CRITICAL, HISTORICAL, AND CHRONOLOGICAL.

AND A

NEW LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

TRANSLATED BY

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JOHN LANGHORNE, D.D. AND WILLIAM LANGHORNE, M.A.

WITH

Explanatory Tables of Chronology, History, and comparative Geography.

COMPLETE IN THREE VOLUMES.

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1813.

escaped with his infant son, though he was much sought after by his enemies, and carried him off, with his nurses, and a few necessary attendants. This train rendered their flight difficult and slow, so that they were soon overtaken.—In this extremity they put the child in the hands of Androcleon, Hippias, and Neander, three active young men whom they could depend upon, and ordered them to make the best of their way to Megaræ, a town in Macedonia; while they themselves, partly by entreaty, and partly by force, stopped the course of the pursuers till evening; when, having with much difficulty got clear of them, they hastened to join those who carried the young prince. At sunset they thought themselves near the summit of their hopes, but they met with a sudden disappointment. When they came to the river that runs by the town, it looked rough and dreadful; and, upon trial, they found it absolutely unfordable: for the current being swelled with the late rains, was very high and boisterous, and darkness added to the horror. They now despaired of getting the child and his nurses over without some other assistance; when, perceiving some of the inhabitants of the place on the other side, they begged of them to assist their passage, and held up Pyrrhus towards them. But though they called out loud, and entreated earnestly, the stream ran so rapid, and made such a roaring, that they could not be heard. Some time was spent while they were crying out on one side, and listening to no purpose on the other. At last one of Pyrrhus's company thought of peeling off a piece of oak-bark, and of expressing upon it, with the tongue of a buckle, the necessities and fortunes of the child. Accordingly he put this in execution, and having rolled the piece of bark about a stone, which was made use of to give force to the motion, he threw it to the other side. Some say he bound it fast to a javelin, and darted it over. When the people on the other side had read it, and saw there was not a moment to be lost, they cut down trees, and made a raft of them, and crossed the river upon it. It happened that the first man who reached the bank was named Achilles.—He took Pyrrhus in his arms, and conveyed him over, while his companions performed the same service to his followers.

Pyrrhus and his train having thus got safe over, and escaped the pursuers, continued their route till they arrived at the court of Glaucias king of Illyria. They found the king sitting in his palace with the queen his consort*, and laid the child at his feet in the posture of a suppliant. The king, who stood in fear of Cassander, the enemy of Æacides, remained a long time silent, considering what part he

* Justin calls this princess Beroa, and says she was of the family of the Æacidæ; which must have been the reason of their seeking refuge for Pyrrhus in that court.

should act. While Pyrrhus, of his own accord, creeping closer to him, took hold of his robe, and raising himself up to his knees, by this action first excited a smile, and afterwards compassion; for he thought he saw a petitioner before him begging his protection with tears. Some say it was not Glaucias, but the altar of the domestic gods, which he approached, and that he raised himself by embracing it; from which it appeared to Glaucias that heaven interested itself in the infant's favour. For this reason, he put him immediately in the hands of the queen, and ordered her to bring him up with his own children. His enemies demanding him soon after, and Cassander offering two hundred talents to have him delivered up, Glaucias refused to do it; and when he came to be twelve years old, conducted him into Epirus at the head of an army, and placed him upon the throne.

Pyrrhus had an air of majesty rather terrible than august. Instead of teeth in his upper jaw, he had one continued bone, marked with small lines resembling the divisions of a row of teeth. It was believed that he cured the swelling of the spleen by sacrificing a white cock, and, with his right foot, gently pressing the part affected, the patients lying upon their backs for that purpose. There was no person, however poor or mean, refused this relief, if requested. He received no reward, except the cock for sacrifice, and this present was very agreeable to him. It is also said, that the great toe of that foot had a divine virtue in it; for, after his death, when the rest of his body was consumed, that toe was found entire and untouched by the flames. But this account belongs not to the period we are upon.

When he was about seventeen years of age, and seemed to be quite established in his kingdom, he happened to be called out of his own territories to attend the nuptials of one of Glaucias's sons, with whom he had been educated. On this occasion, the Molossians revolting again, drove out his friends, pillaged his treasures, and put themselves once more under Neoptolemus. Pyrrhus having thus lost the crown, and being in want of every thing, applied himself to Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who had married his sister Deidamia. That princess, when very young, had been promised to Alexander the son of Roxana (by Alexander the Great); but that family being unfortunately cut off, she was given, when she came to be marriageable, to Demetrius. In the great battle of Ipsus, where all the kings of the earth were engaged*, Pyrrhus accompanied Demetrius, and, though but young, bore down all before him, and highly distin-

* He says all the kings of the earth were engaged, because Lysimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemy, Cassander, Antigonus, and Demetrius, were there in person. This battle was fought about three hundred years before Christ.

guished himself among the combatants. Nor did he forsake Demetrius when unsuccessful, but kept for him those cities of Greece with which he was intrusted: and, when the treaty was concluded with Ptolemy, he went to Egypt as a hostage. There, both in hunting and other exercises, he gave Ptolemy proofs of his strength and indefatigable abilities. Observing that among Ptolemy's wives, Berenice was she who had the greatest power, and was most eminent for virtue and understanding, he attached himself most to her. For he had a particular art in making his court to the great, while he overlooked those that were below him. And as in his whole conduct he paid great attention to decency, temperance, and prudence, Antigone, who was daughter to Berenice by her first husband Philip, was given him in preference to many other young princes.

On this account he was held in greater honour than ever; and Antigone proving an excellent wife, procured him men and money, which enabled him to recover his kingdom of Epirus. At his arrival there, his subjects received him with open arms; for Neoptolemus was become obnoxious to the people, by reason of his arbitrary and tyrannical government. Nevertheless, Pyrrhus, apprehending that Neoptolemus might have recourse to some of the other kings, came to an agreement with him, and associated him in the kingdom.—But in process of time there were some who privately sowed dissension and jealousies between them. Pyrrhus's chief quarrel with Neoptolemus is said to have taken its rise as follows: it had been a custom for the kings of Epirus to hold an assembly at Passaron, a place in the province of the Molossians; where, after sacrificing to Jupiter *the Warrior*, mutual oaths were taken by them and their subjects. The kings were sworn *to govern according to law*, and the people *to defend the crown according to law*. Both the kings met on this occasion, attended by their friends, and, after the ceremony, great presents were made on all sides. Gelon, who was very cordially attached to Neoptolemus, among the rest, paid his respects to Pyrrhus, and made him a present of two yoke of oxen*. Myrtilus, one of this prince's cup-bearers, begged them of him; but Pyrrhus refused him, and gave them to another. Gelon perceiving that Myrtilus took the disappointment extremely ill, invited him to sup with him. After supper he solicited him to embrace the interest of Neoptolemus, and to poison Pyrrhus. Myrtilus seemed to listen to his suggestions with satisfaction, but discovered the whole to his master. Then, by his order, he introduced to Gelon the chief cup-bearer, Alexicrates, as a person who was willing to enter into the conspiracy: for Pyrrhus was desirous to have more than one witness

* This present was characteristical of the simplicity of ancient times.

to so black an enterprise. Gelon being thus deceived, Neoptolemus was deceived with him; and, thinking the affair in great forwardness, could not contain himself, but, in the excess of his joy, mentioned it to his friends. One evening, in particular, being at supper with his sister Cadmia, he discovered the whole design, thinking nobody else within hearing. And indeed there was none in the room but Phænarete, the wife of Samon, chief keeper of Neoptolemus's cattle, who lay upon a couch with her face turned towards the wall, and seemed to be asleep. She heard, however, the whole without being suspected, and went the next day to Antigone, the wife of Pyrrhus, and related to her all that she had heard Neoptolemus say to his sister. This was immediately laid before Pyrrhus, who took no notice of it for the present. But, on occasion of a solemn sacrifice, he invited Neoptolemus to supper, and took that opportunity to kill him. For he was well assured that all the leading men in Epirus were strongly attached to him, and wanted him to remove Neoptolemus out of the way, that, no longer satisfied with a small share of the kingdom, he might possess himself of the whole, and, by following his genius, rise to great attempts. And as they had now a strong suspicion, besides, that Neoptolemus was practising against him, they thought this was the time to prevent him, by giving him the fatal blow.

In acknowledgment of the obligations he had to Berenice and Ptolemy, he named his son by Antigone, *Ptolemy*, and called the city which he built in the Chersonese of Epirus, Berenicis. From this time he began to conceive many great designs, but his first hopes laid hold of all that was near home; and he found a plausible pretence to concern himself in the affairs of Macedonia. Antipater, the eldest son of Cassander, had killed his mother Thessalonice, and expelled his brother Alexander. Alexander sent to Demetrius for succour, and implored likewise the assistance of Pyrrhus. Demetrius, having many affairs upon his hands, could not presently comply; but Pyrrhus came, and demanded, as the reward of his services, the city of Nymphæa*, and all the maritime coast of Macedonia, together with Ambracia, Acarnania, and Amphilochia, which were some of the countries that did not originally belong to the kingdom of Macedon. The young prince agreeing to the conditions, Pyrrhus possessed himself of these countries, and secured them with his gar-

* Dacier thinks Apollonia might be called Nymphæa from Nymphæum, a celebrated rock in its neighbourhood. Palmerius would read Tymphæa, that being the name of a town in those parts. There was a city called Nymphæum in the Taurica Chersonesus but that could not be meant here.

risons; after which he went on conquering the rest for Alexander, and driving Antipater before him.

King Lysimachus was well inclined to give Antipater assistance, but he was so much engaged with his own affairs, that he could not find time for it. Recollecting, however, that Pyrrhus would refuse nothing to his friend Ptolemy, he forged letters in Ptolemy's name, enjoining him to evacuate Macedonia, and to be satisfied with three hundred talents from Antipater. But Pyrrhus no sooner opened the letters than he perceived the forgery. For, instead of the customary salutation, *The father to his son, greeting*, they began with, *King Ptolemy to King Pyrrhus, greeting*. He inveighed against Lysimachus for the fraud, but listened, notwithstanding, to proposals of peace; and the three princes met to offer sacrifices on the occasion, and to swear upon the altar to the articles. A boar, a bull, and a ram, being led up as victims to the altar, the ram dropped down dead of himself. The rest of the company laughed at the accident; but Theodotus the diviner advised Pyrrhus not to swear, declaring that the deity presignified the death of one of the kings; upon which he refused to ratify the peace.

Alexander's affairs were thus advantageously settled*; nevertheless Demetrius came. But it soon appeared that he came now unrequested, and that his presence excited rather fear than gratitude. When they had been a few days together in mutual distrust, they laid snares for each other; but Demetrius, finding the first opportunity, was beforehand with Alexander, killed him, and got himself proclaimed king of Macedon.

For a long time he had matters of complaint against Pyrrhus, on account of the inroads which he had made into Thessaly. Besides, that ambition to extend their dominions, which is a distemper natural to kings, rendered their neighbourhood mutually alarming. These jealousies increased after the death of Deidamia. At last, each having possessed himself of part of Macedonia, and having one object in view, the gaining of the whole, this produced, of course, new causes of contention. Demetrius marched against the Ætolians, and reduced them. After which he left Pantauchus among them with a considerable force, and went himself to seek Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus, as soon as he was apprised of his design, went to meet him; but taking a wrong route, they inadvertently passed each other. Demetrius entered Epirus, and committed great ravages; and Pyrrhus falling in with Pantauchus, gave him battle. The dispute was warm and obstinate on both sides, especially where the generals

* Alexander was murdered soon after.

fought. For Pantauchus, who in dexterity, courage, and strength, stood foremost amidst the officers of Demetrius, and withal was a man of a high and ambitious spirit, challenged Pyrrhus to the combat. And Pyrrhus, who was behind none of the princes of his time in valour and renown, and who was desirous to appropriate to himself the honours of Achilles, rather by his sword than by kindred, advanced through the first lines against Pantauchus. They began with the javelin, and then coming to the sword, exhausted all that art or strength could supply. Pyrrhus received one wound, and gave his adversary two, one in the thigh, and the other in the neck, by which he overpowered him, and brought him to the ground; but could not kill him outright, because he was rescued by his friends. The Epirots, elated with their prince's victory, and admiring his valour, broke into and dispersed the Macedonian phalanx, and pursuing the fugitives, killed great numbers of them, and took five thousand prisoners.

This battle did not so much excite the resentment and hatred of the Macedonians against Pyrrhus for what they suffered, as it inspired them with an esteem of his abilities and admiration of his valour. This furnished subject of discourse to all who were witnesses of his exploits, or were engaged against him in the action: for he recalled to their minds the countenance, the swiftness, and motion of Alexander the Great; in Pyrrhus they thought they saw the very image of his force and impetuosity. And while the other kings represented that hero only in their purple robes, in the number of guards, the bend of the neck, and the lofty manner of speaking, the king of Epirus represented him in deeds of arms and personal achievements. And of his great skill in ordering and drawing up an army, we have proofs in the writings he left behind him. It is also said that Antigonus, being asked "Who was the greatest general?" answered, "Pyrrhus would be, if he lived to be old." Antigonus, indeed, spoke only of the generals of his time; but Hannibal said, that of all the world had ever beheld, the first in genius and skill was Pyrrhus, Scipio the second, and himself the third; as we have written in the life of Scipio*. This was the only science he applied himself to; this was the subject of his thoughts and conversation: for he considered it as a royal study, and looked upon other arts as mere trifling amusements. And it is reported, that when he was asked, "Whether he thought Python or Cæphisias the best musician?" "Polysperchon," said he, "is the general;" intimating that this was the only point which it became a king to inquire into or know.

* This is differently related in the life of Flaminius. There it is said, that Hannibal placed Alexander first, Pyrrhus second, and himself the third.

In the intercourse of life he was mild and not easily provoked, but ardent and quick to repay a kindness. For this reason he was greatly afflicted at the death of Æropus: "His friend," he said, "had only paid the tribute to nature, but he blamed and reproached himself for putting off his acknowledgments till, by these delays, he had lost the opportunity of making any return. For those that owe money can pay it to the heirs of the deceased, but when a return of kindnesses is not made to a person in his life-time, it grieves the heart that hath any goodness and honour in it." When some advised him to banish a certain ill-tongued Ambracian, who abused him behind his back, "Let the fellow stay here," said he, "and speak against me to a few, rather than ramble about, and give me a bad character to all the world." And some young men having taken great liberties with his character in their cups, and being afterwards brought to answer for it, he asked them, "Whether they really had said such things?" "We did, Sir," answered one of them, "and should have said a great deal more, if we had had more wine." Upon which he laughed, and dismissed them.

After the death of Antigone, he married several wives, for the purposes of interest and power; namely, the daughter of Autoleon, king of the Pæonians; Bircenna, the daughter of Bardyllis, king of the Illyrians; and Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles of Syracuse, who brought him in dowry the isle of Corcyra, which her father had taken. By Antigone he had a son named Ptolemy; by Lanassa he had Alexander; and by Bircenna, his youngest son Helenus. All these princes had naturally a turn for war, and he quickened their martial ardour by giving them a suitable education from their infancy. For it is said, when he was asked by one of them, who was yet a child, "To which of them he would leave his kingdom?" he said, "To him who has the sharpest sword." This was very like that tragical legacy of Œdipus to his sons,

The sword's keen point th' inheritance shall part*.

After the battle, Pyrrhus returned home, distinguished with glory, and still more elevated in his sentiments. The Epirots having given him on this occasion the name of Eagle, he said, "If I am an eagle, you have made me one: for it is upon your arms, upon your wings, that I have risen so high."

Soon after, having intelligence that Demetrius lay dangerously ill, he suddenly entered Macedonia†, intending only an inroad to pillage the country. But he was very near seizing the whole, and taking

* Phenissæ of Euripides, ver. 68.

† In the third year of the hundred and twenty-third Olympiad, two hundred and eighty-four years before Christ.

the kingdom without a blow. For he pushed forward as far as Edessa without meeting with any resistance; on the contrary, many of the inhabitants repaired to his camp, and joined him. The danger awakened Demetrius, and made him act above his strength. His friends, too, and officers quickly assembled a good body of troops, and moved forward with great spirit and vigour against Pyrrhus. But as he came only with a design to plunder, he did not stand to receive them. He lost, however, a considerable number of men in his retreat, for the Macedonians harassed his rear all the way.

Demetrius, though he had driven out Pyrrhus with so much ease, was far from slighting and despising him afterwards. But as he meditated great things, and had determined to attempt the recovery of his paternal kingdom with an army of a hundred thousand men, and five hundred sail of ships, he thought it not prudent either to embroil himself with Pyrrhus, or to leave behind him so dangerous a neighbour. And as he was not at leisure to continue the war with him, he concluded a peace, that he might turn his arms with more security against the other kings*. The designs of Demetrius were soon discovered by this peace, and by the greatness of his preparations. The kings were alarmed, and sent ambassadors to Pyrrhus with letters, expressing their astonishment that he neglected his opportunity to make war upon Demetrius. They represented with how much ease he might drive him out of Macedonia, thus engaged as he was in many troublesome enterprises; instead of which, he waited till Demetrius had dispatched all his other affairs, and was grown so much more powerful as to be able to bring the war to his own doors, and to put him under the necessity of fighting for the altars of his gods, and the sepulchres of his ancestors in Molossia itself; and this, too, when he had just been deprived by Demetrius of the isle of Corcyra, together with his wife. For Lanassa having her complaints against Pyrrhus for paying more attention to his other wives, though barbarians, than to her, had retired to Corcyra; and, wanting to marry another king, invited Demetrius to receive her hand, knowing him to be more inclined to marriage than any of the neighbouring princes. Accordingly he sailed to the island, married Lanassa, and left a garrison in the city.

The kings, at the same time that they wrote these letters to Pyrrhus, took the field themselves to harass Demetrius, who delayed his expedition, and continued his preparations. Ptolemy put to sea with a great fleet, and drew off many of the Grecian cities. Lysimachus entered the upper Macedonia from Thrace, and ravaged the country. And Pyrrhus, taking up arms at the same time, marched against Be-

* Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus.

rœa, expecting that Demetrius would go to meet Lysimachus, and leave the lower Macedonia unguarded; which fell out accordingly. The night before he set out, he dreamed that Alexander the Great called him, and that, when he came to him, he found him sick in bed, but was received with many obliging expressions of friendship, and a promise of sudden assistance. Pyrrhus said, "How can you, Sir, who are sick, be able to assist me?" Alexander answered, "I will do it with my name;" and at the same time he mounted a Nisæan horse*, and seemed to lead the way.

Pyrrhus, greatly encouraged by this vision, advanced with the utmost expedition, and having traversed the intermediate countries, came before Berœa, and took it. There he fixed his head-quarters, and reduced the other cities by his generals. When Demetrius received intelligence of this, and perceived, moreover, a spirit of mutiny among the Macedonians in his camp, he was afraid to proceed farther, lest, when they came in sight of a Macedonian prince, and one of an illustrious character, too, they should revolt to him. He therefore turned back, and led them against Pyrrhus, who was a stranger, and the object of their hatred. Upon his encamping near Berœa, many inhabitants of that place mixed with his soldiers, and highly extolled Pyrrhus. They represented him as a man invincible in arms, of uncommon magnanimity, and one who treated those who fell into his hands with great gentleness and humanity. There were also some of Pyrrhus's emissaries, who, pretending themselves Macedonians, observed to Demetrius's men, that then was the time to get free from his cruel yoke, and to embrace the interests of Pyrrhus, who was a popular man, and who loved a soldier. After this, the greatest part of the army was in a ferment, and they cast their eyes around for Pyrrhus. It happened that he was then without his helmet; but, recollecting himself, he soon put it on again, and was immediately known by his lofty plume and his crest of goat's horns†. Many of the Macedonians now ran to him, and begged him to give them the word; while others crowned themselves with branches of oak, because they saw them worn by his men. Some had even the confidence to tell Demetrius that the most prudent part he could take would be to withdraw, and lay down the government. As he found the motions of the army agreeable to this sort of discourse, he was terrified, and made off privately, disguised in a mean cloak, and a

* Nisæa was a province near the Caspian sea, which Strabo tells us was famous for its breed of horses. The kings of Persia used to provide themselves there. *Strabo*, lib. xi.

† Alexander the Great is represented on his medals with such a crest. The goat, indeed, was the symbol of the kingdom of Macedon. The prophet Daniel uses it as such. The original of that symbol may be found in Justin.

common Macedonian hat. Pyrrhus upon this became master of the camp without striking a blow, and was proclaimed king of Macedonia.

Lysimachus made his appearance soon after, and pretending that he had contributed equally to the flight of Demetrius, demanded his share of the kingdom. Pyrrhus, as he thought himself not sufficiently established among the Macedonians, but rather in a dubious situation, accepted the proposal, and they divided the cities and provinces between them. This partition seemed to be of service for the present, and prevented their going directly to war; but soon after they found it the beginning of perpetual complaints and quarrels, instead of a perfect reconciliation: for how is it possible that they whose ambition is not to be terminated by seas and mountains, and uninhabitable deserts, whose thirst of dominion is not to be confined by the bounds that part Europe and Asia, should, when so near each other, and joined in one lot, sit down contented, and abstain from mutual injuries? Undoubtedly they are always at war in their hearts, having the seeds of perfidy and envy there. As for the names of peace and war, they apply them occasionally, like money, to their use, not to the purposes of justice. And they act with much more probity when they professedly make war, than when they sanctify a short truce, and cessation of mutual injuries, with the names of justice and friendship. Pyrrhus was a proof of this: for, opposing Demetrius again, when his affairs began to be a little re-established, and checking his power, which seemed to be recovering, as it were, from a great illness, he marched to the assistance of the Grecians, and went in person to Athens. He ascended into the citadel, and sacrificed to the goddess; after which he came down into the city, the same day, and thus addressed the people: "I think myself happy in this testimony of the kind regard of the Athenians, and of the confidence they put in me; I advise them, however, as they tender their safety, never to admit another king within their walls, but to shut their gates against all that shall desire it*."

Soon after this he concluded a peace with Demetrius; and yet Demetrius was no sooner passed into Asia than Pyrrhus, at the instigation of Lysimachus, drew off Thessaly from its allegiance, and attacked his garrisons in Greece. He found, indeed, the Macedonians better subjects in time of war than in peace, besides that he himself was more fit for action than repose. At last, Demetrius being entirely defeated in Syria, Lysimachus, who had nothing to fear from that quarter, nor any other affairs to engage him, immediately turned

* The Athenians followed his advice, and drove out Demetrius's garrison.

his forces against Pyrrhus, who lay in quarters at Edessa. Upon his arrival, he fell upon one of the king's convoys, and took it, by which he greatly distressed his troops for want of provisions. Besides this, he corrupted the principal Macedonians by his letters and emissaries, reproaching them for choosing for their sovereign a stranger, whose ancestors had always been subject to the Macedonians, while they expelled the friends and companions of Alexander. As the majority listened to these suggestions, Pyrrhus, fearing the event, withdrew with his Epirots and auxiliary forces, and so lost Macedonia in the same manner he had gained it. Kings, therefore, have no reason to blame the people for changing through interest, since in that they do but imitate their masters, who are patterns of treachery and perfidiousness, and who think that man most capable of serving them who pays the least regard to honesty.

When Pyrrhus had thus retired into Epirus, and left Macedonia, he had a fair occasion given him by fortune to enjoy himself in quiet, and to govern his own kingdom in peace. But he was persuaded that neither to annoy others, nor to be annoyed by them, was a life insufferably idle and tedious. Like Achilles, he could not endure inaction:

> He pin'd in dull repose; his heart indignant
> Bade the scene change to war, to wounds, and death.

His anxiety for fresh employment was relieved as follows: the Romans were then at war with the Tarentines. The latter were not able to support the dispute, and yet the bold and turbulent harangues of their leading men would not suffer them to put an end to it. They resolved, therefore, to call in Pyrrhus, and put their forces under his command, there being no other prince who had then so much leisure, or was so able a general. The oldest and most sensible of the citizens, opposed this measure, but were overborne by the noise and violence of the multitude; and when they saw this, they no longer attended the assemblies. But there was a worthy man named Meton, who, on the day that the decree was to be ratified, after the people had taken their seats, came into the assembly with an air of intoxication, having, like persons in that condition, a withered garland upon his head, a torch in his hand, and a woman playing on the flute before him. As no decorum can well be observed by a crowd of people in a free state, some clapped their hands, others laughed, but nobody pretended to stop him. On the contrary, they called upon the woman to play, and him to come forward and sing. Silence being made, he said, "Men of Tarentum, ye do extremely well to suffer those who have a mind to it to play and be merry while they may; and, if you are wise, you will all now enjoy the same liberty; for you must have other business, and another kind of life when

Pyrrhus once enters your city." This address made a great impression upon the Tarentines, and a whisper of assent ran through the assembly. But some fearing that they should be delivered up to the Romans, if peace were made, reproached the people with so tamely suffering themselves to be made a jest of and insulted by a drunkard; and then turning upon Meton, they thrust him out. The decree thus being confirmed, they sent ambassadors to Epirus, not only in the name of the Tarentines, but of the other Greeks in Italy, with presents to Pyrrhus, and orders to tell him, "That they wanted a general of ability and character: as for troops, he would find a large supply of them upon the spot, from the Lucanians, the Messapians, the Samnites, and Tarentines, to the amount of twenty thousand horse, and three hundred and fifty thousand foot." These promises not only elevated Pyrrhus, but raised in the Epirots a strong inclination to the war.

There was then at the court of Pyrrhus a Thessalian named Cineas, a man of sound sense, and who, having been a disciple of Demosthenes, was the only orator of his time that presented his hearers with a lively image of the force and spirit of that great master. This man had devoted himself to Pyrrhus, and in all the embassies he was employed in confirmed that saying of Euripides,

The gates that steel exclude, resistless eloquence shall enter.

This made Pyrrhus say, "That Cineas had gained him more cities by his address than he had won by his arms;" and he continued to heap honours and employments upon him. Cineas now seeing Pyrrhus intent upon his preparations for Italy, took an opportunity, when he saw him at leisure, to draw him into the following conversation:—"The Romans have the reputation of being excellent soldiers, and have the command of many warlike nations; if it please Heaven that we conquer them, what use, Sir, shall we make of our victory?" "Cineas," replied the king, "your question answers itself. When the Romans are once subdued, there is no town, whether Greek or barbarian, in all the country, that will dare oppose us; but we shall immediately be masters of all Italy, whose greatness, power, and importance, no man knows better than you." Cineas, after a short pause, continued: "But, after we have conquered Italy, what shall we do next, Sir?" Pyrrhus, not yet perceiving his drift, replied, "There is Sicily very near, and stretches out her arms to receive us; a fruitful and populous island, and easy to be taken. For Agathocles was no sooner gone, than faction and anarchy prevailed among her cities, and every thing is kept in confusion by her turbulent demagogues." "What you say, my prince," said Cineas, "is very probable; but is the taking of Sicily to conclude our expeditions?" "Far from it,"

answered Pyrrhus, "for if Heaven grant us success in this, that success shall only be the prelude to greater things. Who can forbear Libya and Carthage, then within reach? which Agathocles, even when he fled in a clandestine manner from Syracuse, and crossed the sea with a few ships only, had almost made himself master of. And when we have made such conquests, who can pretend to say that any of our enemies, who are now so insolent, will think of resisting us?" "To be sure," said Cineas, "they will not; for it is clear that so much power will enable you to recover Macedonia, and to establish yourself uncontested sovereign of Greece. But when we have conquered all, what are we to do then?" "Why, then, my friend," said Pyrrhus, laughing, "we will take our ease, and drink and be merry." Cineas, having brought him thus far, replied, "And what hinders us from drinking and taking our ease now, when we have already those things in our hands at which we propose to arrive through seas of blood, through infinite toils and dangers, through innumerable calamities, which we must both cause and suffer?"

This discourse of Cineas gave Pyrrhus pain, but produced no reformation. He saw the certain happiness which he gave up, but was not able to forego the hopes that flattered his desires. In the first place, therefore, he sent Cineas to Tarentum with three thousand foot; from whence there arrived, soon after, a great number of galleys, transports, and flat-bottomed boats, on board of which he put twenty elephants, three thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, two thousand archers, and five hundred slingers. When all was ready, he set sail; but as soon as he was got into the midst of the Ionian sea, he was attacked by a violent wind at north, which was unusual at that season. The storm raged terribly, but, by the skill and extraordinary efforts of his pilots and mariners, his ship made the Italian shore with infinite labour, and beyond all expectation. The rest of the fleet could not hold their course, but were dispersed far and wide. Some of the ships were quite beaten off from the coast of Italy, and driven into the Lybian and Sicilian sea: others, not being able to double the Cape of Japygia, were overtaken by the night; and a great and boisterous sea driving them upon a difficult and rocky shore, they were all in the utmost distress. The k[illegible] indeed, by its size and strength, resisted the force of the the wind blew from the sea; but that coming about, and blowing directly from the shore, the ship, as she stood with her head against it, was in danger of opening by the shocks she received. And yet to be driven off again into a tempestuous sea, while the wind continually shifted from point to point, seemed the most dreadful case

of all. In this extremity Pyrrhus threw himself overboard, and was immediately followed by his friends and guards, who strove which should give him the best assistance. But the darkness of the night, and the roaring and resistance of the waves, which beat upon the shore, and were driven back with equal violence, rendered it extremely difficult to save him. At last, by day-break the wind being considerably fallen, with much trouble he got ashore, greatly weakened in body, but with a strength and firmness of mind which bravely combatted the distress. At the same time the Messapians, on whose coast he was cast, ran down to give him all the succour in their power. They also met with some others of his vessels that had weathered the storm, in which were a small number of horse, not quite two thousand foot, and two elephants. With these Pyrrhus marched to Tarentum.

When Cineas was informed of this, he drew out his forces, and went to meet him. Pyrrhus, upon his arrival at Tarentum, did not choose to have recourse to compulsion at first, nor to do any thing against the inclination of the inhabitants, till his ships were safely arrived, and the greatest part of his forces collected. But, after this, seeing the Tarentines so far from being in a condition to defend others, that they would not even defend themselves, except they were driven to it by necessity; and that they sat still at home, and spent their time about the baths, or in feasting and idle talk, as expecting that he would fight for them; he shut up the places of exercise and the walks, where they were in the habit, as they sauntered along, to conduct the war with words. He also put a stop to their unseasonable entertainments, revels, and diversions. Instead of these, he called them to arms, and in his musters and reviews was severe and inexorable: so that many of them quitted the place; for, being unaccustomed to be under command, they called that a slavery which was not a life of pleasure.

He now received intelligence that Lævinus, the Roman consul, was coming against him with a great army, and ravaging Lucania by the way. And though the confederates were not come up, yet looking upon it as a disgrace to sit still and see the enemy approach still nearer, he took the field with the troops he had. But first he sent a herald to the Romans with proposals, before they came to extremities, to terminate their differences amicably with the Greeks in Italy, by taking him for the mediator and umpire. Lævinus answered, "That the Romans neither accepted Pyrrhus as a mediator, nor feared him as an enemy." Whereupon he marched forward, and encamped upon the plain between the cities of Pandosia and Heraclea; and having notice that the Romans were near, and lay on the other side

of the river Siris, he rode up to the river to take a view of them. When he saw the order of their troops, the appointment of their watches, and the regularity of their whole encampment, he was struck with admiration, and said to a friend who was by, "Megacles, the disposition of these barbarians has nothing of the barbarian in it; we shall see whether the rest will answer it." He now became solicitous for the event, and determining to wait for the allies, set a guard upon the river to oppose the Romans, if they should endeavour to pass it. The Romans, on their part, hastening to prevent the coming up of those forces, which he had resolved to wait for, attempted the passage. The infantry took to the fords, and the cavalry got over wherever they could; so that the Greeks were afraid of being surrounded, and retreated to their main body.

Pyrrhus, greatly concerned at this, ordered his foot-officers to draw up the forces, and to stand to their arms; while he advanced with the horse, who were about three thousand, in hopes of finding the Romans yet busied in the passage, and dispersed without any order. But when he saw a great number of shields glittering above the water, and the horse preserving their ranks as they passed, he closed his own ranks, and began the attack. Besides his being distinguished by the beauty and lustre of his arms, which were of very curious fabric, he performed acts of valour worthy the great reputation he had acquired. For though he exposed his person in the hottest of the engagement, and charged with the greatest vigour, he was never in the least disturbed, nor lost his presence of mind; but gave his orders as coolly as if he had been out of the action, and moved to this side or that, as occasion required, to support his men where he saw them maintaining an unequal fight.

Leonatus of Macedon observed an Italian horseman very intent upon Pyrrhus, changing his post as he did, and regulated all his motions by his. Whereupon he rode up, and said to him, "Do you see, Sir, that barbarian upon the black horse with white feet? he seems to meditate some great and dreadful design. He keeps you in his eye; full of fire and spirit, he singles you out, and takes no notice of any body else. Therefore be on your guard against him." Pyrrhus answered, "It is impossible, Leonatus, to avoid our destiny. But neither this nor any other Italian shall have much satisfaction in engaging with me." While they were yet speaking, the Italian levelled his spear, and spurred his horse against Pyrrhus. He missed the king, but ran his horse through, as Leonatus did the Italian's the same moment, so that both horses fell together. Pyrrhus was carried off by his friends, who gathered round him, and killed the Italian, who fought to the very last. This brave man had the

command of a troop of horse; Ferentum was the place of his birth, and his name Oplacus.

This made Pyrrhus more cautious. And now seeing his cavalry give ground, he sent his infantry orders to advance, and formed them as soon as they came up. Then giving his robe and his arms to Megacles one of his friends, he disguised himself in his, and proceeded to the charge. The Romans received him with great firmness, and the success of the battle remained long undecided. It is even said that each army was broken and gave way seven times, and rallied as often. He changed his arms very seasonably, for that saved his life; but at the same time it had nearly ruined his affairs, and lost him the victory. Many aimed at Megacles; but the man who first wounded him, and brought him to the ground, was named Dexous. Dexous seized his helmet and his robe, and rode up to Lævinus, showing the spoils, and crying out that he had slain Pyrrhus. The spoils being passed from rank to rank, as it were in triumph, the Roman army shouted for joy, while that of the Greeks was struck with grief and consternation. This held till Pyrrhus, apprised of what had happened, rode about the army uncovered, stretching out his hand to his soldiers, and giving them to know him by his voice. At last the Romans were worsted, chiefly by means of the elephants: for the horses, before they came near them, were frightened, and ran back with their riders: and Pyrrhus commanding his Thessalian cavalry to fall upon them while in this disorder, they were routed with great slaughter. Dionysius writes, that near fifteen thousand Romans fell in this battle; but Hieronymus makes the number only seven thousand. On Pyrrhus's side, Dionysius says, there were thirteen thousand killed; Hieronymus, not quite four thousand. Among these, however, were the most valuable of his friends and officers, whose services he had made great use of, and in whom he had placed the highest confidence.

Pyrrhus immediately entered the Roman camp, which he found deserted. He gained over many cities which had been in alliance with Rome, and laid waste the territories of others. Nay, he advanced to within thirty-seven miles of the city itself. The Lucanians and the Samnites joined him after the battle, and were reproved for their delay; but it was plain that he was greatly elevated and delighted with having defeated so powerful an army of Romans with the assistance of the Tarentines only.

The Romans, on this occasion, did not take the command from Lævinus, though Caius Fabricius is reported to have said, "That the Romans were not overcome by the Epirots, but Lævinus by Pyrrhus; intimating that the defeat was owing to the inferiority of

the general, not of his troops. Then raising new levies, filling up their legions, and talking in a lofty and menacing tone about the war, they struck Pyrrhus with amazement. He thought proper, therefore, to send an embassy to them first, to try whether they were disposed for peace; being satisfied that to take the city, and make an absolute conquest, was an undertaking of too much difficulty to be effected by such an army as his was at that time; whereas, if he could bring them to terms of accommodation, and conclude a peace with them, it would be very glorious for him after such a victory.

Cineas, who was sent with this commission, applied to the great men, and sent them and their wives presents in his master's name. But they all refused them, the women as well as the men, declaring, "That when Rome had publicly ratified a treaty with the king, they should then on their parts be ready to give him every mark of their friendship and respect." And though Cineas made a very engaging speech to the senate, and used many arguments to induce them to close with him, yet they lent not a willing ear to his propositions, notwithstanding that Pyrrhus offered to restore, without ransom, the prisoners he had made in the battle, and promised to assist them in the conquest of Italy, desiring nothing in return but their friendship for himself, and security for the Tarentines. Some, indeed, seemed inclined to peace, urging that they had already lost a great battle, and had a still greater to expect, since Pyrrhus was joined by several nations in Italy. There was then an illustrious Roman, Appius Claudius by name, who, on account of his great age and the loss of sight, had declined all attendance to public business. But when he heard of the embassy from Pyrrhus, and the report prevailed that the senate was going to vote for the peace, he could not contain himself, but ordered his servants to take him up, and carry him in his chair through the *forum* into the senate-house. When he was brought to the door, his sons and sons-in-law received him, and led him into the senate. A respectful silence was observed by the whole body on his appearance, and he delivered his sentiments in the following terms: "Hitherto I have regarded my blindness as a misfortune, but now, Romans, I wish I had been as deaf as I am blind; for then I should not have heard of your shameful counsels and decrees so ruinous to the glory of Rome. Where now are your speeches so much echoed about the world, that if Alexander the Great had come into Italy when we were young, and your fathers in the vigour of their age, he would not now be celebrated as invincible, but, either by his flight or his fall, would have added to the glory of Rome? You now show the vanity and folly of that boast, while you dread the Chaonians and Molossians, who were ever a

prey to the Macedonians, and tremble at the name of Pyrrhus, who has all his life been paying his court to one of the guards of that Alexander. At present he wanders about Italy, not so much to succour the Greeks here, as to avoid his enemies at home; and he promises to procure us the empire of this country with those forces which could not enable him to keep a small part of Macedonia. Do not expect, then, to get rid of him by entering into alliance with him. That step will only open a door to many invaders. For who is there that will not despise you, and think you an easy conquest, if Pyrrhus not only escapes unpunished for his insolence, but gains the Tarentines and Samnites as a reward for insulting the Romans?"

Appius had no sooner done speaking, than they voted unanimously for the war, and dismissed Cineas with this answer, "That when Pyrrhus had quitted Italy, they would enter upon a treaty of friendship and alliance with him, if he desired it; but while he continued there in a hostile manner, they would prosecute the war against him with all their force, though he should have defeated a thousand Lævinuses."

It is said that Cineas, while he was upon this business, took great pains to observe the manners of the Romans, and to examine into the nature of their government. And when he had learned what he desired, by conversing with their great men, he made a faithful report of all to Pyrrhus, and told him, among the rest, "That the senate appeared to him an assembly of kings; and as to the people, they were so numerous, that he was afraid he had to do with a Lernæan hydra." For the consul had already an army on foot twice as large as the former, and had left multitudes behind in Rome of a proper age for inlisting, and sufficient to form many such armies.

After this, Fabricius came ambassador to Pyrrhus to treat about the ransom and exchange of prisoners. Fabricius, as Cineas informed Pyrrhus, was highly valued by the Romans for his probity and martial abilities, but he was extremely poor. Pyrrhus received him with particular distinction, and privately offered him gold; not for any base purpose; but he begged him to accept of it as a pledge of friendship and hospitality. Fabricius refusing the present, Pyrrhus pressed him no further; but the next day, wanting to surprise him, and knowing that he had never seen an elephant, he ordered the biggest he had to be armed and placed behind a curtain in the room where they were to be in conference. Accordingly this was done, and, upon a sign given, the curtain was drawn; and the elephant, raising his trunk over the head of Fabricius, made a horrid and frightful noise. Fabricius turned about without being in the least discom-

posed, and said to Pyrrhus smiling, "Neither your gold yesterday, nor your beast to-day, have made any impression upon me."

In the evening the conversation at the table turned upon many subjects, but chiefly upon Greece and the Grecian philosophers. This led Cineas to mention Epicurus*, and to give some account of the opinions of his sect concerning the gods and civil government. He said, they placed the chief happiness of man in pleasure, and avoided all concern in the administration of affairs as the bane of a happy life; and that they attributed to the Deity neither benevolence nor anger, but maintained, that, far removed from the care of human affairs, he passed his time in ease and inactivity, and was totally immersed in pleasure. While he was yet speaking, Fabricius cried out, "O heavens! may Pyrrhus and the Samnites adopt these opinions as long as they are at war with the Romans!" Pyrrhus, admiring the noble sentiments and principles of Fabricius, was more desirous than ever of establishing a friendship with Rome, instead of continuing the war. And taking Fabricius aside, he pressed him to mediate a peace, and then go and settle at his court, where he should be his most intimate companion, and the chief of his generals. Fabricius answered in a low voice, "That, Sir, would be no advantage to you: for those who now honour and admire you, should they once have experience of me, would rather choose to be governed by me than you." Such was the character of Fabricius.

Pyrrhus, far from being offended at this answer, or taking it like a tyrant, made his friends acquainted with the magnanimity of Fabricius, and intrusted the prisoners to him, only on condition that, if the senate did not agree to a peace, they should be sent back, after they had embraced their relations, and celebrated the Saturnalia.

After this, Fabricius being consul†, an unknown person came to his camp with a letter from the king's physician, who offered to take off Pyrrhus by poison, and so end the war without any further hazard to the Romans, provided that they gave him a proper compensation for his services. Fabricius detested the man's villany; and, having brought his colleague into the same sentiments, sent despatches to Pyrrhus without losing a moment's time, to caution him against the treason. The letter ran thus:

"Caius Fabricius and Quintus Æmilius, consuls, to king Pyrrhus, health.—It appears that you judge very ill both of your friends and enemies. For you will find by this letter which was sent to us, that

* Epicurus was then living. The doctrines of that philosopher were greatly in vogue in Rome, just before the ruin of the commonwealth.

† Two hundred and seventy-seven years before Christ.

you are at war with men of virtue and honour, and trust knaves and villains. Nor is it out of kindness that we give you this information; but we do it, lest your death should bring a disgrace upon us, and we should seem to have put a period to the war by treachery, when we could not do it by valour."

Pyrrhus having read the letter, and detected the treason, punished the physician; and, to show his gratitude to Fabricius and the Romans, he delivered up the prisoners without ransom, and sent Cineas again to negotiate a peace. The Romans, unwilling to receive a favour from an enemy, or a reward for not consenting to a bad thing, did indeed receive the prisoners at his hands, but sent him an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites. As to peace and friendship, they would not hear any proposals about it, till Pyrrhus should have laid down his arms, drawn his forces out of Italy, and returned to Epirus in the same ships in which he came.

His affairs now requiring another battle, he assembled his army, and marched and attacked the Romans near Asculum. The ground was very rough and uneven, and marshy also towards the river, so that it was extremely inconvenient for the cavalry, and quite prevented the elephants from acting with the infantry. For this reason he had a great number of men killed and wounded, and might have been entirely defeated, had not night put an end to the battle. Next day, contriving, by an act of generalship, to engage upon even ground, where his elephants might come at the enemy, he seized in time that difficult post where they fought the day before. Then he planted a number of archers and slingers among his elephants; thickened his other ranks, and moved forward in good order, though with great force and impetuosity, against the Romans.

The Romans, who had not now the advantage of ground for attacking and retreating as they pleased, were obliged to fight upon the plain man to man. They hastened to break the enemy's infantry before the elephants came up, and made prodigious efforts with their swords against the pikes; not regarding themselves or the wounds they received, but only looking where they might strike and slay. After a long dispute, however, the Romans were forced to give way, which they did first where Pyrrhus fought in person; for they could not resist the fury of his attack. Indeed, it was the force and weight of the elephants which put them quite to the rout. The Roman valour being of no use against these fierce creatures, the troops thought it wiser to give way, as to an overwhelming torrent or an earthquake, than to fall in a fruitless opposition, when they could gain no advantage, though they suffered the greatest extremities. And they had not far to fly before they gained their camp. Hieronymus says,

the Romans lost six thousand men in the action, and Pyrrhus, according to the account in his own commentaries, lost three thousand five hundred. Nevertheless, Dionysius does not tell us that there were two battles at Asculum, nor that it was clear that the Romans were defeated; but that the action lasted till sun-set, and then the combatants parted unwillingly, Pyrrhus being wounded in the arm with a javelin, and the Samnites having plundered his baggage; and that the number of the slain, counting the loss on both sides, amounted to above fifteen thousand men. When they had all quitted the field, and Pyrrhus was congratulated on the victory, he said, "Such another victory, and we are undone." For he had lost great part of the forces which he had brought with him, and all his friends and officers except a very small number.* He had no others wherewith to supply their place, and he now found his confederates very cold and spiritless. Whereas the Romans filled up their legions with ease and despatch, from an inexhaustible fountain which they had at home; and their defeats were so far from discouraging them, that indignation gave them fresh strength and ardour for the war.

Amidst these difficulties, new hopes, as vain as the former, offered themselves to Pyrrhus, and enterprises which distracted him in the choice. On one side ambassadors came from Sicily, who proposed to put Syracuse, Agrigentum, and the city of the Leontines in his hands, and desired him to drive the Carthaginians out of the island, and free it from its tyrants; and, on the other side, news was brought him from Greece, that Ptolemy Ceraunus was slain in battle by the Gauls, and that this would be a seasonable juncture for him to offer himself to the Macedonians, who wanted a king*. On this occasion he complained greatly of fortune for offering him two such glorious opportunities of action at once; and, afflicted to think that in embracing one he must necessarily give up the other, he was a long time doubtful and perplexed which to fix upon. At last the expedition to Sicily appearing to him the more important, by reason of its nearness to Africa, he determined to go thither, and immediately despatched Cineas before him, according to custom, to treat with the cities in his behalf. He placed, however, a strong garrison in Tarentum, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the people; who insisted that he should either fulfil the purpose he came for, by staying to assist them effectually in the Roman war, or, if he would be gone, to leave

* Ptolemy Ceraunus was slain three years before, during the consulate of [illegible]. After him the Macedonians had several kings in quick succession. All, therefore the letters could import must be, that the Macedonians would prefer Pyrrhus to Antigonus, who at present was in possession.

their city as he found it. But he gave them a severe answer, ordered them to be quiet and wait his time, and so set sail.

When he arrived in Sicily, he found every thing disposed agreeably to his hopes. The cities readily put themselves into his hands; and wherever force was necessary, nothing at first made any considerable resistance to his arms. But with thirty thousand foot, two thousand five hundred horse, and two hundred sail of ships, he advanced against the Carthaginians, drove them before him, and ruined their province. Eryx was the strongest city in those parts, and the best provided with men for its defence; yet he resolved to take it by storm. As soon as his army was in readiness to give the assault, he armed himself at all points; and, advancing towards the walls, made a vow to Hercules of games and sacrifices in acknowledgment of the victory, if in that day's action he should distinguish himself before the Greeks in Sicily, in a manner that became his great descent and his fortunes. Then he ordered the signal to be given by sound of trumpet; and having driven the barbarians from the walls with his missive weapons, he planted the scaling-ladders, and was himself the first that mounted.

There he was attacked by a crowd of enemies, some of whom he drove back, others he pushed down from the wall on both sides; but the greatest part he slew with his sword, so that there was quite a rampart of dead bodies around him. In the mean time he himself received not the least harm, but appeared to his enemies in the awful character of some superior being; showing on this occasion that Homer spoke with judgment and knowledge, when he represented valour as the only virtue which discovers a divine energy, and those enthusiastic transports which raise a man above himself. When the city was taken, he offered a magnificent sacrifice to Hercules, and exhibited a variety of shows and games.

Of all the barbarians, those about Messena, who were called Mamertines, gave the Greeks the most trouble, and had subjected many of them to tribute. They were a numerous and warlike people, and thence had the appellation of Mamertines, which, in the Latin tongue, signifies *martial*. But Pyrrhus seized the collectors of the tribute, and put them to death; and having defeated the Mamertines in a set battle, he destroyed many of their strong-holds.

The Carthaginians were now inclined to peace, and offered him both money and ships, on condition that he granted them his friendship. But having further prospects, he made answer, that there was only one way to peace and friendship, which was, for the Carthaginians to evacuate Sicily, and make the Libyan sea the boundary between them and the Greeks. Elated with prosperity and his present

strength, he thought of nothing but pursuing the hopes which first drew him into Sicily.

His first object now was Africa. He had vessels enough for his purpose, but he wanted mariners: and, in the collecting of them he was far from proceeding with lenity and moderation; on the contrary, he carried it to the cities with a high hand, and with great rigour, seconding his orders for a supply with force, and severely chastising those who disobeyed them. This was not the conduct which he had observed at first: for then he was gracious and affable to an extreme, placed an entire confidence in the people, and avoided giving them the least uneasiness. By these means he had gained their hearts. But now, turning from a popular prince into a tyrant, his austerity drew upon him the imputation both of ingratitude and perfidiousness. Necessity, however, obliged them to furnish him with what he demanded, though they were little disposed to it. But what chiefly alienated their affections was his behaviour to Thonon and Sostratus, two persons of the greatest authority in Syracuse. These were the men who first invited him into Sicily, who, upon his arrival, immediately put their city into his hands, and who had been the principal instruments of the great things he had done in the island. Yet his suspicions would neither let him take them with him, nor leave them behind him. Sostratus took the alarm and fled. Whereupon Thonon was seized by Pyrrhus, who alleged that he was in accomplice with Sostratus, and put him to death. Then his affairs ran to ruin, not gradually and by little and little, but all at once. And the violent hatred which the cities conceived for him, led some of them to join the Carthaginians, and others the Mamertines.—While he thus saw nothing around him but cabals, seditions, and insurrections, he received letters from the Samnites and Tarentines, who being quite driven out of the field, and with difficulty defending themselves within their walls, begged his assistance. This afforded a handsome pretence for his departure, without its being called a flight, and an absolute giving up his affairs in Sicily. But the truth was, that, being no longer able to hold the island, he quitted it, like a shattered ship, and threw himself again into Italy. It is reported, that as he sailed away, he looked back upon the isle, and said to those about him, "What a field we leave the Carthaginians and Romans to exercise their arms in!" And his conjecture was soon after verified.

The barbarians rose against him as he set sail, and being attacked by the Carthaginians on his passage, he lost many of his ships: with the remainder he gained the Italian shore. The Mamertines, to the number of ten thousand, had got thither before him; and though

they were afraid to come to a pitched battle, yet they attacked and harassed him in the difficult passes, and put his whole army in disorder. He lost two elephants, and a considerable part of his rear was cut in pieces.—But he immediately pushed from the van to their assistance, and risked his person in the boldest manner against men trained by long practice to war, and who fought with a spirit of resentment. In this dispute he received a wound in the head, which forced him to retire a little out of the battle, and animated the enemy still more. One of them, therefore, who was distinguished both by his size and arms, advanced before the lines, and, with a loud voice, called upon him to come forth, if he was alive. Pyrrhus, incensed at this, returned with his guards, and with a visage so fierce with anger, and so besmeared with blood, that it was dreadful to look upon, made his way through his battalions, notwithstanding their remonstrances. Thus rushing upon the barbarian, he prevented his blow, and gave him such a stroke on the head with his sword, that, with the strength of his arm, and the excellent temper of the weapon, he clove him quite down, and in one moment the parts fell asunder. This achievement stopped the course of the barbarians, who were struck with admiration and amazement at Pyrrhus, as at a superior being. He made the rest of his march, therefore, without disturbance, and arrived at Tarentum with twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. Then taking with him the best troops that he found there, he advanced immediately against the Romans, who were encamped in the country of the Samnites.

The affairs of the Samnites were run to ruin, and their spirits sunk, because they had been beaten in several battles by the Romans. There remained also in their hearts some resentment against Pyrrhus, on account of his leaving them to go to Sicily, so that few of them repaired to his standard. The forces that he had he divided into two bodies, one of which he detached into Lucania, to keep one of the consuls* employed, and hinder him from assisting his colleague: with the other corps he marched in person against the other consul Manius Curius, who lay safely intrenched near the city of Beneventum, and declined fighting, as well in expectation of the succours from Lucania, as on account of his being deterred from action by the augurs and soothsayers.

Pyrrhus hastening to attack him before he could be joined by his colleague, took the choicest of his troops and the most warlike of his elephants, and pushed forward in the night to surprise his camp. But as he had a long circuit to take, and the roads were entangled with trees and bushes, his lights failed, and numbers of his men lost

* Aulus Cornelius Lentulus

their way. Thus the night escap[ed]. At day-break he was discovered by the enemy descending from the heights, which caused no small disorder in their camp. Manius, however, finding the sacrifices auspicious, and the time pressing, issued out of his trenches, attacked the vanguard of the enemy, and put them to flight. This spread a great consternation through their whole army, so that many of them were killed, and some of the elephants taken. On the other hand, the success led Manius to try a pitched battle. Engaging, therefore, in the open field, one of his wings defeated that of the enemy's; but the other was borne down by the elephants, and driven back to the trenches. In this exigency he called for those troops that were left to guard the camp, who were all fresh men and well armed. These, as they descended from their advantageous situation, pierced the elephants with their javelins, and forced them to turn their backs; and those creatures, rushing upon their own battalions, threw them into the greatest confusion and disorder. This put the victory in the hands of the Romans; and empire together with the victory: for, by the courage exerted, and the great actions performed this day, they acquired a loftiness of sentiment, an enlargement of power, with the reputation of being invincible, which soon gained them all Italy, and Sicily a little after.

Thus Pyrrhus fell from his hopes of Italy and Sicily, after he had wasted six years in these expeditions. It is true, he was not successful; but, amidst all his defeats, he preserved his courage unconquerable, and was reputed to excel, in military experience, and personal prowess, all the princes of his time. But what he gained by his achievements he lost by vain hopes; his desire of something absent never suffered him effectually to persevere in a present pursuit. Hence it was that Antigonus compared him to a gamester, who makes many good throws at dice, but knows not how to make the best of his game.

He returned to Epirus with eight thousand foot and five hundred horse; but not having funds to maintain them, he sought for a war which might answer that end; and, being joined by a body of Gauls, he threw himself into Macedonia, where Antigonus the son of Demetrius reigned at that time. His design was only to pillage and carry off booty; but having taken many cities, and drawn over two thousand of Antigonus's men, he enlarged his views, and marched against the king. Coming up with him in a narrow pass, he put his whole army in disorder. The Gauls, however, who composed Antigonus's rear, being a numerous body, made a gallant resi[stance]. The dispute was sharp, but at last most of them were cut in p[ieces], and they who had the charge of the elephants being surround[ed]

livered up both themselves and the beasts. After so great an advantage, Pyrrhus, following his fortune rather than any rational plan; pushed against the Macedonian phalanx, now struck with terror and confusion at their loss. And perceiving that they refused to engage with him, he stretched out his hand to their commanders and other officers, at the same time calling them all by their names; by which means he drew over the enemy's infantry. Antigonus, therefore, was forced to fly: however, he persuaded some of the maritime towns to remain under his government.

Amidst so many instances of success, Pyrrhus, concluding that his exploit against the Gauls was far the most glorious, consecrated the most splendid and valuable of the spoils in the temple of Minerva Itonis, with this inscription;

> These spoils that Pyrrhus on the martial plain
> Snatch'd from the vanquish'd Gaul, Itonian Pallas,
> He consecrates to thee.—If from his throne
> Antigonus deserted fled, and ruin
> Pursued the sword of Pyrrhus—'tis no wonder—
> From Æacus he sprung.

After the battle he soon recovered the cities. When he had made himself master of Ægæ, among other hardships put upon the inhabitants, he left among them a garrison draughted from those Gauls who served under him. The Gauls, of all men, are the most covetous of money; and they were no sooner put in possession of the town, than they broke open the tombs of the kings who were buried there, plundered the treasures, and insolently scattered their bones. Pyrrhus passed the matter very slightly over; whether it was that the affairs he had upon his hands obliged him to put off the inquiry, or whether he was afraid of the Gauls, and did not dare to punish them. The connivance, however, was much censured by the Macedonians.

His interest was not well established among them, nor had he any good prospect of its security, when he began to entertain new visionary hopes; and, in ridicule of Antigonus, he said, "He wondered at his impudence, in not laying aside the purple, and taking the habit of a private person."

About this time Cleonymus the Spartan came to entreat him that he would march to Lacedæmon, and he lent a willing ear to his request. Cleonymus was of the blood-royal; but as he seemed to be of a violent temper, and inclined to arbitrary power, he was neither loved nor trusted by the Spartans, and Areus was appointed to the throne. This was an old complaint which he had against the citizens in general. But to this we must add, that when advanced in years, he had married a young woman of great beauty, named Che-

lidonis, who was of the royal family, and daughter to Leotychides. Chelidonis entertaining a violent passion for Acrotatus the son of Areus, who was both young and handsome, rendered the match not only uneasy, but disgraceful to Cleonymus, who was miserably in love; for there was not a man in Sparta who did not know how much he was despised by his wife. These domestic misfortunes, added to his public ones, provoked him to apply to Pyrrhus, who marched to Sparta with twenty five-thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants. These great preparations made it evident at one view that Pyrrhus did not come to gain Sparta for Cleonymus, but Peloponnesus for himself. He made, indeed, very different professions to the Lacedæmonians, who sent an embassy to him at Megalopolis: for he told them that he was only come to set free the cities which were in subjection to Antigonus; and, what is more extraordinary, that he fully intended, if nothing happended to hinder it, to send his younger sons to Sparta for a Lacedæmonian education, that they might, in this respect, have the advantage of all other kings and princes.

With these pretences he amused those that came to meet him on his march; but as soon as he set foot in Laconia, he began to plunder and ravage it. And, upon the ambassadors representing that he commenced hostilities without a previous declaration of war, he said, "And do we not know that you Spartans never declare beforehand what measures you are going to take?" To which a Spartan named Mandricidas, who was in company, made answer in this laconic dialect, "If thou art a god, thou wilt do us no harm, because we have done thee none; if thou art a man, perhaps we may find a better man than thee."

In the mean time he moved towards Lacedæmon, and was advised by Cleonymus to give the assault immediately upon his arrival. But Pyrrhus, as we are told, fearing that his soldiers would plunder the city, if they took it by night, put him off, and said they would proceed to the assault the next day. For he knew there were but few men within the city, and those unprepared, by reason of his sudden approach; and that Areus the king was absent, being gone to Crete to succour the Gortynians. The contemptible idea which Pyrrhus conceived of its weakness and want of men, was the principal thing that saved the city. For, supposing that he should not find the least resistance, he ordered his tents to be pitched, and sat quietly down; while the *helots* and friends of Cleonymus busied themselves in adorning and preparing his house, in expectation that Pyrrus would sup with him there that evening.

Night being come, the Lacedæmonians resolved in the first place

to send off their women to Crete, but they strongly opposed it: and Archidamia, entering the senate with a sword in her hand, complained of the mean opinion they entertained of the women, if they imagined they would survive the destruction of Sparta. In the next place, they determined to draw a trench parallel to the enemy's camp, and at each end of it to sink waggons into the ground as deep as the naves of the wheels, so that, being firmly fixed, they might stop the course of the elephants. As soon as the work was begun, both matrons and maids came and joined them; the former with their robes tucked up, and the latter in their under-garments only, to assist the older sort of men. They advised those that were intended for the fight to repose themselves, and, in the mean time, they undertook to finish a third part of the trench, which they effected before morning. This trench was in breadth six cubits, in depth four, and eight hundred feet long, according to Phylarchus. Hieronymus makes it less.

At day-break the enemy was in motion, whereupon the women armed the youth with their own hands, and gave them the trench in charge, exhorting them to guard it well, and representing, "How delightful it would be to conquer in the view of their country, or how glorious to expire in the arms of their mothers and their wives, when they had met their deaths as became Spartans." As for Chelidonis, she retired into her own apartment with a rope about her neck, determined to end her days by it rather than fall into the hands of Cleonymus, if the city was taken.

Pyrrhus now pressed forward with his infantry against the Spartans, who waited for him under a rampart of shields. But, besides that the ditch was scarce passable, he found that there was no firm footing on the sides of it for his soldiers, because of the looseness of the fresh earth. His son Ptolemy, seeing this, fetched a compass about the trench with two thousand Gauls and a select body of Chaonians, and endeavoured to open a passage on the quarter of the waggons. But these were so deep fixed and close locked that they not only obstructed their passage, but made it difficult for the Spartans to come up and make a close defence. The Gauls were now beginning to drag out the wheels, and draw the waggons into the river, when young Acrotatus, perceiving the danger, traversed the city with three hundred men, and, by the advantage of some hollow ways, surrounded Ptolemy, not being seen till he began the attack upon his rear. Ptolemy was now forced to face about, and stand upon the defensive. In the confusion many of his soldiers running foul upon each other, either tumbled into the ditch, or fell under the waggons. At last, after a long dispute and great effusion of blood, they were

entirely routed. The old men and the women saw this exploit of Aerotatus; and as he returned through the city to his post, covered with blood, bold and elated with his victory, he appeared to the Spartan women taller and more graceful than ever, and they could not help envying Chelidonis such a lover. Nay, some of the old men followed and cried out, "Go, Acrotatus, and enjoy Chelidonis; and may your offspring be worthy of Sparta!"

The dispute was more obstinate where Pyrrhus fought in person. Many of the Spartans distinguished themselves in the action, and, among the rest, Phyllius made a glorious stand. He slew numbers that endeavoured to force a passage, and, when he found himself ready to faint with the many wounds he had received, he gave up his post to one of the officers that were near him, and retired to die in the midst of his own party, that the enemy might not get his body in their power.

Night parted the combatants; and Pyrrhus, as he lay in his tent, had this dream: he thought he darted lightning upon Lacedæmon*, which set all the city on fire, and that the sight filled him with joy. The transport awaking him, he ordered his officers to put their men under arms; and to some of his friends he related his vision, from which he assured himself that he should take the city by storm. The thing was received with admiration and a general assent; but it did not please Lysimachus. He said, that as no foot is to tread on places that are struck by lightning, so the Deity by this might presignify to Pyrrhus that the city should remain inaccessible to him. Pyrrhus answered, "These visions may serve as amusements for the vulgar, but there is not any thing in the world more uncertain and obscure. While, then, you have your weapons in your hands, remember, my friends,

The best of omens is the cause of Pyrrhus †."

So saying, he arose, and, as soon as it was light, renewed the attack. The Lacedæmonians stood upon their defence with an alacrity and spirit above their strength; and the women attended, supplying them with arms, giving bread and drink to such as wanted it, and taking care of the wounded. The Macedonians then attempted to fill up the ditch, bringing great quantities of materials, and throwing them upon the arms and bodies of the dead. The Lacedæmonians,

* Some, instead of *autos*, read *aetos*; and then the English will run thus: "He thought that an eagle darted lightning," &c. But if that reading be preferred, because the eagle bore Jupiter's thunder, and Pyrrhus had the name of "Eagle," it ought to take place in the last member of the sentence too, and that should be rendered, "The eagle rejoiced at the sight."

† Parody of a line in Hector's speech, Il. xii.

on their part, redoubled their efforts against them. But, all on a sudden, Pyrrhus appeared on their side of the trench, where the waggons had been planted to stop the passage, advancing at full speed towards the city. The soldiers who had the charge of that post cried out, and the women fled with loud shrieks and wailings. In the mean time Pyrrhus was pushing on, and overthrowing all that opposed him. But his horse received a wound in the belly from a Cretan arrow, ran away, and, plunging in the pains of death, threw him upon steep and slippery ground. As his friends pressed towards him in great confusion, the Spartans came boldly up, and making good use of their arrows, drove them all back. Hereupon Pyrrhus put an entire stop to the action, thinking the Spartans would abate of their vigour, now they were almost all wounded, and such great numbers killed. But the fortune of Sparta, whether she was satisfied with the trial she had of the unassisted valour of her sons, or whether she was willing to show her power to retrieve the most desperate circumstances, just as the hopes of the Spartans were beginning to expire, brought to their relief, from Corinth, Aminius the Phocian, one of Antigonus's officers, with an army of strangers; and they had no sooner entered the town than Areus their king arrived from Crete with two thousand men more. The women now retired immediately to their houses, thinking it needless to concern themselves any further in the war: the old men, too, who, notwithstanding their age, had been forced to bear arms, were dismissed, and the new supplies put in their place.

These two reinforcements to Sparta served only to animate the courage of Pyrrhus, and make him more ambitious to take the town. Finding, however, that he could effect nothing, after a series of losses and bad success, he quitted the siege, and began to collect booty from the country, intending to pass the winter there. But fate is unavoidable. There happened at that time a strong contention at Argos between the parties of Aristeas and Aristippus; and as Aristippus appeared to have a connexion with Antigonus, Aristeas, to prevent him, called in Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus, whose hopes grew as fast as they were cut off, who, if he met with success, only considered it as a step to greater things, and if with disappointment, endeavoured to compensate it by some new advantage, would neither let his victories nor losses put a period to his disturbing both the world and himself. He began his march, therefore, immediately for Argos. Areus, by frequent ambushes, and by possessing himself of the difficult passes, cut off many of the Gauls and Molossians who brought up his rear. In the sacrifice which Pyrrhus had offered, the liver was

found without a head, and the diviner had thence forewarned him that he was in danger of losing some person that was dear to him. But, in the hurry and disorder of this unexpected attack, he forgot the menace from the victim, and ordered his son Ptolemy, with some of his guards, to the assistance of the rear, whilst he himself pushed on, and disengaged his main body from those dangerous passages. In the mean time, Ptolemy met with a very warm reception; for he was engaged by a select party of Lacedæmonians under the command of Evalcus. In the heat of action, a Cretan of Aptera, named Orœsus, a man of remarkable strength and swiftness, came up with the young prince, as he was fighting with great gallantry, and, with a blow on the side, laid him dead upon the spot. As soon as he fell, his party turned their backs and fled; the Lacedæmonians pursued them, and, in the ardour of victory, insensibly advancing into the open plain, got at a great distance from their infantry. Pyrrhus, who by this time had heard of the death of his son, and was greatly afflicted at it, drew out his Molossian horse, and, charging at the head of them, satiated himself with the blood of the Lacedæmonians. He always, indeed, appeared great and invincible in arms, but now, in point of courage and force, he outdid all his former exploits. Having found out Evalcus, he spurred his horse against him; but Evalcus, inclining a little on one side, aimed a stroke at him, which had like to have cut off his bridle hand. It happened, however, only to cut the reins, and Pyrrhus, seizing the favourable moment, ran him through with his spear. Then springing from his horse, he fought on foot, and made a terrible havock of those brave Lacedæmonians who endeavoured to protect the body of Evalcus. The great loss which Sparta suffered was now owing purely to the ill-timed ambition of her leaders; for the war was at an end before the engagement.

Pyrrhus having thus sacrificed to the manes of his son, and celebrated a kind of funeral games for him, found that he had vented much of his grief in the fury of the combat, and marched more composed to Argos. Finding that Antigonus kept the high grounds adjoining to the plain, he encamped near the town of Nauplia. Next day he sent a herald to Antigonus with a challenge, in abusive terms, to come down into the field, and fight with him for the kingdom. Antigonus said, "Time is the weapon that I use as much as the sword; and if Pyrrhus is weary of his life, there are many ways to end it." To both the kings there came ambassadors from Argos, entreating them to retire, and so prevent that city from being subjected to either, which had a friendship for them both. Antigonus

agreed to the overture, and sent his son to the Argives as a hostage. Pyrrhus at the same time promised to retire, but, sending no hostage, he was much suspected.

Amidst these transactions, Pyrrhus was alarmed with a great and tremendous prodigy: for the heads of the sacrifice-oxen, when severed from the bodies, were seen to thurst out their tongues, and lick up their own gore. And in Argos the priestess of Apollo Lyceus ran about the streets, crying out that she saw the city full of dead carcases and blood, and an eagle joining in the fight, and then immediately vanishing.

In the dead of night Pyrrhus approached the walls, and finding the gate called *Diamperes* opened to him by Aristeas, he was not discovered till his Gauls had entered and seized the market-place. But the gate not being high enough to receive the Elephants, they were forced to take off their towers; and having afterwards put them on again in the dark, it could not be done without noise and loss of time, by which means they were discovered. The Argives ran into the citadel called *Aspis**, and other places of defence, and sent to call in Antigonus. But he only advanced towards the walls to watch his opportunity for action, and contented himself with sending in some of his principal officers, and his son, with considerable succours.

At the same time, Areus arrived in the town with a thousand Cretans and the most active of his Spartans. All these troops being joined, fell at once upon the Gauls, and put them in great disorder. Pyrrhus entered at a place called *Cylarabis*†, with great noise and loud shouts, which were echoed by the Gauls; but he thought their shouts were neither full nor bold, but rather expressive of terror and distress. He therefore advanced in great haste, pushing forward his cavalry, though they marched in danger by reason of the drains and sewers of which the city was full. Besides, in this nocturnal war, it was impossible either to see what was done, or to hear the orders that were given. The soldiers were scattered about, and lost their way among the narrow streets; nor

* There was an annual feast at Argos, in honour of Juno, called *Heraiai*, "Junonian," and also "Hecatombia," from the hecatomb of oxen then offered. Among other games, this prize was proposed for the youth: in a place of considerable strength above the theatre, a brazen buckler was nailed to the wall, and they were to try their strength in pulling it off. The victor was crowned with a myrtle garland, and had the buckler, (in Greek, *Aspis*), for his pains. Hence the name of the fort. Not only the youth of Argos, but strangers, were admitted to the contest, as appears from Pindar: for, speaking of Diagoras of Rhodes, he says,

"The Argive buckler knew him." *Olymp.* Ode vii.

† Cylarabis was a place of exercise near one of the gates of Argos. *Pausan.*

could the officers rally them in that darkness, amidst such a variety of noises, and in such strait passages; so that both sides continued without doing any thing, and waited for day-light.

At the first dawn Pyrrhus was concerned to see the Aspis full of armed men; but his concern was changed into consternation, when, among the many figures in the market-place, he beheld a wolf and a bull in brass represented in the act of fighting: for he recollected an old oracle which had foretold, "That it was his destiny to die when he should see a wolf encountering a bull." The Argives say these figures were erected in memory of an accident which happened among them long before. They tell us, that when Danaus first entered their country, as he passed through the district of Thyreatis, by the way of Pyramia which leads to Argos, he saw a wolf fighting with a bull. Danaus imagined that the wolf represented him; for, being a stranger, he came to attack the natives, as the wolf did the bull. He therefore stayed to see the issue of the fight, and the wolf proving victorious, he offered his devotions to Apollo Lyceus, and then assaulted and took the town; Gelanor, who was then king, being deposed by a faction. Such is the history of those figures.

Pyrrhus, quite dispirited at the sight, and perceiving at the same time that nothing succeeded according to his hopes, thought it best to retreat. Fearing that the gates were too narrow, he sent orders to his son Helenus, who was left with the main body without the town, to demolish part of the wall, and assist the retreat, if the enemy tried to obstruct it. But the person whom he sent, mistaking the order in the hurry and tumult, and delivering it quite in a contrary sense, the young prince entered the gates with the rest of the elephants, and the best of the troops, and marched to assist his father. Pyrrhus was now retiring; and while the market-place afforded room both to retreat and fight, he often faced about and repulsed the assailants. But when from that broad place he came to crowd into the narrow street leading to the gate, he fell in with those who were advancing to his assistance. It was in vain to call out to them to fall back; there were few that could hear him; and such as did hear, and were most disposed to obey his orders, were pushed back by those who came pouring in behind. Besides, the largest of the elephants was fallen in the gateway on his side, and lying there, and braying in a horrible manner, he stopped those who would have got out. And among the elephants already in the town, one named Nicon, striving to take up his master, who was fallen off wounded, rushed against the party that was retreating, and overturned both friends and enemies promiscuously, till he found the body. Then he took it up with his trunk, and carrying it on his two teeth, re-

turned in great fury, and trod down all before him. When they were thus pressed and crowded together, not a man could do any thing singly; but the whole multitude, like one close compacted body, rolled this way and that all together. They exchanged but few blows with the enemy either in front or rear, and the greatest harm they did was to themselves: for if any man drew his sword or levelled his pike, he could not recover the one or put up the other; the next person, therefore, whoever he happened to be, was necessarily wounded, and thus many of them fell by the hands of each other.

Pyrrhus, seeing the tempest rolling about him, took off the plume with which his helmet was distinguished, and gave it to one of his friends. Then trusting to the goodness of his horse, he rode in amongst the enemy, who were harassing his rear, and it happened that he was wounded through the breast-plate with a javelin; the wound was rather slight than dangerous, but he turned against the man that gave it, who was an Argive of no note, the son of a poor old woman. This woman, among others, looking upon the fight from the roof of a house, beheld her son thus engaged. Seized with terror at the sight, she took up a large tile with both hands, and threw it at Pyrrhus. The tile fell upon his head, and, notwithstanding his helmet, crushed the lower *vertebræ* of his neck. Darkness in a moment covered his eyes, his hands let go the reins, and he fell from his horse by the tomb of Licymnius*. The crowd that was about

* There is something strikingly contemptible in the fate of this ferocious warrior.—What reflections may it not afford to those scourges of mankind, who, to extend their power, and gratify their pride, tear out the vitals of human society!—How unfortunate that they do not recollect their own personal insignificance, and consider, while they are disturbing the peace of the earth, that they are beings whom an old woman may kill with a stone!—It is impossible here to forget the obscure fate of Charles the Twelfth; or the following verses that describe it:

On what foundation stands the warrior's pride,
How just his hopes, let Swedish Charles decide;
A frame of adamant, a soul of fire,
No dangers fright him, and no labours tire;
O'er love, o'er fear, extends his wide domain,
Unconquer'd lord of pleasure and of pain;
No joys to him pacific sceptres yield,
War sounds the trump, he rushes to the field.
Behold surrounding kings their power combine,
And one capitulate and one resign:
Peace courts his hand, but spreads her charms in vain;
"Think nothing gain'd," he cried, "till nought remain;
On Moscow's walls till Gothic standards fly,
And all be mine beneath the polar sky."

him did not know him; but one Zopyrus, who served under Antigonus, and two or three others coming up, knew him, and dragged him into a porch that was near at hand, just as he was beginning to recover from the blow. Zopyrus had drawn his Illyrian blade to cut off his head, when Pyrrhus opened his eyes, and gave him so fierce a look, that he was struck with terror. His hand trembled, and between his desire to give the stroke, and the confusion he was in, he missed his neck, but wounded him in the mouth and chin, so that it was a long time before he could separate the head from the body.

By this time the thing was generally known, and Alcyoneus, the son of Antigonus, came hastily up, and asked for the head, as if he wanted only to look upon it. But as soon as he had got it, he rode off with it to his father, and cast it at his feet as he was sitting with his friends. Antigonus, looking upon the head, and knowing it, thrust his son from him, and struck him with his staff, calling him an impious and barbarous wretch. Then putting his robe before his eyes, he wept in remembrance of the fate of his grandfather Antigonus*, and that of his father Demetrius, two instances in his own house of the mutability of fortune. As for the head and body of Pyrrhus, he ordered them to be laid in magnificent attire on the funeral pile, and burnt. After this, Alcyoneus having met with Helenus in great distress and a mean garb, addressed him in a courteous manner, and conducted him to his father, who thus expressed himself on the occasion: "In this, my son, you have acted much

The march begins in military state,
And nations on his eye suspended wait.
Stern famine guards the solitary coast,
And winter barricades the realm of frost:
He comes—not want and cold his course delay—
Hide, blushing Glory, hide Pultowa's day!
The vanquish'd hero leaves his broken bands,
And shows his miseries in distant lands.
Condemn'd a needy suppliant to wait,
While ladies interpose, and slaves debate.
But did not Chance at length her error mend?
Did no subverted empire mark his end?
Did rival monarchs give the fatal wound?
Or hostile millions press him to the ground?
His fall was destin'd to a barren strand,
A petty fortress, and a dubious hand.
He left the name at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral, or adorn a tale. *Johnson.*

* Antigonus the First was killed at the battle of Ipsus, and Demetrius the First long kept a prisoner by his son-in-law, Seleucus.

better than before; but still you are deficient; for you should have taken off that mean habit, which is a greater disgrace to us who are victorious than it is to the vanquished."

Then he paid his respects to Helenus in a very obliging manner, and sent him to Epirus with a proper equipage. He gave also the same kind reception to the friends of Pyrrhus, after he had made himself master of his whole camp and army.

CAIUS MARIUS.

WE know no third name of Caius Marius, any more than we do of Quinctus Sertorius, who held Spain so long, or of Lucius Mummius, who took Corinth: for the surname of *Achaicus*, Mummius gained by his conquest, as Scipio did that of *Africanus*, and Metellus that of *Macedonicus*. Posidonius avails himself chiefly of this argument to confute those who hold the third to be the Roman proper name, Camillus, for instance, Marcellus, Cato; for, in that case, those who had only two names would have had no proper name at all. But he did not consider that by this reasoning he robbed the women of their names; for no woman bears the first, which Posidonius supposed the proper name among the Romans. Of the other names, one was common to the whole family, as the Pompeii, Manlii, Cornelii, in the same manner as with us, the Heraclidæ, and Pelopidæ; and the other was a surname given them from something remarkable in their dispositions, their actions, or the form of their bodies, as Macrinus, Torquatus, Sylla, which are like Mnemon, Grypus, and Callinicus, among the Greeks. But the diversity of customs, in this respect, leaves much room for further inquiry*.

* The Romans had usually three names, the *Prænomen*, the *Nomen*, and the *Cognomen*.

The *Prænomen*, as Aulus, Caius, Decimus, was the proper or distinguishing name between brothers, during the time of the republic.

The *Nomen* was the family name, answering to the Grecian patronymics. For as, among the Greeks, the posterity of Æacus were called Æacidæ, so the Julian family had that name from Iulus or Ascanius. But there were several other things which gave rise to the *Nomen*, as animals, places, and accidents; for instance, Porcius, Ovilius, &c.

The *Cognomen* was originally intended to distinguish the several branches of a family. It was assumed from no certain cause, but generally from some particular occurrence. It became, however, hereditary, except it happened to be changed for a more honourable appellation, as Macedonicus, Africanus. But it should be well remarked, that under the emperors the *Cognomen* was often used as a proper name, and brothers were distinguished by it; as Titus Flavius Vespasianus, and Titus Flavius Sabinus.

As to women, they had anciently their *Prænomen* as well as the men, such as Caia

As to the figure of Marius, we have seen at Ravenna, in Gaul, his statue in marble, which perfectly expressed all that has been said of his sternness and austerity of behaviour; for, being naturally robust and warlike, and more acquainted with the discipline of the camp than the city, he was fierce and untractable when in authority. It is said that he neither learned to read Greek, nor would make use of that language on any serious occasion, thinking it ridiculous to bestow time on learning the language of a conquered people. And when, after his second triumph, at the dedication of a temple, he exhibited shows to the people in the Grecian manner, he barely entered the theatre and sat down, and then rose up and departed immediately. Therefore, as Plato used to say to Xenocrates the philosopher, who had a morose and unpolished manner, "Good Xenocrates, sacrifice to the Graces;" so if any one could have persuaded Marius to pay his court to the Grecian Muses and Graces, he had never brought his noble achievements, both in war and peace, to so shocking a conclusion; he had never been led, by unseasonable ambition and insatiable avarice, to split upon the rocks of a savage and cruel old age. But this will soon appear from his actions themselves.

His parents were obscure and indigent people, who supported themselves by labour; his father's name was the same with his; his mother was called Fulcinia. It was late before he came to Rome, or had any taste of the refinements of the city. In the mean time he lived at Cirræatum*, a village in the territory of Arpinum; and his manner of living there was perfectly rustic, if compared with the elegance of polished life, but at the same time it was temperate, and much resembled that of the ancient Romans.

He made his first campaign against the Celtiberians †, when Scipio Africanus besieged Numantia. It did not escape his general how far he was above the other young soldiers in courage, nor how easily he came into the reformation in point of diet which Scipio introduced

Lucia, &c. But afterwards they seldom used any other besides the family name, as Julia, Tullia, and the like. Where there were two sisters in a house, the distinguishing appellations were major and minor; if a greater number, Prima, Secunda, Tertia, &c.

With respect to the men who had only two names, a family might be so mean as not to have gained the *Cognomen*, or there might be so few of the family that there was no occasion for it to distinguish the branches.

* A corruption of *Cernetum*. Pliny tells us, the inhabitants of Cernetum were called *Mariani*, undoubtedly from Marius their townsman, who had distinguished himself in so extraordinary a manner. *Plin.* lib. iii. c. 5.

† In the third year of the hundred and sixty-first Olympiad, one hundred and thirty three years before the birth of Christ.

into the army, before almost ruined by luxury and pleasure. It is said also that he encountered and killed an enemy in the sight of his general, who therefore distinguished him with many marks of honour and respect, one of which was the inviting him to his table. One evening the conversation happening to turn upon the great commanders then in being, some person in the company, either out of complaisance to Scipio, or because he really wanted to be informed, asked, "Where the Romans should find such another general when he was gone?" upon which Scipio, putting his hand on the shoulder of Marius, who sat next him, said, "Here, perhaps." So happy was the genius of both those great men, that the one, while but a youth, gave tokens of his future abilities, and the other, from those beginnings, could discover the long series of glory which was to follow.

This saying of Scipio's, we are told, raised the hopes of Marius like a divine oracle, and was the chief thing that animated him to apply himself to affairs of state. By the assistance of Cæcilius Metellus, on whose house he had a hereditary dependence, he was chosen a tribune of the people*. In this office he proposed a law for regulating the manner of voting, which tended to lessen the authority of the patricians in matters of judicature. Cotta the consul therefore persuaded the senate to reject it, and to cite Marius to give account of his conduct. Such a decree being made, Marius, when he entered the senate, showed not the embarrassment of a young man advanced to office without having first distinguished himself, but, assuming beforehand the elevation which his future actions were to give him, he threatened to send Cotta to prison, if he did not revoke the decree. Cotta turning to Metellus, and asking his opinion, Metellus rose up, and voted with the consul. Hereupon Marius called in a lictor, and ordered him to take Metellus into custody. Metellus appealed to the other tribunes, but as not one of them lent him any assistance, the senate gave way, and repealed their decree. Marius, highly distinguished by this victory, went immediately from the senate to the *forum*, and had his law confirmed by the people.

From this time he passed for a man of inflexible resolution, not to be influenced by fear or respect of persons, and consequently one that would prove a bold defender of the people's privileges against the senate. But this opinion was soon altered by his taking a quite different part: for a law being proposed concerning the distribution of corn, he strenuously opposed the plebeians, and carried it against them:

* One hundred and seventeen years before Christ.

by which action he gained equal esteem from both parties, as a person incapable of serving either against the public advantage.

When his tribuneship was expired, he stood candidate for the office of chief ædile. For there are two offices of *ædiles*; the one called *curulis*, from the chair with crooked feet, in which the magistrate sits while he dispatches business; the other, of a degree much inferior, is called the *plebeian ædile*. The more honourable ædile is first chosen, and then the people proceed the same day to the election of the other. When Marius found he could not carry the first, he dropped his pretensions there, and immediately applied for the second. But as this proceeding of his betrayed a disagreeable and importunate obstinacy, he miscarried in that also. Yet, though he was twice baffled in his application in one day, (which never happened to any man but himself) he was not at all discouraged: for, not long after, he stood for the prætorship, and was near being rejected again. He was, indeed, returned last of all, and then was accused of bribery. What contributed most to this suspicion was a servant of Cassius Sabaco being seen within the rails among the electors; for Sabaco was an intimate friend of Marius. He was summoned, therefore, by the judges; and being interrogated upon the point he said, "That the heat having made him very thirsty, he asked for cold water; upon which his servant brought him a cup, and withdrew as soon as he had drank."—Sabaco was expelled the senate by the next censors*; and it was thought he deserved that mark of infamy, as having been guilty either of falsehood or intemperance. Caius Herenius was also cited as a witness against Marius; but he alleged that it was not customary for patrons (so the Romans called protectors) to give evidence against their clients, and that the law excused them from that obligation. The judges were going to admit the plea, when Marius himself opposed it, and told Herenius, that when he was first created a magistrate, he ceased to be his client. But this was not altogether true. For it is not every office that frees clients and their posterity from the service due to their patrons, but only those magistracies to which the law gives a *curule* chair. Marius, however, during the first days of trial, found that matters ran against him, his judges being very unfavourable; yet at last the votes proved equal, and he was acquitted beyond expectation.

In his prætorship he did nothing to raise him to distinction; but, at the expiration of this office, the Farther Spain falling to his lot, he is said to have cleared it of robbers. That province as yet was uncivilized and savage in its manners, and the Spaniards thought

* Probably he had one of his slaves to vote among the freemen.

there was nothing dishonourable in robbery. At his return to Rome, he was desirous to have his share in the administration, but had neither riches nor eloquence to recommend him; though these were the instruments by which the great men of these times governed the people. His high spirit, however, his indefatigable industry, and plain manner of living, recommended him so effectually to the commonalty, that he gained offices, and by offices power: so that he was thought worthy the alliance of the Cæsars, and married Julia of that illustrious family. Cæsar, who afterwards raised himself to such eminence, was her nephew, and, on account of his relation to Marius, showed himself very solicitous for his honour, as we have related in his life.

Marius, along with his temperance, was possessed of great fortitude in enduring pain. There was an extraordinary proof of this, in his bearing an operation in surgery. Having both his legs full of wens, and being troubled at the deformity, he determined to put himself in the hands of a surgeon. He would not be bound, but stretched out one of his legs to the knife, and, without motion or groan, bore the inexpressible pain of the operation in silence, and with a settled countenance. But when the surgeon was going to begin with the other leg, he would not suffer him, saying, "I see the cure is not worth the pain."

About this time Cæcilius Metellus, the consul*, being appointed to the chief command in the war against Jugurtha, took Marius with him into Africa as one of his lieutenants. Marius, now finding an opportunity for great actions and glorious toils, took no care, like his colleagues, to contribute to the reputation of Metellus, or to direct his views to his service; but concluding that he was called to the lieutenancy, not by Metellus, but by Fortune, who had opened him an easy way, and a noble theatre for great achievements, exerted all his powers. That war presenting many critical occasions, he neither declined the most difficult service, nor thought the most servile beneath him. Thus surpassing his equals in prudence and foresight, and contesting it with the common soldiers in abstemiousness and labour, he entirely gained their affections. For it is no small consolation to any one who is obliged to work, to see another voluntarily take a share in his labour, since it seems to take off the constraint. There is not, indeed, a more agreeable spectacle to a Roman soldier, than that of his general eating the same dry bread which he eats, or lying on an ordinary bed, or assisting his men in

* Q. Cæcilius Metellus was consul with M. Junius Silanus, the fourth year of the one hundred and sixty-seventh Olympiad, a hundred and seven years before the birth of Christ. In this expedition he acquired the surname of Numidicus.

drawing a trench, or throwing up a bulwark. For the soldier does not so much admire those officers who let him share in their honours or their money, as those who will partake with him in labour and danger; and he is more attached to one that will assist him in his work, than to one who will indulge him in idleness.

By these steps Marius gained the hearts of the soldiers: his glory, his influence, his reputation, spread through Africa, and extended even to Rome. The men under his command wrote to their friends at home, that the only means of putting an end to the war in those parts, would be to elect Marius consul. This occasioned no small anxiety to Metellus, but what distressed him most was the affair of Turpilius. This man and his family had long been retainers to that of Metellus, and he attended him in that war in the character of master of the artificers; but being, through his interest, appointed governor of the large town of Vacca, his humanity to the inhabitants, and the unsuspecting openness of his conduct, gave them an opportunity of delivering up the place to Jugurtha*. Turpilius, however, suffered no injury in his person; for the inhabitants, having prevailed upon Jugurtha to spare him, dismissed him in safety. On this account he was accused of betraying the place. Marius, who was one of the council of war, was not only severe upon him himself, but stirred up most of the other judges; so that it was carried against the opinion of Metellus, and, much against his will, he passed sentence of death upon him. A little after, the accusation appeared a false one; and all the other officers sympathized with Metellus, who was overwhelmed with sorrow; while Marius, far from dissembling his joy, declared the thing was his doing, and was not ashamed to acknowledge in all companies, "That he had lodged an avenging fury in the breast of Metellus, who would not fail to punish him for having put to death the hereditary friend of his family."

They now became open enemies: and one day when Marius was by, we are told that Metellus said, by way of insult, "You think then, my good friend, to leave us, and go home to solicit the consulship: would you not be contented to stay and be consul with this son of mine?" The son of Metellus was then very young. Notwithstanding this, Marius still kept applying for leave to be gone, and Metellus found out new pretences for delay. At last, when there wanted only twelve days to the election, he dismissed him. Marius had a long journey from the camp to Utica, but he despatched it in two days and a night. At his arrival on the coast, he offered sacrifice before he embarked: and the diviner is said to have told him, "That

* They put the Roman garrison to the sword, sparing none but Turpilius.

heaven announced success superior to all his hopes." Elevated with this promise, he set sail, and, having a fair wind, crossed the sea in four days. The people immediately expressed their inclination for him; and being introduced by one of their tribunes, he brought many false charges against Metellus, in order to secure the consulship for himself; promising at the same time either to kill Jugurtha, or to take him alive.

He was elected with great applause, and immediately began his levies, in which he observed neither law nor custom; for he inlisted many needy persons, and even slaves*. The generals that were before him had not admitted such as these, but intrusted only persons of property with arms, as with other honours, considering that property as a pledge to the public for their behaviour. Nor was this the only obnoxious thing in Marius. His bold speeches, accompanied with insolence and ill manners, gave the patricians great uneasiness. For he scrupled not to say, "That he had taken the consulate as a prey from the effeminacy of the high-born and the rich, and that he boasted to the people of his own wounds, not the images of others, or monuments of the dead." He took frequent occasion, too, to mention Bestia and Albinus, generals who had been mostly unfortunate in Africa, as men of illustrious families, but unfit for war, and consequently unsuccessful through want of capacity. Then he would ask the people, "Whether they did not think that the ancestors of those men would have wished rather to leave a posterity like him; since they themselves did not rise to glory by their high birth, but by their virtue and great actions." These things he said not out of mere vanity and arrogance, or needlessly to embroil himself with the nobility; but he saw the people took pleasure in seeing the senate insulted, and that they measured the greatness of a man's mind by the insolence of his language; and therefore, to gratify them, he spared not the greatest men in the state.

Upon his arrival in Africa, Metellus was quite overcome with grief and resentment, to think that when he had in a manner finished the war, and there remained nothing to take but the person of Jugurtha, Marius, who had raised himself merely by his ingratitude towards *him*, should come to snatch away both his victory and triumph. Unable, therefore, to bear the sight of him, he retired, and left his lieutenant Rutilius to deliver up the forces to Marius. But, before the end of the war, the divine vengeance overtook Marius; for Sylla robbed him of the glory of his exploits, as he had done Metellus. I

* Florus does not say he inlisted slaves, but *capite censos*, such as, having no estates, had only their names entered in the registers.

shall briefly relate here the manner of that transaction, having already given a more particular account of it in the life of Sylla.

Bocchus, king of the Upper Numidia, was father-in-law to Jugurtha. He gave him, however, very little assistance in the war, pretending that he detested his perfidiousness, while he really dreaded the increase of his power. But when he became a fugitive and a wanderer, and was reduced to the necessity of applying to Bocchus as his last resource, that prince received him rather as a suppliant than as his son-in-law. When he had him in his hands, he proceeded in public to intercede with Marius in his behalf, alleging, in his letters, that he would never give him up, but defend him to the last. At the same time, in private intending to betray him, he sent for Lucius Sylla, who was quæstor to Marius, and had done Bocchus many services during the war. When Sylla was come to him, confiding in his honour, the barbarian began to repent, and often changed his mind, deliberating for some days whether he should deliver up Jugurtha, or retain Sylla too. At last, adhering to the treachery he had first conceived, he put Jugurtha alive into the hands of Sylla.

Hence the first seeds of that violent and implacable quarrel which almost ruined the Roman empire. For many, out of envy to Marius, were willing to attribute this success to Sylla only; and Sylla himself caused a seal to be made, which represented Bocchus delivering up Jugurtha to him. This seal he always wore, and constantly sealed his letters with it; by which he highly provoked Marius, who was naturally ambitious, and could not endure a rival in glory. Sylla was instigated to this by the enemies of Marius, who ascribed the beginning and the most considerable actions of the war to Metellus, and the last and finishing stroke to Sylla; that so the people might no longer admire and remain attached to Marius as the most accomplished of commanders.

The danger, however, that approached Italy from the west, soon dispersed all the envy, the hatred, and the calumnies, which had been raised against Marius. The people, now in want of an experienced commmander, and searching for an able pilot to sit at the helm, that the commonwealth might bear up against so dreadful a storm, found that no one of an opulent or noble family would stand for the consulship; and therefore they elected Marius *, though absent. They had no sooner received the news that Jugurtha was taken, than reports were spread of an invasion from the Teutones and the Cimbri. And though the account of the number and strength of their armies seemed at first incredible, it afterwards ap-

* One hundred and two years before Christ.

peared short of the truth. For three hundred thousand well-armed warriors were upon the march, and the women and children, whom they had along with them, were said to be much more numerous. This vast multitude wanted lands on which they might subsist, and cities wherein to settle; as they had heard the Celtæ, before them, had expelled the Tuscans, and possessed themselves of the best part of Italy*. As for these, who now hovered like a cloud over Gaul and Italy, it was not known who they were†, or whence they came, on account of the small commerce which they had with the rest of the world, and the length of way they had marched. It was conjectured, indeed, from the largeness of their stature, and the blueness of their eyes, as well as because the Germans call banditti *Cimbri*, that they were some of those German nations who dwell by the Northern Sea.

Some assert, that the country of the Celtæ is of such vast extent, that it stretches from the Western Ocean and most northern climates to the lake Mæotis eastward, and that part of Scythia which borders upon Pontus: that there the two nations mingle, and thence issue; not all at once, nor at all seasons, but in the spring of every year: that, by means of these annual supplies, they had gradually opened themselves a way over the greatest part of the European continent; and that, though they are distinguished by different names, according to their tribes, yet their whole body is comprehended under the general name of Celto-Scythæ.

Others say, they were a small part of the Cimmerians, well known to the ancient Greeks; and that this small part, quitting their native soil, or being expelled by the Scythians on account of some sedition, passed from the Palus Mæotis into Asia, under the conduct of Lygdamus their chief. But that the greater and more warlike part dwelt in extremities of the earth near the Northern Sea. These inhabit a country so dark and woody, that the sun is seldom seen, by reason of the many high and spreading trees, which reach inward as far as the Sercynian forest. They are under that part of the heavens where the elevation of the pole is such, that by reason of the declination of the parallels, it makes almost a vertical point to the inhabitants; and

* In the reign of Tarquinius Priscus.

† The Cimbri were descended from the ancient Gomerians or Celtes; Cimri, or Cymbri, being only a harsher pronunciation of Gomerai. They were in all probability the most ancient people of Germany. They gave their name to the Cimbrica Chersonesus, which was a kind of peninsula extending from the mouth of the river Elbe into the North Sea. They were all supposed the same with the Cimmerians that inhabited the countries about the Palus Mæotis; which is highly probable, both from the likeness of their names, and from the descendants of Gomer having spread themselves over all that northern track.

their day and night are of such a length, that they serve to divide the year into two equal parts; which gave occasion to the fiction of Homer concerning the infernal regions.

Hence, therefore, these barbarians who came into Italy first issued; being anciently called Cimmerii, afterwards Cimbri, and the appellation was not at all from their manners. But these things rest rather on conjecture than historical certainty. Most historians, however, agree that their numbers, instead of being less, were rather greater than we have related. As to their courage, their spirit, and the force and vivacity with which they made an impression, we may compare them to a devouring flame. Nothing could resist their impetuosity; all that came in their way were trodden down, or driven before them like cattle. Many respectable armies and generals* employed by the Romans to guard the Transalpine Gaul were shamefully routed; and the feeble resistance they made to the first efforts of the barbarians was the chief thing that drew them towards Rome. For having beaten all they met, and loaded themselves with plunder, they determined to settle no where till they had destroyed Rome, and laid waste all Italy.

The Romans, alarmed from all quarters with this news, called Marius to the command, and elected him a second time consul. It was, indeed, unconstitutional for any one to be chosen who was absent, or who had not waited the regular time between a first and second consulship; but the people overruled all that was said against him. They considered that this was not the first instance in which the law had given way to the public utility; nor was the present occasion less urgent than that, when contrary to law†, they made Scipio consul; for then they were not anxious for the safety of their own city, but only desirous of destroying Carthage. These reasons prevailing, Marius returned with his army from Africa, and entering upon his consulship on the first of January, which the Romans reckon the beginning of their year, led up his triumph the same day. Jugurtha, now a captive, was a spectacle as agreeable to the Romans as it was beyond their expectation, no one having ever imagined that the war could be brought to a period while he was alive; so various was the character of that man, that he knew how to accommodate himself to all sorts of fortune, and through all his subtilty there ran a vein of courage and spirit. It is said, that when he was led before the car of the conqueror, he lost his senses. After the triumph, he was

* Cassius Longinus, Aurelius, Scaurus, Cæpio, and Cn. Malleius.

† Scipio was elected consul before he was thirty years old, though the common age required in the candidates was forty-two. Indeed, the people dispensed with it in other instances besides this.

thrown into prison, where, whilst they were in haste to strip him, some tore his robe off his back, and others eagerly catching at his pendants, pulled off the tips of his ears with them. When he was thurst down naked into the dungeon, all wild and confused, he said, with a frantic smile, "Heavens! how cold is this bath of yours!" There struggling for six days with extreme hunger, and to the last hour labouring for the preservation of life, he came to such an end as his crimes deserved. There were carried in this triumph, we are told, three thousand and seven pounds of gold, five thousand seven hundred and seventy-five of silver bullion, and of silver coin seventeen thousand and twenty-eight drachmas.

After the solemnity was over, Marius assembled the senate in the capitol, where, either through inadvertency or gross insolence, he entered in his triumphal robe; but soon perceiving that the senate was offended, he went and put on his ordinary habit, and then returned to his place.

When he set out with the army, he trained his soldiers to labour, while upon the road, accustoming them to long and tedious marches, and compelling every man to carry his own baggage, and provide his victuals. So that afterwards laborious people, who executed readily, and without murmuring, whatever they were ordered, were called *Marius's mules*. Some, indeed, give another reason for this proverbial saying. They say, that when Scipio besieged Numantia, he chose to inspect not only the arms and horses, but the very mules and waggons, that all might be in readiness and good order; on which occasion Marius brought forth his horse in fine condition, and his mule too in a better case, and stronger and gentler than those of others. The general, much pleased with Marius's beasts, often made mention of them; and hence those, who by way of raillery praised a drudging patient man, called him Marius's mule.

On this occasion it was a very fortunate circumstance for Marius, that the barbarians, turning their course, like a reflux of the tide, first invaded Spain. For this gave him time to strengthen his men by exercise, and to raise and confirm their courage; and, what was still of greater importance, to show them what he himself was. His severe behaviour, and inflexibility in punishing, when it had once accustomed them to mind their conduct and be obedient, appeared both just and salutary. When they were a little used to his hot and violent spirit, to the harsh tone of his voice, and the fierceness of his countenance, they no longer considered him as terrible to themselves, but to the enemy. Above all, the soldiers were charmed with his integrity in judging; and this contributed not a little to procure Marius a third consulate. Besides, the barbarians were expected in the spring, and the people were not willing to meet them under any

other general. They did not, however, come so soon as they were looked for, and the year expired without his getting a sight of them. The time of a new election coming on, and his colleague being dead, Marius left the command of the army to Manius Aquilius, and went himself to Rome. Several persons of great merit stood for the consulate; but Lucius Saturninus, a tribune who led the people, being gained by Marius, in all his speeches exhorted them to choose him consul. Marius, for his part, desired to be excused, pretending that he did not want the office; whereupon Saturninus called him a traitor to his country, who deserted the command in such a time of danger. It was not difficult to perceive that Marius dissembled, and that the tribune acted a bungling part under him; yet the people, considering that the present juncture required both his capacity and good fortune, created him consul a fourth time, and appointed Lutatius Catulus his colleague, a man much esteemed by the patricians, and not unacceptable to the commons.

Marius, being informed of the enemy's approach, passed the Alps with the utmost expedition; and having marked out his camp by the river Rhone, fortified it, and brought into it a large supply of provisions, that the want of necessaries might never compel him to fight at a disadvantage. But as the carriage of provisions by sea was tedious and very expensive, he found a way to make it easy and expeditious. The mouth of the Rhone was at that time choked up with mud and sand, which the beating of the sea had lodged there; so that it was very dangerous, if not impracticable, for vessels of burthen to enter it. Marius therefore set his army, now quite at leisure, to work there; and having caused a cut to be made, capable of receiving large ships, he turned great part of the river into it; thus drawing it to a part of the coast where the opening to the sea is easy and secure. This cut still retains his name.

The barbarians dividing themselves into two bodies, it fell to the lot of the Cimbri to march the upper way through Noricum against Catulus, and to force that pass; while the Teutones and Ambrones took the road through Liguria, along the sea-coast, in order to reach Marius. The Cimbri spent some time in preparing for their march; but the Teutones and Ambrones set out immediately, and pushed forward with great expedition; so that they soon traversed an intermediate country, and presented to the view of the Romans an incredible number of enemies, terrible in their aspect, and in their voice and shouts of war, different from all other men. They spread themselves over a vast extent of ground near Marius, and when they had encamped, they challenged him to battle.

The consul, for his part, regarded them not, but kept his soldiers within the trenches, rebuking the vanity and rashness of those who

wanted to be in action, and calling them traitors to their country.—He told them, "Their ambition should not now be for triumphs and trophies, but to dispel the dreadful storm that hung over them, and to save Italy from destruction." These things he said privately to his chief officers, and men of the first rank. As for the common soldiers, he made them mount guard by turns upon the ramparts, to accustom them to bear the dreadful looks of the enemy, and to hear their savage voices without fear, as well as to make them acquainted with their arms, and their way of using them. By these means, what at first was terrible, by being often looked upon, would in time become unaffecting. For he concluded, that with regard to objects of terror, now'y adds many unreal circumstances, and that things really dread lose their effect by familiarity. Indeed, the daily sight of the barbarians not only lessened the fears of the soldiers, but the menacing behaviour, and intolerable vanity of the enemy provoked their resentment, and inflamed their courage. For they not only plundered and ruined the adjacent country, but advanced to the very trenches with the greatest insolence and contempt.

Marius at last was told that the soldiers vented their grief in such complaints as these: "What effeminacy has Marius discovered in us, that he thus keeps us locked up, like so many women, and restrains us from fighting? Come on; let us, with the spirit of freemen, ask him, if he waits for others to fight for the liberties of Rome, and intends to make use of us only as the vilest labourers, in digging trenches, in carrying out loads of dirt, and turning the course of rivers? It is for such noble works as these, no doubt, that he exercises us in such painful labours; and, when they are done, he will return and show his fellow citizens the glorious fruits of the continuation of his power. It is true Carbo and Cæpio were beaten by the enemy: but does their ill success terrify him? Surely Carbo and Cæpio were generals as much inferior to Marius in valour and renown, as we are superior to the army they led. Better it were to be in action, though we suffered from it like them, than to sit still and see the destruction of our allies."

Marius, delighted with these speeches, talked to them in a soothing way. He told them, "It was not from any distrust of them that he sat still, but that, by order of certain oracles, he waited both for the time and place which were to ensure him the victory." For he had with him a Syrian woman, named Martha, who was said to have the gift of prophecy. She was carried about in a litter with great respect and solemnity, and the sacrifices he offered were all by her direction. She had formerly applied to the senate in this character, and made an offer of predicting for them future events, but

they refused to hear her. Then she betook herself to the women, and gave them a specimen of her art. She addressed herself particularly to the wife of Marius, at whose feet she happened to sit when there was a combat of gladiators, and, fortunately enough, told her which of them would prove victorious. Marius's wife sent her to her husband, who received her with the utmost veneration, and provided for her the litter in which she was generally carried. When she went to sacrifice, she wore a purple robe, lined with the same, and buttoned up, and held in her hand a spear adorned with ribbands and garlands. When they saw this pompous scene, many doubted whether Marius was really persuaded of her prophetic abilities, or only pretended to be so, and acted a part, while he showed the woman in this form.

But what Alexander of Myndos relates concerning the vultures really deserves admiration. Two of them, it seems, always appeared, and followed the army before any great success, being well known by their brazen collars. The soldiers, when they took them, had put these collars upon them, and then let them go. From this time they knew, and in a manner saluted the soldiers; and the soldiers, whenever these appeared upon their march, rejoiced in the assurance of performing something extraordinary.

About this time there happened many prodigies, most of them of the usual kind. But news was brought from Ameria and Tudertum, cities in Italy, that one night were seen in the sky spears and shields of fire, now waving about, and then clashing against each other, in imitation of the postures and motions of men fighting; and that, one party giving way, and the other advancing, at last they all disappeared in the west. Much about this time, too, there arrived from Pessinus, Batabaces, priest of the mother of the gods, with an account that the goddess had declared from her sanctuary, "That the Romans would soon obtain a great and glorious victory." The senate had given credit to his report, and decreed the goddess a temple on account of the victory. But when Batabaces went out to make the same declaration to the people, Aulus Pompeius, one of the tribunes, prevented him, calling him an impostor, and driving him in an ignominious manner from the *rostrum*. What followed, indeed, was the thing which contributed most to the credit of the prediction: for Aulus had scarce dissolved the assembly and reached his own house, when he was seized with a violent fever, of which he died within a week. This was a fact universally known.

Marius still keeping close, the Teutones attempted to force his intrenchments; but being received with a shower of darts from the camp, by which they lost a number of men, they resolved to march

forward, concluding that they might pass the Alps in full security. They packed up their baggage, therefore, and marched by the Roman camp. Then it was that the immensity of their numbers appeared in the clearest light, from the length of their train, and the time they took up in passing: for it is said, that though they moved on without intermission, they were six days in going by Marius's camp. Indeed, they went very near it, and asked the Romans, by way of insult, "Whether they had any commands to their wives, for they should be shortly with them?" As soon as the barbarians had all passed by, and were in full march, Marius likewise decamped and followed, always taking care to keep near them, and choosing strong places at some small distance for his camp, which he also fortified, in order that he might pass the nights in safety. Thus they moved on till they came to Aquæ Sextiæ, from whence there is but a short march to the Alps.

There Marius prepared for battle, having pitched upon a place for his camp which was unexceptionable in point of strength, but afforded little water. By this circumstance, they tell us, he wanted to excite the soldiers to action; and, when many of them complained of thirst, he pointed to a river which ran close by the enemy's camp, and told them, "That thence they must purchase water with their blood." "Why then," said they, "do you not lead us thither immediately, before our blood is quite parched up?" To which he answered in a softer tone, "I will lead you thither, but first let us fortify our camp."

The soldiers obeyed, though with some reluctance. But the servants of the army being in great want of water, both for themselves and their cattle, ran in crowds to the stream, some with pick-axes, some with hatchets, and others with swords and javelins, along with their pitchers; for they were resolved to have water, though they were obliged to fight for it. These at first were encountered by a small party of the enemy, when some having bathed, were engaged at dinner, and others were still bathing. For there the country abounds in hot wells. This gave the Romans an opportunity of cutting off a number of them, while they were indulging themselves in those delicious baths, and charmed with the sweetness of the place. The cry of these brought others to their assistance, so that it was now difficult for Marius to restrain the impetuosity of his soldiers, who were in pain for their servants. Besides, the Ambrones, to the number of thirty thousand, who were the best troops the enemy had, and who had already defeated Manlius and Cæpio, were drawn out, and stood to their arms. Though they had overcharged themselves with

eating, yet the wine they drank had given them fresh spirits; and they advanced, not in a wild and disorderly manner, or with a confused and inarticulate noise, but beating their arms at regular intervals, and all keeping time with the tune, they came on, crying out, *Ambrones! Ambrones!* This they did, either to encourage each other, or to terrify the enemy with their name. The Ligurians were the first of the Italians that moved against them; and when they heard the enemy cry Ambrones, they echoed back the word, which was, indeed, their own ancient name. Thus the shout was often returned from one army to the other, before they charged, and the officers on both sides joining in it, and striving which should pronounce the word loudest, added by this means to the courage and impetuosity of their troops.

The Ambrones were obliged to pass the river, and this broke their order; so that, before they could form again, the Ligurians charged the foremost of them, and thus began the battle. The Romans came to support the Ligurians, and pouring down from the higher ground, pressed the enemy so hard, that they soon put them in disorder.—Many of them jostling each other on the banks of the river, were slain there, and the river itself was filled with dead bodies. Those who were got safe over, not daring to make head, were cut off by the Romans, as they fled to their camp and carriages. There the women meeting them with swords and axes, and setting up a horrid and hideous cry, fell upon the fugitives as well as the pursuers, the former as traitors, and the latter as enemies. Mingling with the combatants, they laid hold on the Roman shields, catched at their swords with their naked hands, and obstinately suffered themselves to be hacked in pieces. Thus the battle is said to have been fought on the banks of the river, rather by accident than any design of the general.

The Romans, after having destroyed so many of the Ambrones, retired as it grew dark; but the camp did not resound with songs of victory, as might have been expected upon such success. There were no entertainments, no mirth in the tents, nor, what is the most agreeable circumstance to the soldier after victory, any sound and refreshing sleep. The night was passed in the greatest dread and perplexity. The camp was without trench or rampart. There remained yet many myriads of the barbarians unconquered; and such of the Ambrones as escaped, mixing with them, a cry was heard all night, not like the sighs and groans of men, but like the howling and bellowing of wild beasts. As this proceeded from such an innumerable host, the neighbouring mountains, and the hollow banks of the river returned the sound, and the horrid din filled the whole plains. The Romans felt the impressions of terror, and Marius himself was

filled with astonishment at the apprehension of a tumultuous night engagement. However, the barbarians did not attack them, either that night or next day, but spent the time in consulting how to dispose and draw themselves up to the best advantage.

In the mean time, Marius observing the sloping hills and woody hollows that hung over the enemy's camp, despatched Claudius Marcellus with three thousand men, to lie in ambush there till the fight was begun, and then to fall upon the enemy's rear. The rest of his troops he ordered to sup, and go to rest in good time. Next morning, as soon as it was light, he drew up before the camp, and commanded the cavalry to march into the plain. The Teutones, seeing this, could not contain themselves, nor stay till all the Romans were come down into the plain, where they might fight them upon equal terms; but arming hastily, through thirst of vengeance, advanced up to the hill. Marius despatched his officers through the whole army, with orders that they should stand still and wait for the enemy. When the barbarians were within reach, the Romans were to throw their javelins, then come to sword in hand, and, pressing upon them with their shields, push them with all their force. For he knew the place was so slippery, that the enemy's blows could have no great weight, nor could they preserve any close order where the declivity of the ground continually changed their poise. At the same time that he gave these directions, he was the first that set the example; for he was inferior to none in personal agility, and in resolution he far exceeded them all.

The Romans, by their firmness and united charge, kept the barbarians from ascending the hill, and, by little and little, forced them down into the plain. There the foremost battalions were beginning to form again, when the utmost confusion discovered itself in the rear. For Marcellus, who had watched his opportunity, as soon as he found, by the noise which reached the hills where he lay, that the battle was begun, with great impetuosity and loud shouts fell upon the enemy's rear, and destroyed a considerable number of them.—The hindmost being pushed upon those before, the whole army was soon put in disorder. Thus attacked both in front and rear, they could not stand the double shock, but forsook their ranks and fled*. The Romans pursuing, either killed or took prisoners above a hundred thousand, and having made themselves masters of their tents, carriages, and baggage, voted as many of them as were not plundered, a present to Marius. This, indeed, was a noble recompence, yet it

* This victory was gained the second year of the hundred and sixty-ninth Olympiad; before Christ one hundred.

was thought very inadequate to the generalship he had shown in that great and imminent danger*.

Other historians give a different account both of the disposition of the spoils and the number of the slain. From these writers we learn, that the Massilians walled in their vineyards with the bones they found in the field; and that the rain which fell the winter following, soaking in the moisture of the putrefied bodies, the ground was so enriched by it, that it produced, the next season, a prodigious crop. Thus the opinion of Archilochus is confirmed, that *fields are fattened with blood*. It is observed, indeed, that extraordinary rains generally fall after great battles; whether it be that some deity chooses to wash and purify the earth with water from above, or whether the blood and corruption, by the moist and heavy vapours they emit, thicken the air, which is liable to be altered by the smallest cause.

After the battle, Marius selected from among the arms and other spoils such as were elegant and entire, and likely to make the greatest show in his triumph. The rest he piled together, and offered them as a splendid sacrifice to the gods. The army stood round the pile crowned with laurel; and himself, arrayed in his purple robe†, and girt after the manner of the Romans, took a lighted torch. He had just lifted it up with both hands towards heaven, and was going to set fire to the pile, when some friends were seen galloping towards him. Great silence and expectation followed. When they were come near, they leaped from their horses, and saluted Marius consul the fifth time, delivering him letters to the same purpose. This added great joy to the solemnity, which the soldiers expressed by acclamations, and by clanking their arms; and while the officers were presenting Marius with new crowns of laurel, he set fire to the pile, and finished the sacrifice.

But whatever it is that will not permit us to enjoy any great prosperity pure and unmixed, but chequers human life with a variety of good and evil, whether it be fortune or some chastising deity, or necessity, and the nature of things; a few days after this joyful solemnity, the sad news was brought to Marius of what had befallen his colleague Catulus: an event, which, like a cloud in the midst of a calm, brought fresh alarms upon Rome, and threatened her with

* And yet there does not appear any thing very extraordinary in the generalship of Marius on this occasion. The ignorance and rashness of the barbarians did every thing in his favour. The Teutones lost the battle, as Hawley lost it at Falkirk, by attempting the hills.

† Ipse quirinali trabeâ, cinctuque Gabino insignis.——*Virg.* Æneid 7.

another tempest. Catulus, who had the Cimbri to oppose, came to a resolution to give up the defence of the heights, lest he should weaken himself by being obliged to divide his forces into many parts. He therefore descended quickly from the Alps into Italy, and posted his army behind the river Athesis*, where he blocked up the fords with strong fortifications on both sides, and threw a bridge over it, that so he might be in a condition to succour the garrisons beyond it, if the barbarians should make their way through the narrow passes of the mountains, and attempt to storm them. The barbarians held their enemies in such contempt, and came on with so much insolence, that, rather to show their strength and courage than out of any necessity, they exposed themselves naked to the showers of snow; and having pushed through the ice and deep drifts of snow, to the tops of the mountains, they put their broad shields under them, and so slid down, in spite of the broken rocks, and vast slippery descents.

When they had encamped near the river, and taken a view of the channel, they determined to fill it up. Then they tore up the neighbouring hills like the giants of old; they pulled up trees by the roots; they broke off massy rocks, and rolled in huge heaps of earth. These were to dam up the current. Other bulky materials besides these were thrown in, to force away the bridge, which being carried down the stream with great violence, beat against the timber, and shook the foundation. At the sight of this the Roman soldiers were struck with terror, and great part of them quitted the camp and drew back. On this occasion, Catulus, like an able and excellent general, showed that he preferred the glory of his country to his own. For, when he found that he could not persuade his men to keep their post, and that they were deserting it in a very dastardly manner, he ordered his standard to be taken up, and running to the foremost of the fugitives, led them on himself, choosing that the disgrace should fall upon him rather than his country, and that his soldiers should not seem to fly, but to follow their general.

The barbarians now assaulted and took the fortress on the other side of the Athesis: but admiring the bravery of the garrison, who had behaved in a manner suitable to the glory of Rome, they dismissed them upon certain conditions, having first made them swear to them upon a brazen bull. In the battle that followed, this bull was taken among the spoils, and is said to have been carried to Catulus's house, as the first fruits of the victory. The country at present being without defence, the Cimbri spread themselves over it, and committed great depredations.

* Now the Adige.

Hereupon Marius was called home. When he arrived, every one expected that he would triumph, and the senate readily passed a decree for that purpose: however, he declined it; whether it was that he was unwilling to deprive his men, who had shared in the danger, of their part of the honour; or that, to encourage the people in the present extremity, he chose to intrust the glory of his former achievements with the fortune of Rome, in order to have it restored to him with interest upon his next success. Having made an oration suitable to the time, he went to join Catulus, who was much encouraged by his coming. He then sent for his army out of Gaul, and, when it was arrived, he crossed the Po, with a design to keep the barbarians from penetrating into the interior parts of Italy. But they deferred the combat, on pretence that they expected the Teutones, and that they wondered at their delay; either being really ignorant of their fate, or choosing to seem so: for they punished those who brought them that account with stripes; and sent to ask Marius for lands and cities sufficient both for them and their brethren. When Marius inquired of the ambassadors who their brethren were, they told him the Teutones. The assembly laughed, and Marius replied in a taunting manner: "Do not trouble yourselves about your brethren, for they have land enough, which we have already given them, and they shall have it for ever." The ambassadors, perceiving the irony, answered in sharp and scurrilous terms, assuring him, "That the Cimbri would chastise him immediately, and the Teutones when they came." "And they are not far off;" said Marius, "it will be very unkind, therefore, in you, to go away without saluting your brethren." At the same time, he ordered the kings of the Teutones to be brought out, loaded, as they were, with chains; for they had been taken by the Sequani, as they were endeavouring to escape over the Alps.

As soon as the ambassadors had acquainted the Cimbri with what had passed, they marched directly against Marius, who at that time lay still, and kept within his trenches. It is reported, that on this occasion he contrived a new form for the javelins. Till then they used to fasten the shaft to the iron head with two iron pins. But Marius, now letting one of them remain as it was, had the other taken out, and a weak wooden peg put in its place. By this contrivance he intended, that when the javelin stuck in the enemy's shield, it should not stand right out; but that the wooden peg breaking, and the iron pin bending, the shaft of the weapon should be dragged upon the ground, while the point stuck fast in the shield.

Boiorix, king of the Cimbri, came now with a small party of horse to the Roman camp, and challenged Marius to appoint the time and

place where they should meet and decide it, by arms, to whom the country should belong. Marius answered, "That the Romans never consulted their enemies when to fight; however, he would indulge the Cimbri in this point." Accordingly they agreed to fight the third day after, and that the plain of Vercellæ should be the field of battle, which was fit for the Roman cavalry to act in, and convenient for the barbarians to display their numbers.

Both parties kept their day, and drew up their forces over against each other. Catulus had under his command twenty thousand and three hundred men; Marius had thirty-two thousand. The latter were drawn up in the two wings, and Catulus was in the centre.—Sylla, who was present in the battle, gives us this account: and it is reported that Marius made this disposition in hopes of breaking the Cimbrian battalions with the wings only, and securing to himself and his soldiers the honour of the victory, before Catulus could have an opportunity to come up to the charge; it being usual, in a large front, for the wings to advance before the main body. This is confirmed by the defence which Catulus made of his own behaviour, in which he insisted much on the malignant designs of Marius against him.

The Cimbrian infantry marched out of their trenches without noise, and formed so as to have their flanks equal to their front, each side of the square extending to thirty furlongs. Their cavalry, to the number of fifteen thousand, issued forth in great splendour.—Their helmets represented the heads and open jaws of strange and frightful wild beasts; on these were fixed high plumes, which made the men appear taller. Their breast-plates were of polished iron, and their shields were white and glittering. Each man had two-edged darts to fight with at a distance, and, when they came hand to hand, they used broad and heavy swords. In this engagement they did not fall directly upon the front of the Romans, but wheeling to the right, they endeavoured by little and little to enclose the enemy between them and their infantry, who were posted on the left. The Roman generals perceived their artful design, but were not able to restrain their own men. One happened to cry out that the enemy fled, and they all set off upon the pursuit. In the mean time the barbarian foot came on like a vast sea. Marius having purified, lifted up his hands towards heaven, and vowed a hecatomb to the gods; and Catulus in the same posture, promised to consecrate a temple to the fortune of that day. As Marius sacrificed on this occasion, it is said, that the entrails were no sooner shown him, than he cried out with a loud voice, "The victory is mine!"

However, when the battle was joined, an accident happened,

which, as Sylla writes*, appeared to be intended by heaven to humble Marius. A prodigious dust, it seems, arose, which hid both armies. Marius, moving first to the charge, had the misfortune to miss the enemy, and, having passed by their army, wandered about with his troops a long time in the field. In the mean time, the good fortune of Catulus directed the enemy to him, and it was his legions (in which Sylla tells us he fought) to whose lot the chief conflict fell. The heat of the weather, and the sun which shone full in the face of the Cimbri, fought for the Romans. Those barbarians, being bred in shady and frozen countries, could bear the severest cold, but were not proof against heat. Their bodies soon ran down with sweat; they drew their breath with difficulty, and were forced to hold up their shields to shade their faces. Indeed this battle was fought not long after the summer solstice, and the Romans keep a festival for it on the third day of the kalends of August, then called Sextilis.—The dust, too, which hid the enemy, helped to encourage the Romans. For as they could have no distinct view of the vast number of their antagonists, they ran to the charge, and were come to close engagement, before the sight of such multitudes could give them any impression of terror. Besides, the Romans were so strengthened by labour and exercise, that not one of them was observed to sweat or be out of breath, notwithstanding the suffocating heat, and the violence of the encounter. So Catulus is said to have written, in commendation of his soldiers.

The greatest and best part of the enemy's troops were cut to pieces upon the spot; those who fought in the front fastened themselves together by long cords run through their belts†, to prevent their ranks from being broken. The Romans drove back the fugitives to their camp, where they found the most shocking spectacle. The women, standing in mourning by their carriages, killed those that fled; some their husbands, some their brothers, others their fathers. They strangled their little children with their own hands, and threw them under the wheels and horses feet. Last of all, they killed themselves. They tell us of one that was seen suspended from the top of a waggon, with a child hanging at each heel. The men, for want of trees, tied themselves by the neck, some to the horns of the oxen, others to their legs, and then pricked them on, that, by the starting of the beasts, they might be strangled or torn to pieces. But though they were so industrious to destroy themselves, above sixty thousand

* It is a misfortune that Catulus's history of his consulship, and a greater, that Sylla's Commentaries, are lost.

† This was an absurd contrivance to keep their ranks. But they intended also to have bound their prisoners with the cords after the battle.

were taken prisoners, and the killed were said to have been twice that number.

Marius's soldiers plundered the baggage; but the other spoils, with the ensigns and trumpets, they tell us, were brought to the camp of Catulus; and he availed himself chiefly of this, as a proof that the victory belonged to him. A hot dispute, it seems, arose between his troops and those of Marius, which had the best claim; and the ambassadors from Parma, who happened to be there, were chosen arbitrators. Catulus's soldiers led them to the field of battle, to see the dead, and clearly proved that they were killed by their javelins, because Catulus had taken care to have the shafts inscribed with his name. Nevertheless, the whole honour of the day was ascribed to Marius, on account of his former victory, and his present authority. Nay, such was the applause of the populace, that they called him *the third founder of* Rome, as having rescued her from a danger not less dreadful than that from the Gauls. In their rejoicings at home, with their wives and children, at supper, they offered libations to Marius along with the gods, and would have given him alone the honour of both triumphs. He declined this, indeed, and triumphed with Catulus, being desirous to show his moderation, after such extraordinary instances of success. Or perhaps he was afraid of some opposition from Catulus's soldiers, who might not have suffered him to triumph, if he had deprived their general of his share of the honour.

In this manner his fifth consulate was passed And now he aspired to a sixth, with more ardour than any man had ever shown for his first. He courted the people, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the meanest of them, by such servile condescensions as were not only unsuitable to his dignity, but even contrary to his disposition; assuming an air of gentleness and complaisance, for which nature never meant him. It is said, that in civil affairs, and the tumultuous proceedings of the populace, his ambition had given him an uncommon timidity. That intrepid firmness which he discovered in battle, forsook him in the assemblies of the people, and the least breath of praise or dislike disconcerted him in his address. Yet we are told, that when he had granted the freedom of the city to a thousand Camerians, who had distinguished themselves by their behaviour in the wars, and his proceeding was found fault with as contrary to law, he said, "The law spoke too softly to be heard amidst the din of arms." However, the noise that he dreaded, and that robbed him of his presence of mind, was that of popular assemblies. In war he easily obtained the highest rank, because they could not do without him; but in the administration, he was sometimes in danger

of losing the honours he solicited. In these cases he had recourse to the partiality of the multitude, and had no scruple in making his honesty subservient to his ambition.

By these means he made himself obnoxious to all the patricians. But he was most afraid of Metellus, whom he had treated with ingratitude. Besides, Metellus was a man who, from a spirit of true virtue, was naturally an enemy to those who endeavoured to gain the populace by evil arts, and directed all their measures to please them. Marius, therefore, was very desirous to get him out of the way. For this purpose he associated with Glaucias and Saturninus, two of the most daring and turbulent men in Rome, who had the indigent and seditious part of the people at their command. By their assistance he got several laws enacted; and having planted many of his soldiers in the assemblies, his faction prevailed, and Metellus was overborne.

Rutilius*, in other respects a man of credit and veracity, but particularly prejudiced against Marius, tells us, he obtained his sixth consulate by large sums which he distributed among the tribes; and, having thrown out Metellus by dint of money, prevailed with them to elect Valerius Flaccus, rather his servant than his colleague. The people had never before bestowed so many consulates on any one man, except Valerius Corvinus†. And there was this great difference, that, between the first and sixth consulate of Corvinus, there was an interval of forty-five years; whereas Marius, after his first, was carried through five more, without interruption, by one tide of fortune.

In the last of these he exposed himself to much hatred, by abetting Saturninus in all his crimes; particularly in his murder of Nonius, whom he slew because he was his competitor for the tribuneship. Saturninus, being appointed tribune of the people, proposed an agrarian law, in which there was a clause expressly providing, "That the senate should come and swear, in full assembly, to confirm whatever the people should decree, and not oppose them in any thing." Marius, in the senate, pretended to declare against this clause, asserting that "He would never take such an oath, and that

* P. Rutilius Rufus was consul the year before the second consulship of Marius. He wrote his own life in Latin, and a Roman history in Greek. Cicero mentions him on several occasions as a man of honour and probity. He was exiled six or seven years after this sixth consulship of Marius. Sylla would have recalled him, but he refused to return.

† Valerius Corvinus was elected consul, when he was only twenty-three years of age, in the year of Rome four hundred and six; and he was appointed the sixth time in the year of Rome four hundred and fifty-two.

he believed no wise man would. For supposing the law not a bad one, it would be a disgrace to the senate to be compelled to give sanction to a thing which they should be brought to only by choice or persuasion."

These, however, were not his real sentiments; but he was laying for Metellus an unavoidable snare. As to himself, he reckoned that a great part of virtue and prudence consisted in dissimulation, therefore he made but small account of his declaration in the senate. At the same time, knowing Metellus to be a man of immoveable firmness, who, with Pindar, esteemed *truth the spring of heroic virtue*, he hoped, by refusing the oath himself, to draw him in to refuse it too; which would infallibly expose him to the implacable resentment of the people. The event answered his expectation. Upon Metellus's declaring that he would not take the oath, the senate was dismissed. A few days after, Saturninus summoned the fathers to appear in the *forum*, and swear to that article, and Marius made his appearance among the rest. A profound silence ensued, and all eyes were fixed upon him, when, bidding adieu to the fine things he had said in the senate, he told the audience, "That he was not so opinionated as to pretend absolutely to prejudge a matter of such importance, and therefore he would take the oath, and keep the law too, provided it was a law." This proviso he added merely to give a colour to his impudence, and was sworn immediately*.

The people, charmed with his compliance, expressed their sense of it in loud acclamations, while the patricians were abashed, and held his double dealing in the highest detestation. Intimidated by the people, they took the oath, however, in their order, till it came to Metellus. But Metellus, though his friends exhorted and entreated him to be conformable, and not expose himself to those dreadful penalties which Saturninus had provided for such as refused, shrunk not from the dignity of his resolution, nor took the oath. That great man abode by his principles; he was ready to suffer the greatest calamities rather than do a dishonourable thing; and as he quitted the *forum*, he said to those about him, "To do an ill action is base; to do a good one, which involves you in no danger, is nothing more than common; but it is the property of a good man to do great and good things, though he risks every thing by it."

* Thus Marius made the first step towards the ruin of the Roman constitution, which happened not long after. If the senate were to swear to confirm whatever the people should decree, whether good or bad, they ceased to have a weight in the scale, and the government became a democracy. And as the people grew so corrupt as to take the highest price that was offered them, absolute power must be advancing with hasty strides. Indeed, a nation which has no principle of public virtue left, is not fit to be governed by any other.

Saturninus then caused a decree to be made, that the consuls should declare Metellus a person interdicted the use of fire and water, whom no man should admit into his house. And the meanest of the people, adhering to that party, were ready even to assassinate him. The nobility, now anxious for Metellus, ranged themselves on his side; but he would suffer no sedition on his account. Instead of that, he adopted a wise measure, which was to leave the city. "For," said he, "either matters will take a better turn, and the people repent and recal me, or, if they remain the same, it will be best to be at a distance from Rome." What regard and what honours were paid Metellus during his banishment, and how he lived at Rhodes, in the study of philosophy, it will be more convenient to mention in his life.

Marius was so highly obliged to Saturninus for this last piece of service, that he was forced to connive with him, though he now ran out into every act of insolence and outrage. He did not consider that he was giving the reins to a destroying fury, who was making his way in blood to absolute power and subversion of the state. All this while Marius was desirous to keep fair with the nobility, and at the same time to retain the good graces of the people; and this led him to act a part, than which nothing can be conceived more ungenerous and deceitful. One night some of the first men in the state came to his house, and pressed him to declare against Saturninus: but at that very time he let in Saturninus at another door, unknown to them.—Then pretending a disorder in his bowels, he went from one party to the other; and this trick he played several times over, still exasperating both against each other. At last the senate and the equestrian order rose in a body, and expressed their indignation in such strong terms, that he was obliged to send a party of soldiers into the *forum* to suppress the sedition. Saturninus, Glaucias, and the rest of the cabal, fled into the capitol. There they were besieged, and at last forced to yield for want of water, the pipes being cut off. When they could hold out no longer, they called for Marius, and surrendered themselves to him upon the public faith. He tried every art to save them, but nothing would avail; they no sooner came down into the *forum*, than they were all put to the sword*. He was now become equally odious both to the nobility and the commons, so that when the time for the election of censors came on, contrary to expectation, he declined offering himself, and permitted others of less note to be chosen. But though it was his fear of a repulse that made him sit still, he gave it another colour, pre-

* The people despatched them with clubs and stones.

tending he did not choose to make himself obnoxious to the people by a severe inspection into their lives and manners.

An edict was now proposed for the recal of Metellus, Marius opposed it with all his power; but, finding his endeavours fruitless, he gave up the point, and the people passed the bill with pleasure. Unable to bear the sight of Metellus, he contrived to take a voyage to Cappadocia and Galatia, under pretence of offering some sacrifices which he had vowed to the mother of the gods. But he had another reason which was not known to the people. Incapable of making any figure in peace, and unversed in political knowledge, he saw that all his greatness arose from war, and that, in a state of inaction, its lustre began to fade. He therefore studied to raise new commotions. If he could but stir up the Asiatic kings, and particularly Mithridates, who seemed most inclined to quarrel, he hoped soon to be appointed general against him, and to have an opportunity to fill the city with new triumphs, as well as to enrich his own house with the spoils of Pontus, and the wealth of its monarch. For this reason, though Mithridates treated him in the politest and most respectful manner, he was not in the least mollified, but addressed him in the following terms: "Mithridates, your business is either to render yourself more powerful than the Romans, or to submit quietly to their commands." The king was quite amazed. He had often heard of the liberty of speech that prevailed among the Romans, but that was the first time he experienced it.

At his return to Rome he built a house near the *forum*, either for the convenience of those who wanted to wait on him, which was the reason he assigned, or because he hoped to have a greater concourse of people at his gates. In this, however, he was mistaken. He had not those graces of conversation, that engaging address, which others were masters of; and therefore, like a mere implement of war, he was neglected in time of peace. He was not so much concerned at the preference given to others, but that which Sylla had gained afflicted him exceedingly; because he was rising by means of the envy which the patricians bore *him*, and his first step to the administration was a quarrel with him. But when Bocchus, king of Numidia, now declared an ally of the Romans, erected in the capitol some figures of victory adorned with trophies, and placed by them a set of golden statues, which represented him delivering Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla, Marius was almost distracted. He considered this as an act by which Sylla wanted to rob him of the glory of his achievements, and prepared to demolish these monuments by force. Sylla, on his part, as strenuously opposed him.

This sedition was just upon the point of flaming out, when the

war of the allies intervened*, and put a stop to it. The most warlike and most populous nations of Italy conspired against Rome, and were not far from subverting the empire. Their strength consisted not only in the weapons and valour of their soldiers, but in the courage and capacity of their generals, who were not inferior to those of Rome.

This war, so remarkable for the number of battles and the variety of fortune that attended it, added as much to the reputation of Sylla as it diminished that of Marius. The latter now seemed slow in his attacks, as well as dilatory in his resolutions; whether it were that age had quenched his martial heat and vigour, (for he was now above sixty-five years old) or that, as he himself said, his nerves being weak, and his body unwieldy, he underwent the fatigues of war, which were in fact above his strength, merely upon a point of honour.—However, he beat the enemy in a great battle, wherein he killed at least six thousand of them, and, through the whole, he took care to give them no advantage over him. Nay, he suffered them to draw a line about him, to ridicule, and challenge him to the combat, without being in the least concerned at it. It is reported, that when Popedius Silo, an officer of the greatest eminence and authority among the allies, said to him, "If you are a great general, Marius, come down and fight us;" he answered, "If you are a great general, Silo, make me come down and fight." Another time, when the enemy gave the Romans a good opportunity of attacking them, and they were afraid to embrace it, after both parties were retired, he called his soldiers together, and made this short speech to them: "I know not which to call the greatest cowards, the enemy or you; for neither dare they face your backs, nor you theirs." At last, pretending to be incapacitated for the service by his infirmities, he laid down the command.

Yet, when the war with the confederates drew to an end, and several applications were made, through the popular orators, for the command against Mithridates, the tribune Sulpitius, a bold and daring man, contrary to all expectation, brought forth Marius, and nominated him pro-consul and general in the Mithridatic war. The people, upon this, were divided, some accepting Marius, while others called for Sylla, and bid Marius go to the warm baths of Baiæ for cure, since, by his own confession, he was quite worn out with age and defluxions. It seems Marius had a fine villa at Misenum, more luxuriously and effeminately furnished than became a man who had been at the head of so many armies, and had directed so many

* This was also called the Marsian war. It broke out in the six hundred and sixty-second year of Rome. Vid. *Flor.* lib. iii. c. 18.

campaigns. Cornelia is said to have bought this house for seventy-five thousand drachmas; yet not long after, Lucius Lucullus gave for it five hundred thousand two hundred: to such a height did expense and luxury rise in the course of a few years.

Marius, however, affecting to shake off the infirmities of age, went every day into the *Campus Martius*, where he took the most robust exercises along with the young men, and showed himself nimble in his arms, and active on horseback, though his years had now made him heavy and corpulent. Some were pleased with these things, and were to see the spirit he exerted in the exercises. But the more sensible sort of people, when they beheld it, could not help pitying the avarice and ambition of a man who, though raised from poverty to opulence, and from the meanest condition to greatness, knew not how to set bounds to his good fortune. It shocked them to think that this man, instead of being happy in the admiration he had gained, and enjoying his present possessions in peace, as if he were in want of all things, was going, at so great an age, and after so many honours and triumphs, to Cappadocia and the Euxine sea, to fight with Archelaus and Neoptolemus, the lieutenants of Mithridates. As for the reason that Marius assigned for this step, namely, that he wanted himself to train up his son to war, it was perfectly trifling.

The commonwealth had been sickly for some time, and now her disorder came to a crisis. Marius had found a fit instrument for her ruin in the audacity of Sulpitius; a man who, in other respects, admired and imitated Saturninus, but considered him as too timid and dilatory in his proceedings. Determined to commit no such error, he got six hundred men of the equestrian order about him as his guard, whom he called his *Anti-senate*.

One day while the consuls were holding an assembly of the people*, Sulpitius came upon them with his assassins. The consuls immediately fled, but he seized the son of one of them, and killed him on the spot.—Sylla (the other consul) was pursued, but escaped into the house of Marius, which nobody thought of; and, when the pursuers were gone by, it is said that Marius himself let him out at a back gate, from whence he got safe to the camp. But Sylla, in his commentaries, denies that he fled to the house of Marius. He writes, that he was taken thither to debate about certain edicts which they wanted him to pass against his will: that he was surrounded with drawn swords, and carried forcibly to that house: and that at last he was removed from thence to the *forum*, where he was com-

* Sylla and Pompeius Rufus were consuls. It was the son of the latter that was slain.

pelled to revoke the order of vacation *, which had been issued by him and his colleague.

Sulpitius, now carrying all before him, decreed the command of the army to Marius; and Marius, preparing for his march, sent two tribunes to Sylla, with orders that he should deliver up the army to them. But Sylla, instead of resigning his charge, animated his troops to revenge, and led them, to the number of thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, directly against Rome. As for the tribunes whom Marius had sent to demand the army of Sylla, they fell upon them and cut them in pieces. Marius, on the other hand, put to death many of Sylla's friends in Rome, and proclaimed liberty to all slaves that would take up arms in his behalf. But, we are told, there were but three that accepted this offer. He could, therefore, make but a slight resistance; Sylla soon entered the city, and Marius was forced to fly for his life.

As soon as he had quitted Rome, he was abandoned by those that accompanied him. They dispersed themselves as they could, and, night coming on, he retired to a little house he had near Rome, called Salonium. Thence he sent his son to some neighbouring farms of his father-in-law Mutius to provide necessaries. However, he did not wait for his return, but went down to Ostia, where a friend of his, called Numerius, had prepared him a ship, and embarked, having with him only Granius, his wife's son by a former husband.

When young Marius had reached his grandfather's estate, he hastened to collect such things as he wanted, and to pack them up. But, before he could make an end, he was overtaken by day-light, and was near being discovered by the enemy; for a party of horse had hastened thither, on suspicion that Marius might be lurking thereabouts. The bailiff of those grounds got sight of them in time, and hid the young man in a cart-load of beans. Then he put to his team, and, driving up to the party of horsemen, passed on to Rome. Thus young Marius was conveyed to his wife, who supplied him with some necessaries; and, as soon as it grew dark, he made for the sea, where, finding a ship ready to sail for Africa, he embarked, and passed over to that country.

In the mean time, the elder Marius with a favourable gale coasted Italy. But being afraid of falling into the hands of Geminius, a leading man in Tarracina, who was his professed enemy, he directed the mariners to keep clear of that place. The mariners were willing

* If that order had not been revoked, no public business could have been done; consequently Marius could not have been appointed to the command against Mithridates.

enough to oblige him; but the wind shifting on a sudden, and blowing hard from sea, they were afraid they should not be able to weather the storm. Besides, Marius was indisposed and sea-sick; they concluded therefore to make land, and with great difficulty got to Circæum. There, finding that the tempest increased, and their provisions began to fail, they went on shore, and wandered up and down, they knew not whither. Such is the method taken by persons in great perplexity; they shun the present as the greatest evil, and seek for hope in the dark events of futurity. The land was their enemy, the sea was the same: it was dangerous to meet with men; it was dangerous also not to meet with them, because of their extreme want of provisions. In the evening they met with a few herdsmen, who had nothing to give them: but happening to know Marius, they desired he would immediately quit those parts, for a little before they had seen a number of horse upon that very spot riding about in search of him. He was now involved in all manner of distress, and those about him ready to give out through hunger. In this extremity he turned out of the road, and threw himself into a thick wood, where he passed the night in great anxiety. Next day, in distress for want of refreshment, and willing to make use of the little strength he had, before it quite forsook him, he moved down to the sea-side. As he went, he encouraged his companions not to desert him, and earnestly entreated them to wait for the accomplishment of his last hope, for which he reserved himself upon the credit of some old prophecies. He told them, that when he was very young, and lived in the country, an eagle's nest fell into his lap, with seven young ones in it*. His parents, surprised at the sight, applied to the diviners, who answered, that their son would be the most illustrious of men, and that he would seven times attain the highest office and authority in his country.

Some say this had actually happened to Marius; others are of opinion, that the persons who were then about him, and heard him relate it on that as well as several other occasions during his exile, gave credit to it, and committed it to writing, though nothing could be more fabulous. For an eagle has not more than two young ones at a time. Nay, even Musæus is accused of a false assertion, when he says, *The eagle lays three eggs, sits on two, and hatches but one.* However this may be, it is agreed on all hands that Marius, during his banishment, and in the greatest extremities, often said, "He should certainly come to a seventh consulship."

They were not above two miles and a half from the city of Min-

* Marius might as well avail himself of this fable as of the prophecies of Martha.

turnæ, when they espied at some considerable distance a troop of horse making towards them, and at the same time happened to see two barks sailing near the shore. They ran down, therefore, to the sea with all the speed and strength they had; and when they had reached it, plunged in, and swam towards the ships. Granius gained one of them, and passed over to an opposite island, called Ænaria. As for Marius, who was very heavy and unwieldy, he was borne with much difficulty by two servants above the water, and put into the other ship. The party of horse were by this time come to the sea-side, from whence they called to the ship's crew either to put ashore immediately, or else to throw Marius overboard, and then they might go where they pleased. Marius begged of them with tears to save him; and the masters of the vessels, after consulting together a few moments, in which they changed their opinions several times, resolved to make answer, "That they would not deliver up Marius." Upon this, the soldiers rode off in great rage; and the sailors, soon departing from their resolution, made for land. They cast anchor in the mouth of the river Liris, where it overflows and forms a marsh, and advised Marius, who was much harassed, to go and refresh himself on shore, till they could get a better wind. This, they said, would happen at a certain hour, when the wind from the sea would fall, and that from the marshes rise. Marius believing them, they helped him ashore; and he seated himself on the grass, little thinking of what was going to befal him. For the crew immediately went on board again, weighed anchor, and sailed away; thinking it neither honourable to deliver up Marius, nor safe to protect him.

Thus deserted by all the world, he sat a good while on the shore in silent stupefaction. At length recovering himself, with much difficulty, he rose and walked in a disconsolate manner through those wild and devious places, till, by scrambling over deep bogs and ditches full of water and mud, he came to the cottage of an old man who worked in the fens. He threw himself at his feet, and begged him "to save and shelter a man, who, if he escaped the present danger, would reward him far beyond his hopes." The cottager, whether he knew him before, or was then moved with his venerable aspect, told him, "His hut would be sufficient, if he wanted only to repose himself; but if he was wandering about to elude the search of his enemies, he would hide him in a place much safer and more retired." Marius desiring him to do so, the poor man took him into the fens, and bade him hide himself in a hollow place by the river, where he laid upon him a quantity of reeds and other light things, that would cover, but not oppress him.

In a short time, however, he was disturbed with a tumultuous

noise from the cottage. For Geminius had sent a number of men from Tarracina in pursuit of him; and one party coming that way, loudly threatened the old man for having entertained and concealed an enemy of the Romans. Marius, upon this, quitted the cave, and, having stripped himself, plunged into the bog amidst the thick water and mud. This expedient rather discovered than screened him. They hauled him out naked, and covered with dirt, and carried him to Minturnæ, where they delivered him to the magistrates: for proclamation had been made through all those towns, that a general search should be made for Marius, and that he should be put to death wherever he was found. The magistrates, however, thought proper to consider of it, and sent him under a guard to the house of Fannia. This woman had an inveterate aversion to Marius. When she was divorced from her husband Tinnius, she demanded her whole fortune, which was considerable, and Tinnius alleging adultery, the cause was brought before Marius, who was then consul for the sixth time. Upon the trial it appeared that Fannia was a woman of bad fame before her marriage, and that Tinnius was no stranger to her character when he married her. Besides, he had lived with her a considerable time in the state of matrimony. The consul, of course, reprimanded them both. The husband was ordered to restore his wife's fortune, and the wife, as a proper mark of her disgrace, was sentenced to pay a fine of four drachmas.

Fannia, however, forgetful of female resentment, entertained and encouraged Marius to the utmost of her power. He acknowledged her generosity, and at the same time expressed the greatest vivacity and confidence. The occasion of this was an auspicious omen. When he was conducted to her house, as he approached, and the gate was opened, an ass came out to drink at a neighbouring fountain. The animal, with a vivacity uncommon to its species, fixed its eyes steadfastly on Marius, then brayed aloud, and, as it passed him, skipped wantonly along. The conclusion which he drew from this omen was, that the gods meant he should seek his safety by sea; for that it was not in consequence of any natural thirst that the ass went to the fountain*. This circumstance he mentioned to Fannia, and having ordered the door of his chamber to be secured, he went to rest.

However, the magistrates and council of Minturnæ concluded that Marius should immediately be put to death. No citizen would undertake this office; but a dragoon, either a Gaul or a Cimbrian (for both are mentioned in history), went up to him sword in hand, with

* All that was extraordinary in this circumstance was, that the ass, like the sheep, is seldom seen to drink.

an intent to despatch him. The chamber in which he lay was somewhat gloomy, and a light, they tell you, glanced from the eyes of Marius, which darted on the face of the assassin; while, at the same time, he heard a solemn voice saying, "Dost thou dare to kill Marius?" Upon this, the assassin threw down his sword and fled, crying, "I cannot kill Marius." The people of Minturnæ were struck with astonishment—pity and remorse ensued—should they put to death the preserver of Italy? was it not even a disgrace to them that they did not contribute to his relief? "Let him go," said they, "let the exile go and await his destiny in some other region! It is time we should deprecate the anger of the gods, who have refused the poor, the naked wanderer, the common privileges of hospitality!" Under the influence of this enthusiasm, they immediately conducted him to the sea-coast. Yet in the midst of their officious expedition, they met with some delay. The Marician grove, which they hold sacred, and suffer nothing that enters it to be removed, lay immediately in their way; consequently they could not pass through it, and to go round it would be tedious. At last an old man of the company cried out, that no place, however religious, was inaccessible, if it could contribute to the preservation of Marius. No sooner had he said this, than he took some of the baggage in his hand, and marched through the place. The rest followed with the same alacrity, and when Marius came to the sea-coast, he found a vessel provided for him by one Belæeus. Some time after he presented a picture representing this event to the temple of Marica*. When Marius set sail, the wind drove him to the island of Æneria, where he found Granius and some other friends, and with them he sailed for Africa. Being in want of fresh water, they were obliged to put in at Sicily, where the Roman quæstor kept such strict watch, that Marius very narrowly escaped, and no fewer than sixteen of the watermen were killed. From thence he immediately sailed for the island of Meninx, where he first heard that his son had escaped with Cethegus, and was gone to implore the succour of Hiempsal, king of Numidia. This gave him some encouragement, and immediately he ventured for Carthage.

The Roman governor in Africa was Sextilius. He had neither received favour nor injury from Marius, but the exile hoped for something from his pity. He was just landed with a few of his men, when an officer came and thus addressed him: "Marius, I come from the prætor Sextilius to tell you, that he forbids you to set foot in Africa. If you obey not, he will support the senate's decree."

* Virgil mentions this nymph, Æn. 7.

"Et Nympha genitum Laurente Marica."

and treat you as a public enemy." Marius, upon hearing this, was struck dumb with grief and indignation. He uttered not a word for some time, but stood regarding the officer with a menacing aspect. At length the officer asked him, what answer he should carry to the governor. "Go and tell him," said the unfortunate man, with a sigh, "that thou hast seen the exiled Marius sitting on the ruins of Carthage*." Thus, in the happiest manner in the world, he proposed the fate of that city and his own, as warnings to the prætor.

In the mean time Hiempsal, king of Numidia, was unresolved how to act with respect to young Marius. He treated him in an honourable manner at his court, but, whenever he desired leave to depart, found some pretence or other to detain him. At the same time it was plain that these delays did not proceed from any intention of serving him. An accident, however, set him free. The young man was handsome. One of the king's concubines was affected with his misfortunes. Pity soon turned to love. At first he rejected the woman's advances. But when he saw no other way to gain his liberty, and found that her regards were rather delicate than gross, he accepted the tender of her heart, and by her means escaped with his friends, and came to his father.

After the first salutations, as they walked along the shore, they saw two scorpions fighting. This appeared to Marius an ill omen; they went, therefore, on board a fishing-boat, and made for Cercina, an island not far distant from the continent. They were scarce got out to sea, when they saw a party of the king's horse coming at full speed towards the place where they embarked: so that Marius thought he never escaped a more instant danger.

He was now informed, that while Sylla was engaged in Bœotia with the lieutenants of Mithridates, a quarrel had happened between the consuls at Rome†, and that they had recourse to arms. Octavius, having the advantage, drove out Cinna, who was aiming at absolute power, and appointed Cornelius Merula consul in his room. Cinna collected forces in other parts of Italy, and maintained the war against them. Marius, upon this news, determined to hasten to Cinna. He took with him some Marusian horse, which he had levied in Africa, and a few others that were come to him from Italy, in all not amounting to above a thousand men, and with this handful began his voyage. He arrived at a port of Tuscany called Telamon, and, as soon as he was landed, proclaimed liberty to the slaves.

* There is not, perhaps, any thing nobler, or a greater proof of genius, than this saying, in Marius's whole life.

† The year of Rome six hundred and sixty-six, and eighty-five years before Christ. Cinna was for recalling the exiles, and Octavius was against it.

The name of Marius brought down numbers of freemen too, husbandmen, shepherds, and such like, to the shore; the ablest of which he inlisted, and in a short time had a great army on foot, with which he filled forty ships. He knew Octavius to be a man of good principles, and disposed to govern agreeably to justice; but Cinna was obnoxious to his enemy Sylla, and at that time in open war against the established government. He resolved, therefore, to join Cinna with all his forces. Accordingly he sent to acquaint him, that he considered him as consul, and was ready to obey his commands. Cinna accepted his offer, declared him pro-consul, and sent him the *fasces* and other ensigns of authority. But Marius declined them, alleging that such pomp did not become his ruined fortune. Instead of that, he wore a mean garment, and let his hair grow as it had done from the day of his exile. He was now, indeed, upwards of seventy years old, but he walked with a pace affectedly slow. This appearance was intended to excite compassion. Yet his native fierceness, and something more, might be distinguished amidst all this look of misery; and it was evident that he was not so much humbled as exasperated by his misfortunes.

When he had saluted Cinna, and made a speech to the army, he immediately began his operations, and soon changed the face of affairs. In the first place, he cut off the enemy's convoys with his fleet, plundered their store-ships, and made himself master of the bread-corn. In the next place, he coasted along, and seized the seaport towns. At last Ostia itself was betrayed to him. He pillaged the town, slew most of the inhabitants, and threw a bridge over the Tiber, to prevent the carrying of any provisions to Rome by sea. Then he marched to Rome, and posted himself upon the hill called Janiculum.

Meanwhile, the cause did not suffer so much by the incapacity of Octavius, as by his anxious and unseasonable attention to the laws; for, when many of his friends advised him to enfranchise the slaves, he said, "He would not grant such persons the freedom of that city, in defence of whose constitution he shut out Marius."

But upon the arrival of Metellus, the son of that Metellus who commanded in the African war, and was afterwards banished by Marius, the army within the walls, leaving Octavius, applied to him as the better officer, and entreated him to take the command; adding, that they should fight and conquer, when they had got an able and active general. Metellus, however, rejected their suit with indignation, and bade them go back to the consul; instead of which, they went over to the enemy. At the same time Metellus withdrew, giving up the city for lost.

As for Octavius, he stayed at the persuasion of certain Chaldæan diviners and expositors of the Sibylline books, who promised him that all would be well. Octavius was indeed one of the most upright men among the Romans: he supported his dignity as consul without giving any ear to flatterers, and regarded the laws and ancient usuages of his country as rules never to be departed from. Yet he had all the weakness of superstition, and spent more of his time with fortune-tellers and prognosticators, than with men of political or military abilities. However, before Marius entered the city, Octavius was dragged from the tribunal, and slain by persons commissioned for that purpose, and it is said that a Chaldæan scheme was found in his bosom as he lay. It seems unaccountable, that of two such generals as Marius and Octavius, the one should be saved, and the other ruined, by a confidence in divination.

While affairs were in this posture, the senate assembled, and sent some of their own body to Cinna and Marius, with a request that they should come into the city, but spare the inhabitants. Cinna, as consul, received them, sitting in the chair of state, and gave them an obliging answer. But Marius stood by the consul's chair, and spoke not a word. He showed, however, by the gloominess of his look, and the menacing sense of his eye, that he would soon fill the city with blood. Immediately after this, they moved forward towards Rome. Cinna entered the city with a strong guard; but Marius stopped at the gates, with a dissimulation dictated by his resentment. He said, "He was a banished man, and the laws prohibited his return. If his country wanted his service, she must repeal the law which drove him into exile;" as if he had a real regard for the laws, or was entering a city still in possession of its liberty.

The people, therefore, were summoned to assemble for that purpose. But, before three or four tribes had given their suffrages, he put off the mask, and, without waiting for the formality of a repeal, entered with a guard selected from the slaves that had repaired to his standard. These he called his Bardiæans*. At the least word or sign given by Marius, they murdered all whom he marked for destruction. So that when Ancharius, a senator, and a man of prætorian dignity, saluted Marius, and he returned not the salutation, they killed him in his presence. After this, they considered it as a signal to kill any man who saluted Marius in the streets, and was not taken any notice of: so that his very friends were seized with horror, whenever they went to pay their respects to him.

When they had butchered great numbers, Cinna's revenge began

* M. de Thou conjectured that we should read Bardyetæ, because there was a fierce and barbarous people in Spain of that name. Some manuscripts have Ortiæans.

to pall: it was satiated with blood.—But the fury of Marius seemed rather to increase: his appetite for slaughter was sharpened by indulgence, and he went on destroying all who gave him the least shadow of suspicion. Every road, every town was full of assassins, pursuing and hunting the unhappy victims.

On this occasion it was found, that no obligations of friendship, no rights of hospitality, can stand the shock of bad fortune. For there were very few who did not betray those that had taken refuge in their houses. The slaves of Cornutus, therefore, deserve the highest admiration. They hid their master in the house, and took a dead body out of the street from among the slain, and hanged it by the neck: then they put a gold ring on the finger, and showed the corpse in that condition to Marius's executioners; after which they dressed it for the funeral, and buried it as their master's body. No one suspected the matter; and Cornutus, after being concealed as long as it was necessary, was conveyed by those servants into Galatia.

Mark Antony, the orator, likewise found a faithful friend, but did not save his life by it. This friend of his was in a low station of life; however, as he had one of the greatest men of Rome under his roof, he entertained him in the best manner he could, and often sent to a neighbouring tavern for wine to him. The vintner finding that the servant who fetched it was something of a connoisseur in tasting the wine, and insisted on having better, asked him, "Why he was not satisfied with the common new wine he used to have, but wanted the best and the dearest?" The servant, in the simplicity of his heart, told him, as his friend and acquaintance, that the wine was for Mark Antony, who lay concealed in his master's house. As soon as he was gone, the knowing vintner went himself to Marius, who was then at supper, and told him he could put Antony into his power: upon which, Marius clapped his hands in the agitation of joy, and would even have left his company, and gone to the place himself, had not he been dissuaded by his friends. However, he sent an officer, named Annius, with some soldiers, and ordered him to bring the head of Antony. When they came to the house, Annius stood at the door, while the soldiers got up by a ladder into Antony's chamber. When they saw him, they encouraged each other to the execution; but such was the power of his eloquence, when he pleaded for his life, that, so far from laying hands upon him, they stood motionless with dejected eyes, and wept. During this delay, Annius goes up, beholds Antony addressing the soldiers, and the soldiers confounded by the force of his address. Upon this, he reproved them for their weakness, and with his own hand cut off the orator's head. Lutatius Catulus, the colleague of Marius, who had jointly

triumphed with him over the Cimbri, finding that every intercessor effort was vain, shut himself up in a narrow chamber, and suffere himself to be suffocated by the steam of a large coal fire. When th bodies were thrown out, and trod upon in the streets, it was not pit they excited; it was horror and dismay. But what shocked the peo ple much more, was the conduct of the Bardiæans, who, after the had murdered the masters of families, exposed the nakedness of the children, and indulged their passions with their wives; in short, the violence and rapacity were beyond all restraint, till Cinna and Serto rius determined in council to fall upon them in their sleep, and cu them off to a man.

At this time the tide of affairs took a sudden turn. News wa brought that Sylla had put an end to the Mithridatic war, and that after having reduced the provinces, he was returning to Rome wit a large army. This gave a short respite, a breathing from these in expressible troubles, as the apprehensions of war had been univer sally prevalent. Marius was now chosen consul the seventh time and as he was walking out on the kalends of January, the first day c the year, he ordered Sextus Lucinus to be seized, and thrown dow the Tarpeian rock; a circumstance which occasioned an unhapp presage of approaching evils. The consul himself, worn out with series of misfortunes and distress, found his faculties fail, and trem bled at the approach of wars and conflicts. For he considered the it was not an Octavius, a Merula, the desperate leaders of a sma sedition, he had to contend with, but Sylla, the conqueror of Mith ridates, and the banisher of Marius. Thus agitated, thus revolvin the miseries, the flights, the dangers he had experienced both b land and sea, his inquietude affected him even by night, and a voic seemed continually to pronounce in his ear,

Dread are the slumbers of the distant lion.

Unable to support the painfulness of watching, he had recourse t the bottle, and gave in to those excesses which by no means suite his years. At last, when, by intelligence from sea, he was convince of the approach of Sylla, his apprehensions were heightened to th greatest degree. The dread of his approach, the pain of continua anxiety, threw him into a pleuritic fever: and in this state Posido nius, the philosopher, tells us he found him, when he went to spea to him on some affairs of his embassy. But Caius Piso, the histo rian, relates, that walking out with his friends one evening at supper he gave them a short history of his life, and after expatiating on th uncertainty of fortune, concluded that it was beneath the dignity of wise man to live in subjection to that fickle deity. Upon this, h took leave of his friends, and betaking himself to his bed, died seve

days after. There are those who impute his death to the excess of his ambition, which, according to their account, threw him into a delirium; insomuch that he fancied he was carrying on the war against Mithridates, and uttered all the expressions used in an engagement. Such was the violence of his ambition for that command!

Thus, at the age of seventy, distinguished by the unparalleled honour of seven consulships, and possessed of a more than regal fortune, Marius died with the chagrin of an unfortunate wretch, who had not obtained what he wanted.

Plato, at the point of death, congratulated himself, in the first place, that he was born a man; in the next place, that he had the happiness of being a Greek, not a brute or barbarian; and, last of all, that he was the cotemporary of Sophocles. Antipater of Tarsus, too, a little before his death, recollected the several advantages of his life, not forgetting even his successful voyage to Athens. In settling accounts with Fortune, he carefully entered every agreeable circumstance in that excellent book of the mind, his memory. How much wiser, how much happier than those who, forgetful of every blessing they have received, hang on the vain and deceitful hand of hope, and while they are idly grasping at future acquisitions, neglect the enjoyment of the present! Though the future gifts of fortune are not in their power, and though their present possessions are not in the power of fortune, they look up to the former, and neglect the latter. Their punishment, however, is not less just than it is certain. Before philosophy and the cultivation of reason have laid a proper foundation for the management of wealth and power, they pursue them with that avidity which must for ever harass an undisciplined mind.

Marius died on the seventeenth day of his seventh consulship. His death was productive of the greatest joy in Rome, and the citizens looked upon it as an event that freed them from the worst of tyrannies. It was not long, however, before they found that they had changed an old and feeble tyrant for one who had youth and vigour to carry his cruelties into execution. Such they found the son of Marius, whose sanguinary spirit shewed itself in the destruction of numbers of the nobility. His martial intrepidity and ferocious behaviour at first procured him the title of the son of Mars, but his conduct afterwards denominated him the son of Venus. When he was besieged in Præneste, and had tried every little artifice to escape, he put an end to his life, that he might not fall into the hands of Sylla.

LYSANDER.

AMONG the sacred deposits of the Acanthians at Delphi, one has this inscription, BRASIDAS AND THE ACANTHII TOOK THIS FROM THE ATHENIANS*. Hence many are of opinion that the marble statue which stands in the chapel of that nation, just by the door, is the statue of Brasidas. But in fact it is Lysander's, whom it perfectly represents, with his hair at full growth†, and a length of beard, both after the ancient fashion. It is not true, indeed, (as some would have it), that while the Argives cut their hair in sorrow for the loss of a great battle‡, the Lacedæmonians began to let theirs grow in the joy of success. Nor did they give in to this custom when the Bacchiadæ§ fled from Corinth to Lacedæmon, and made a disagreeable appearance with their shorn locks: but it is derived from the institution of Lycurgus, who is reported to have said, that *long hair makes the handsome more beautiful, and the ugly more terrible.*

Aristoclitas‖, the father of Lysander, is said not to have been of the royal line, but to be descended from the Heraclidæ by another family. As for Lysander, he was bred up in poverty. No one conformed more freely to the Spartan discipline than he. He had a firm heart, above yielding to the charms of any pleasure, except that which results from the honour and success gained by great actions; and it was no fault at Sparta for young men to be led by this sort of pleasure. There they choose to instil into their children an early passion for glory, and teach them to be much affected by disgrace, as well as elated by praise. And he that is not moved at these things is despised as a person of a mean soul, unambitious of the improvements of virtue.

That love of fame, then, and jealousy of honour, which ever influenced Lysander, were imbibed with his education, and consequently

* Brasidas, when general of the Lacedæmonians, persuaded the people of Acanthus to quit the Athenian interest, and to receive the Spartans into their city. In consequence of which he joined with them in consecrating certain Athenian spoils to Apollo. The statue, therefore, probably was his, though Plutarch thinks otherwise. Vid. *Thucyd.* lib iv.

† Why might not Brasidas, who was a Lacedæmonian, and a cotemporary of Lysander, be represented with long hair as well as he?

‡ This was the opinion of Herodotus, but perfectly groundless.

§ The Bacchiadæ had kept up an oligarchy in Corinth for two hundred years, but were at last expelled by Cypselus, who made himself absolute master there. *Herodot.* l. v.

‖ Pausanias calls him Aristocritus.

nature is not to be blamed for them, but the attention that he paid the great, in a manner that did not become a Spartan, and that easiness with which he bore the pride of power, whenever his own interest was concerned, may be ascribed to his disposition. This complaisance, however, is considered by some as no small part of politics.

Aristotle somewhere observes*, that great geniuses are generally of a melancholy turn, of which he gives instances in Socrates, Plato, and Hercules; and he tells us that Lysander, though not in his youth, yet in his age, was inclined to it. But what is most peculiar in his character is, that though he bore poverty well himself, and was never either conquered or corrupted by money, yet he filled Sparta with it, and with the love of it too, and robbed her of the glory she had of despising riches. For, after the Athenian war, he brought in a great quantity of gold and silver, but reserved no part of it for himself. And when Dionysius the tyrant sent his daughter some rich Sicilian garments, he refused them, alleging, "He was afraid those fine clothes would make them look more homely." Being sent, however, soon after, ambassador to Dionysius, the tyrant offered him two vests, that he might take one of them for his daughter; upon which he said, "His daughter knew better how to choose than he," and so took them both.

As the Peloponnesian war was drawn out to a great length, the Athenians, after their overthrow in Sicily, saw their fleets driven out of the sea, and themselves upon the verge of ruin. But Alcibiades, on his return from banishment, applied himself to remedy this evil, and soon made such a change, that the Athenians were once more equal in naval conflicts to the Lacedæmonians. Hereupon the Lacedæmonians began to be afraid in their turn, and resolved to prosecute the war with double diligence; and as they saw it required an able general, as well as great preparations, they gave the command at sea to Lysander†.

When he came to Ephesus, he found that city well inclined to the Lacedæmonians, but in a bad condition as to its internal policy, and in danger of falling into the barbarous manners of the Persians; because it was near Lydia, and the king's lieutenants often visited it. Lysander, therefore, having fixed his quarters there, ordered all his store-ships to be brought into their harbour, and built a dock for the galleys. By these means he filled their port with merchants, their market with business, and their houses and shops with money; so

* Problem, sect. 30.

† In the first year of the ninety-eighth Olympiad, four hundred and six years before Christ.

that, from time and his services, Ephesus began to conceive hopes of that greatness and splendour in which it now flourishes.

As soon as he heard that Cyrus, the king's son, was arrived at Sardis, he went thither to confer with him, and to acquaint him with the treachery of Tissaphernes. That viceroy had an order to assist the Lacedæmonians, and to destroy the naval force of the Athenians; but, by reason of his partiality to Alcibiades, he acted with no vigour, and sent such poor supplies, that the fleet was almost ruined. Cyrus was very glad to find this charge against Tissaphernes, knowing him to be a man of bad character in general, and an enemy to him in particular. By this and the rest of his conversation, but most of all by the respect and attention which he paid him, Lysander recommended himself to the young prince, and engaged him to prosecute the war. When the Lacedæmonian was going to take his leave, Cyrus desired him, at an entertainment provided on that occasion, not to refuse the marks of his regard, but to ask some favour of him. "As you are so very kind to me," said Lysander, "I beg you would add an *obolus* to the seamen's pay, so that, instead of three *oboli* a-day, they may have four." Cyrus, charmed with this generous answer, made him a present of ten thousand pieces of gold*. Lysander employed the money to increase the wages of his men, and by this encouragement in a short time almost emptied the enemy's ships: for great numbers came over to him, when they knew they should have better pay; and those who remained became indolent and mutinous, and gave their officers continual trouble. But though Lysander had thus drained and weakened his adversaries, he was afraid to risk a naval engagement, knowing Alcibiades not only to be a commander of extraordinary abilities, but to have the advantage in number of ships, as well as to have been successful in all the battles he had fought, whether by sea or land.

However, when Alcibiades was gone from Samos to Phocæa, and had left the command of the fleet to his pilot Antiochus, the pilot, to insult Lysander, and show his own bravery, sailed to the harbour, of Ephesus with two galleys only, where he hailed the Lacedæmonian fleet with a great deal of noise and laughter, and passed by in the most insolent manner imaginable. Lysander, resenting the affront, got a few of his ships under sail, and gave chace. But when he saw the Athenians come to support Antiochus, he called up more of his galleys, and at last the action became general. Lysander gained the victory, took fifteen ships, and erected a trophy. Hereupon the people of Athens, incensed at Alcibiades, took the command from him; and as he found himself slighted and censured by the army at

* Darici.

Samos too, he quitted it, and withdrew to Chersonesus. This battle, though not considerable in itself, was made so by the misfortunes of Alcibiades.

Lysander now invited to Ephesus the boldest and most enterprising inhabitants of the Greek cities in Asia, and sowed among them the seeds of those aristocratical forms of government which afterwards took place. He encouraged them to enter into associations, and to turn their thoughts to politics, upon promise, that when Athens was once subdued, the popular government in their cities too should be dissolved, and the administration vested in them. His actions gave them a confidence in his promise: for those who were already attached to him by friendship or the rights of hospitality, he advanced to the highest honours and employments, not scrupling to join with them in any act of fraud or oppression, to satisfy their avarice and ambition. So that every one endeavoured to ingratiate himself with Lysander; to him they paid their court; they fixed their hearts upon him, persuaded that nothing was too great for them to expect, while he had the management of affairs. Hence it was that, from the first, they looked with an evil eye on Callicratidas, who succeeded him in the command of the fleet; and though they afterwards found him the best and most upright of men, they were not satisfied with his conduct, which they thought had too much of the Doric* plainness and sincerity. It is true, they admired the virtue of Callicratidas, as they would the beauty of some hero's statue; but they wanted the countenance, the indulgence and support they had experienced in Lysander, insomuch that, when he left them, they were quite dejected, and melted into tears.

Indeed, he took every method he could think of to strengthen their aversion to Callicratidas. He even sent back to Sardis the remainder of the money which Cyrus had given him for the supply of the fleet, and bade his successor go and ask for it, as he had done, or contrive some other means for the maintenance of his forces. And when he was upon the point of sailing, he made this declaration: "I deliver to you a fleet that is mistress of the seas." Callicratidas, willing to show the insolence and vanity of his boast, said, "Why do not you then take Samos on the left, and sail round to Miletus, and deliver the fleet to me there? for we need not be afraid of passing by our enemies in that island, if we are masters of the seas." Lysander made only this superficial answer, "You have the command of the ships, and not I;" and immediately set sail for Peloponnesus.

* Dacier refers this to the Dorian music. But the Doric manners had a simplicity in them, as well as the music.

Callicratidas was left in great difficulties, for he had not brought money from home with him, nor did he choose to raise contributions from the cities, which were already distressed: The only way left, therefore, was to go, as Lysander had done, and beg it of the king's lieutenants. And no one was more unfit for such an office than a man of his free and great spirit, who thought any loss that Grecians might sustain from Grecians preferable to an abject attendance at the doors of barbarians, who had indeed a great deal of gold, but nothing else to boast of. Necessity, however, forced him into Lydia, where he went directly to the palace of Cyrus, and bade the porters tell him that Callicratidas, the Spartan admiral, desired to speak with him. "Stranger," said one of the fellows, "Cyrus is not at leisure; he is drinking."—"'Tis very well," said Callicratidas, with great simplicity, "I will wait here till he has done." But when he found that these people considered him as a rustic, and only laughed at him, he went away. He came a second time, but could not gain admittance. And now he could bear it no longer, but returned to Ephesus, venting execrations against those who first cringed to the barbarians, and taught them to be insolent on account of their wealth. At the same time he protested, that as soon as he was got back to Sparta, he would use his utmost endeavours to reconcile the Grecians among themselves, and to make them formidable to the barbarians, instead of their poorly petitioning those people for assistance against each other. But this Callicratidas, who had sentiments so worthy of a Spartan, and who, in point of justice, magnanimity, and valour, was equal to the best of the Greeks, fell soon after in a sea-fight at Arginusæ, where he lost the day.

Affairs being now in a declining condition, the confederates sent an embassy to Sparta to desire that the command of the navy might be restored to Lysander, promising to support the cause with much greater vigour, if he had the direction of it. Cyrus, too, made the same requisition. But though the law forbade the same person to be chosen admiral twice, yet the Lacedæmonians, being willing to oblige their allies, vested a nominal command in one Aracus, while Lysander, who was called only lieutenant, had the power. His arrival was very agreeable to those who had, or wanted to have, the chief authority in the Asiatic cities; for he had long given them hopes that the democracy would be abolished, and the government devolve entirely upon them.

As for those who loved an open and generous proceeding, when they compared Lysander and Callicratidas, the former appeared only a man of craft and subtlety, who directed his operations by a set of artful expedients, and measured the value of justice by the advantage

it brought; who, in short, thought interest the thing of superior excellence, and that nature had made no difference between truth and falsehood, but either was recommended by its use. When he was told it did not become the descendants of Hercules to adopt such artful expedients, he turned it off with a jest, and said, "Where the lion's skin falls short, it must be eked out with the fox's."

There was a remarkable instance of this subtlety in his behaviour at Miletus. His friends and others with whom he had connexions there, who had promised to abolish the popular government, and to drive out all that favoured it, had changed their minds, and reconciled themselves to their adversaries. In public he pretended to rejoice at the event, and to cement the union; but in private he loaded them with reproaches, and excited them to attack the commons. However, when he knew the tumult was begun, he entered the city in haste, and running up to the leaders of the sedition, gave them a severe reprimand, and threatened to punish them in an exemplary manner; at the same time he desired the people to be perfectly easy, and to fear no further disturbance while he was there. In all which he acted only like an artful dissembler, to hinder the heads of the plebeian party from quitting the city, and to make sure of their being put to the sword there. Accordingly there was not a man that trusted to his honour who did not lose his life.

There is a saying, too, of Lysander's, recorded by Androclides, which shows the little regard he had for oaths. "Children," he said, "were to be cheated with cockles, and men with oaths." In this he followed the example of Polycrates of Samos; though it ill became the general of an army to imitate a tyrant, and was unworthy of a Lacedæmonian to hold the gods in a more contemptible light than even his enemies: for he who overreaches by a false oath, declares that he fears his enemy, but despises his God.

Cyrus, having sent for Lysander to Sardis, presented him with great sums, and promised more. Nay, to show how high he was in his favour, he went so far as to assure him, that if his father would give him nothing, he would supply him out of his own fortune; and if every thing else failed, he would melt down the very throne on which he sat when he administered justice, and which was all of massy gold and silver. And when he went to attend his father in Media, he assigned him the tribute of the towns, and put the care of his whole province in his hands. At parting he embraced, and entreated him not to engage the Athenians at sea before his return, because he intended to bring with him a great fleet out of Phœnicia and Cilicia.

After the departure of the prince, Lysander did not choose to fight

the enemy, who were not inferior to him in force, nor yet to lie idle with such a number of ships, and therefore he cruised about and reduced some islands. Ægina and Salamis he pillaged, and from thence sailed to Attica, where he waited on Agis, who was come down from Decelea to the coast to show his land-forces what a powerful navy there was, which gave them the command of the seas in a manner they could not have expected. Lysander, however, seeing the Athenians in chace of him, steered another way back through the islands to Asia. As he found the Hellespont unguarded, he attacked Lampsacus by sea, while Thorax made an assault upon it by land; in consequence of which the city was taken, and the plunder given to the troops. In the mean time, the Athenian fleet, which consisted of a hundred and twenty ships, had advanced to Eleus, a city in the Chersonesus. There getting intelligence that Lampsacus was lost, they sailed immediately to Sestos, where they took in provisions, and then proceeded to Ægos Potamos. They were now just opposite the enemy, who still lay at anchor near Lampsacus. The Athenians were under the command of several officers, among whom Philocles was one, the same who had persuaded the people to make a decree that the prisoners of war should have their right thumbs cut off, that they might be disabled from handling a pike, but still be serviceable at the oar.

For the present they all went to rest, in hopes of coming to an action the next day. But Lysander had another design. He commanded the seamen and pilots to go on board, as if he intended to fight at break of day. These were to wait in silence for orders, the land-forces were to form on the shore, and watch the signal. At sun-rise the Athenians drew up in a line directly before the Lacedæmonians, and gave the challenge. Lysander, though he had manned his ships over night, and stood facing the enemy, did not accept of it; on the contrary, he sent orders by his pinnaces to those ships that were in the van not to stir, but to keep the line without making the least motion. In the evening, when the Athenians retired, he would not suffer one man to land, till two or three gallies, which he had sent to look out, returned with an account that the enemy were disembarked. Next morning they ranged themselves in the same manner, and the like was practised a day or two longer. This made the Athenians very confident; they considered their adversaries as a dastardly set of men, who durst not quit their station.

Meanwhile, Alcibiades, who lived in a castle of his own in the Chersonesus, rode to the Athenian camp, and represented to the generals two material errors they had committed. The first was, that they had stationed their ships near a dangerous and naked shore; the

other, that they were so far from Sestos, from whence they were forced to fetch all their provisions. He told them it was their business to sail to the port of Sestos without loss of time, where they would be at a greater distance from the enemy, who were watching their opportunity with an army commanded by one man, and so well disciplined, that they would execute his orders upon the least signal. These were the lessons he gave them, but they did not regard him. Nay, Tydeus said, with an air of contempt, "You are not general now, but we." Alcibiades even suspected some treachery, and therefore withdrew.

On the fifth day, when the Athenians had offered battle, they returned, as usual, in a careless and disdainful manner. Upon this Lysander detached some galleys to observe them, and ordered the officers, as soon as they saw the Athenians landed, to sail back as fast as possible, and when they were come half way, to lift up a brazen shield at the head of each ship, as a signal for him to advance. He then sailed through all the line, and gave instructions to the captains and pilots to have all their men in good order, as well mariners as soldiers, and, when the signal was given, to push forward with the utmost vigour against the enemy. As soon, therefore, as the signal appeared, the trumpet sounded in the admiral-galley, the ships began to move on, and the land-forces hastened along the shore to seize the promontory. The space between the two continents in that place is fifteen furlongs, which was soon overshot by the diligence and spirit of the rowers. Conon, the Athenian general, was the first that descried them from land, and hastened to get his men on board. Sensible of the impending danger, some he commanded, some he entreated, and others he forced into the ships. But all his endeavours were in vain. His men, not in the least expecting a surprise, were dispersed up and down, some in the market-place, some in the fields; some were asleep in their tents, and some preparing their dinner. All this was owing to the inexperience of their commanders, which had made them quite regardless of what might happen. The shouts and the noise of the enemy rushing on to the attack were now heard, when Conon fled with eight ships, and escaped to Evagoras king of Cyprus. The Peloponnesians fell upon the rest, took those that were empty, and disabled the others, as the Athenians were embarking. Their soldiers, coming unarmed, and in a straggling manner, to defend the ships, perished in the attempt, and those that fled were slain by that part of the enemy which had landed. Lysander took three thousand prisoners, and seized the whole fleet, except the sacred galley called Peralus, and those that escaped with Conon. When he had fastened the captive galleys to his own, and plundered

the camp, he returned to Lampsacus, accompanied with the flutes and songs of triumph. This great action cost him but little blood; in one hour he put an end to a long and tedious war*, which had been diversified beyond all others by an incredible variety of events. This cruel war, which had occasioned so many battles, appeared in such different forms, produced such vicissitudes of fortune, and destroyed more generals than all the wars of Greece put together, was terminated by the conduct and capacity of one man. Some, therefore, esteemed it the effect of a divine interposition. There were those who said that the stars of Castor and Pollux appeared on each side the helm of Lysander's ship, when he first set out against the Athenians. Others thought that a stone which, according to the common opinion, fell from heaven, was an omen of this overthrow. It fell at Ægos Potamos, and was of a prodigious size. The people of the Chersonesus hold it in great veneration, and show it to this day†. It is said that Anaxagoras had foretold that one of those bodies which are fixed in the vault of heaven would one day be loosened by some shock or convulsion of the whole machine, and fall to the earth. For he taught that the stars are not now in the places where they were originally formed; that, being of a stony substance, and heavy, the light they give is caused only by the reflection and refraction of the ether; and that they are carried along, and kept in their orbits, by the rapid motion of the heavens, which, from the beginning, when the cold ponderous bodies were separated from the rest, hindered them from falling.

But there is another and more probable opinion, which holds, that falling stars are not emanations or detached parts of the elementary fire, that go out the moment they are kindled; nor yet a quantity of air bursting out from some compression, and taking fire in the upper region, but that they are really heavenly bodies, which, from some relaxation of the rapidity of their motion, or by some irregular concussion, are loosened and fall, not so much upon the habitable part of the globe as into the ocean, which is the reason that their substance is seldom seen.

Damachus‡, however, in his treatise concerning religion, confirms the opinion of Anaxagoras. He relates that, for seventy-five days

* This war lasted twenty-seven years.

† This victory was gained the fourth year of the ninety-third Olympiad, four hundred and three years before the birth of Christ. And it is pretended that Anaxagoras had delivered his prediction sixty-two years before the battle. *Plin.* lib. xi. c. 58.

‡ Not Damachus, but Diamachus of Platæa, a very fabulous writer, and ignorant of the mathematics, in which, as well as history, he pretended to great knowledge. *Strab.* lib. i.

together, before that stone fell, there was seen in the heavens a large body of fire, like an inflamed cloud, not fixed to one place, but carried this way and that with a broken and irregular motion; and that, by its violent agitation, several fiery fragments were forced from it, which were impelled in various directions, and darted with the celerity and brightness of so many falling stars. After this body was fallen in the Chersonesus, and the inhabitants, recovered from their terror, assembled to see it, they could find no inflammable matter, or the least sign of fire, but a real stone, which, though large, was nothing to the size of that fiery globe they had seen in the sky, but appeared only as a bit crumbled from it. It is plain that Damachus must have very indulgent readers, if this account of his gains credit. If it is a true one, it absolutely refutes those who say that this stone was nothing but a rock rent by a tempest from the top of a mountain, which, after being borne for some time in the air by a whirlwind, settled in the first place where the violence of that abated. Perhaps, at last, this phenomenon, which continued so many days, was a real globe of fire, and when that globe came to disperse and draw towards extinction, it might cause such a change in the air, and produce such a violent whirlwind, as tore the stone from its native bed, and dashed it on the plain. But these are discussions that belong to writings of another nature.

When the three thousand Athenian prisoners were condemned by the council to die, Lysander called Philocles, one of the generals, and asked him what punishment he thought he deserved, who had given his citizens such cruel advice with respect to the Greeks? Philocles, undismayed by his misfortunes, made answer, "Do not start a question where there is no judge to decide it; but now you are a conqueror, proceed as you would have been proceeded with, had you been conquered." After this he bathed, and dressed himself in a rich robe, and then led his countrymen to execution, being the first, according to Theophrastus, who offered his neck to the axe.

Lysander next visited the maritime towns, and ordered all the Athenians he found, upon pain of death, to repair to Athens. His design was, that the crowds he drove into the city might soon occasion a famine, and so prevent the trouble of a long siege, which must have been the case, if provisions had been plentiful. Wherever he came, he abolished the democratic and other forms of government, and set up a Lacedæmonian governor, called *Harmostes*, assisted by ten archons, who were to be drawn from the societies he established. These changes he made as he sailed about at his leisure, not only in the enemy's cities, but in those of his allies, and by this means in a manner engrossed to himself the principality of all Greece. For,

in appointing governors, he had no regard to family or opulence, but chose them from among his own friends, or out of the brotherhoods he had erected, and invested them with full power of life and death. He even assisted in person at executions, and drove out all that opposed his friends and favourites. Thus he gave the Greeks a very indifferent specimen of the Lacedæmonian government.—Therefore Theopompus*, the comic writer, was under a great mistake when he compared the Lacedæmonians to vintners, who at first gave Greece a delightful draught of liberty, but afterwards dashed the wine with vinegar. The draught from the beginning was disagreeable and bitter; for Lysander not only took the administration out of the hands of the people, but composed his oligarchies of the boldest and most factious of the citizens.

When he had despatched this business, which did not take up any long time, he sent messengers to Lacedæmon with an account that he was returning with two hundred ships. He went, however, to Attica, where he joined the kings Agis and Pausanias, in expectation of the immediate surrender of Athens. But finding that the Athenians made a vigorous defence, he crossed over again to Asia. There he made the same alteration in the government of cities, and set up his decemvirate, after having sacrificed in each city a number of people, and forced others to quit their country. As for the Samians†, he expelled them all, and delivered their towns to the persons whom they had banished.—And when he had taken Sestos out of the hands of the Athenians, he drove out the Sestians too, and divided both the city and territory among his pilots and boatswains. This was the first step of his which the Lacedæmonians disapproved: they annulled what he had done, and restored the Sestians to their country. But in other respects the Grecians were well satisfied with Lysander's conduct. They saw with pleasure the Æginetæ recovering their city, of which they had long been dispossessed, and the Melians and Scionæans re-established by him, while the Athenians were driven out, and gave up their claims.

By this time he was informed that Athens was greatly distressed by famine; upon which he sailed to the Piræus, and obliged the city to surrender at discretion. The Lacedæmonians say, that Lysander wrote an account of it to the *ephori* in these words: "Athens is taken;" to which they returned this answer, "If it is taken, that

* Muretus shows from a passage in Theodorus Metochites, that we should read here *Theopompus the historian*, instead of *Theopompus the comic writer*.

† These things did not happen in the order they are here related. Samos was not taken till a considerable time after the long walls of Athens were demolished. *Xenoph. Hellen.* ii.

is sufficient." But this was only an invention to make the matter look more plausible. The real decree of the *ephori* ran thus: "The Lacedæmonians have come to these resolutions: you shall pull down the Piræus and the long walls; quit all the cities you are possessed of, and keep within the bounds of Attica. On these conditions you shall have peace, provided you pay what is reasonable, and restore the exiles *. As for the number of ships you are to keep, you must comply with the orders we shall give you."

The Athenians submitted to this decree, upon the advice of Theramenes the son of Ancon †. On this occasion, we are told, Cleomenes, one of the young orators, thus addressed him: "Dare you go contrary to the sentiments of Themistocles, by delivering up those walls to the Lacedæmonians which he built in defiance of them?" Theramenes answered, "Young man, I do not in the least counteract the intention of Themistocles; for he built the walls for the preservation of the citizens, and we for the same purpose demolish them. If walls only could make a city happy and secure, Sparta, which has none, would be the unhappiest in the world."

After Lysander had taken from the Athenians all their ships, except twelve, and their fortifications were delivered up to him, he entered their city on the sixteenth of the same month Munychion, (April), the very day they had overthrown the barbarians in the naval fight at Salamis. He presently set himself to change their form of government: and finding that the people resented his proposal, he told them, "That they had violated the terms of their capitulation; for their walls were still standing, after the time fixed for the demolishing of them was past; and that, since they had broken the first articles, they must expect new ones from the council." Some say, he really did propose in the council of the allies to reduce the Athenians to slavery; and that Erianthus, a Theban officer, gave it as his opinion, that the city should be levelled with the ground, and the spot on which it stood turned to pasturage.

Afterwards, however, when the general officers met at an entertainment, a musician of Phocis happened to begin a *chorus* in the Electra of Euripides, the first lines of which are these—

> Unhappy daughter of the great Atrides,
> Thy straw-crown'd palace I approach.

The whole company were greatly moved at this incident, and could not help reflecting how barbarous a thing it would be to raze that

* The Lacedæmonians knew that if the Athenian exiles were restored, they would be friends and partisans of theirs; and if they were not restored, they should have a pretext for distressing the Athenians when they pleased.

† Or Agnon.

noble city, which had produced so many great and illustrious men. Lysander, however, finding the Athenians entirely in his power, collected the musicians in the city, and having joined to them the band belonging to the camp, pulled down the walls, and burned the ships to the sound of their instruments; while the confederates, crowned with flowers, danced and hailed the day as the first of their liberty.

Immediately after this, he changed the form of their government, appointing thirty archons in the city, and ten in the Piræus, and placing a garrison in the citadel, the command of which he gave to a Spartan named Callibius. This Callibius, on some occasion or other, lifted up his staff to strike Autolycus, a wrestler whom Xenophon has mentioned in his *Symposiacs;* upon which Autolycus seized him by the legs, and threw him upon the ground. Lysander, instead of resenting this, told Callibias, by way of reprimand, "He knew not they were freemen whom he had to govern." The thirty tyrants, however, in complaisance to Callibius, soon after put Autolycus to death.

Lysander*, when he had settled these affairs, sailed to Thrace†. As for the money that remained in his coffers, the crowns and other presents, which were many and very considerable, as may well be imagined, since his power was so extensive, and he was in a manner master of all Greece, he sent them to Lacedæmon by Gylippus, who had the chief command in Sicily.—Gylippus, they tell us, opened the bags at the bottom, and took a considerable sum out of each, and then sewed them up again; but he was not aware that in every bag there was a note which gave an account of the sum it contained. As soon as he arrived at Sparta, he hid the money he had taken out under the tiles of his house, and then delivered the bags to the *ephori*, with the seals entire. They opened them, and counted the money, but found that the sums differed from the bills. At this they were not a little embarrassed, till a servant of Gylippus told them enigmatically, "a great number of owls roosted in the Ceramicus‡." Most of the coin then bore the impression of an owl, in respect to the Athenians.

* Xenophon says, he went now against Samos.

† Plutarch should have mentioned in this place the conquest of the isle of Thasos, and in what a cruel manner Lysander, contrary to his solemn promise, massacred such of the inhabitants, as had been in the interest of Athens. This is related by Polyænus. But as Plutarch tells us afterwards that he behaved in this manner to the Milesians, perhaps the story is the same, and there may be a mistake only in the names.

‡ Ceramicus was the name of a place in Athens. It likewise signifies the tiling of a house.

Gylippus, having sullied his former great and glorious actions by so base and unworthy a deed, quitted Lacedæmon. On this occasion, in particular, the wisest among the Spartans observed the influence of money, which would corrupt not only the meanest, but the most respectable citizens, and therefore were very warm in their reflections upon Lysander for introduciug it. They insisted too, that the *ephori* should send out all the silver and gold, as evils destructive in the proportion they were alluring.

In pursuance of this, a council was called, and a decree proposed by Sciraphidas, as Theopompus writes, or, according to Ephorus, by Phlogidas, "That no coin, whether of gold or silver, should be admitted into Sparta, but that they should use the money that had long obtained." This money was of iron, dipped in vinegar, while it was red hot, to make it brittle and unmalleable, so that it might not be applied to any other use. Besides, it was heavy and difficult of carriage, and a great quantity of it was but of little value. Perhaps, all the ancient money was of this kind, and consisted either of pieces of iron or brass, which, from their form, were called *obelisci;* whence we have still a quantity of small money called *oboli,* six of which make a *drachma* or *handful,* that being as much as the hand can contain.

The motion for sending out the money was opposed by Lysander's party, and they procured a decree that it should be considered as the public treasure, and that it should be a capital crime to convert any of it to private uses, as if Lycurgus had been afraid of the money, and not of the avarice it produces. And avarice was not so much prevented by forbidding the use of money in the occasions of private persons, as it was encouraged by allowing it in the public; for that added dignity to its use, and excited strong desires for its acquisition. Indeed, it was not to be imagined, that while it was valued in public, it would be despised in private, or that what they found so advantageous to the state should be looked upon of no concern to themselves. On the contrary, it is plain, that customs depending upon national institutions much sooner affect the lives and manners of individuals, than the errors and vices of individuals corrupt a whole nation. For when the whole is distempered, the parts must be affected too; but when the disorder subsists only in some particular parts, it may be corrected and remedied by those that have not yet received the infection. So that these magistrates, while they set guards, I mean law and fear of punishment, at the doors of the citizens, to hinder the entrance of money, did not keep their minds untainted with the love of it; they rather inspired that love by exhibiting

wealth, as a great and admirable thing. But we have censured this conduct of theirs in another place.

Lysander, out of the spoils he had taken, erected at Delphi his own statue, and those of his officers in brass; he also dedicated in gold the stars of Castor and Pollux, which disappeared* before the battle of Leuctra. The galley made of gold and ivory†, which Cyrus sent in congratulation of his victory, and which was two cubits long, was placed in the treasury of Brasidas and the Acanthians. Alexandrides of Delphi writes‡, that Lysander deposited there a talent of silver, fifty-two *minæ*, and eleven *staters:* but this is not agreeable to the accounts of his poverty we have from all historians.

Though Lysander had now attained to greater power than any Grecian before him, yet the pride and loftiness of his heart exceeded it. For he was the first of the Grecians, according to Duris, to whom altars were erected by several cities, and sacrifices offered as to a god§, To Lysander two hymns were first sung, one of which began thus—

> To the fam'd leader of the Grecian bands,
> From Sparta's ample plains! sing Io pæan!

Nay, the Samians decreed that the feasts which they had used to celebrate in honour of Juno should be called the feast of Lysander. He always kept the Spartan poet Chœrilus in his retinue‖, that he might be ready to add lustre to his actions by the power of verse. And when Antilochus had written some stanzas in his praise, he was so delighted that he gave him his hat full of silver. Antimachus of Colophon, and Niceratus of Heraclea composed each a panegyric that bore his name, and contested in form for the prize. He adjudged the crown to Niceratus, at which Antimachus¶ was so much offend-

* They were stolen. Plutarch mentions it as an omen of the dreadful loss the Spartans were to suffer in that battle.

† So Aristobulus, the Jewish prince, presented Pompey with a golden vineyard or garden, valued at five hundred talents. That vineyard was consecrated in the temple of Jupiter Olympius, as this galley was at Delphi.

‡ This Alexandrides, or rather Anaxandrides, wrote an account of the offerings stolen from the temple at Delphi.

§ What incense the meanness of human nature can offer to one of their own species! nay, to one who, having no regard to honour or virtue, scarce deserved the name of a man! The Samians worshipped him, as the Indians do the devil, that he might do them no more hurt; that, after one dreadful sacrifice to his cruelty, he might seek no more.

‖ There were three poets of this name, but their works are all lost. The first, who was of Samos, sung the victory of the Athenians over Xerxes. He flourished about the seventy-fifth Olympiad. The second was this Chœrilus of Sparta, who flourished about seventy years after the first. The third was he who attended Alexander the Great, above seventy years after the time of Lysander's Chœrilus.

¶ According to others, he was of Claros. He was reckoned next to Homer in heroic poetry. But some thought him too pompous and verbose.

ed, that he suppressed his poem, Plato, who was then very young, and a great admirer of Antimachus's poetry, addressed him while under this chagrin, and told him, by way of consolation, "That the ignorant are sufferers by their ignorance, as the blind are by their want of sight. Aristonous, the lyrist, who had six times won the prize at the Pythian games, to pay his court to Lysander, promised him, that if he was once more victorious, he would declare himself Lysander's retainer, or even his slave.

Lysander's ambition was a burden only to the great, and to persons of equal rank with himself. But that arrogance and violence which grew up in his temper along with his ambition, from the flatteries with which he was besieged, had a more extensive influence. He set no moderate bounds either to his favour or resentment. Governments, unlimited and unexamined, were the rewards of any friendship or hospitality he had experienced; and the sole punishment that could appease his anger was the death of his enemy; nor was there any way to escape.

There was an instance of this at Miletus. He was afraid that the leaders of the plebeian party there would secure themselves by flight; therefore, to draw them from their retreats, he took an oath not to do any of them the least injury. They trusted him, and made their appearance; but he immediately delivered them to the opposite party, and they were put to death, to the number of eight hundred. Infinite were the cruelties he exercised in every city against those who were suspected of any inclination to popular government. For he not only consulted his own passions, and gratified his own revenge, but co-operated, in this respect with the resentments and avarice of all his friends. Hence it was that the saying of Eteocles the Lacedæmonian was reckoned a good one, "That Greece could not bear two Lysanders." Theophrastus, indeed, tells us, that Archistratus* had said the same thing of Alcibiades. But insolence, luxury, and vanity were the most disagreeable part of his character; whereas Lysander's power was attended with a cruelty and savageness of manners that rendered it insupportable.

There were many complaints against him which the Lacedæmonians paid no regard to. However, when Pharnabazus sent ambassadors to Sparta to represent the injury he had received from the depredations committed in his province, the *ephori* were incensed, and put Thorax, one of his friends and colleagues to death, having found silver in his possession contrary to the late law. They likewise ordered Lysander home by their *scytalæ*, the nature and use of which

* It should be read Archestratus.

was this: Whenever the magistrates sent out an admiral or a general, they prepared two round pieces of wood, with so much exactness, that they were perfectly equal both in length and thickness. One of these they kept themselves, the other was delivered to the officer then employed.—These pieces of wood were called *scytale.* When they had any secret and important orders to convey to him, they took a long narrow scroll of parchment, and rolled it about their own staff, one fold close to another, and then wrote their business on it. This done, they took off the scroll, and sent it to the general. As soon as he received it, he applied it to his staff, which being just like that of the magistrates, all the folds fell in with one another, exactly as they did at the writing: and though before the characters were so broken and disjointed that nothing could be made of them, they now became plain and legible. The parchment, as well as the staff, is called *scytale,* as the thing measured bears the name of the measure.

Lysander, who was then in the Hellespont, was much alarmed at the *scytale.* Pharnabazus being the person whose impeachment he most dreaded, he hastened to an interview with him, in hopes of being able to compose their differences. When they met, he desired him to send another account to the magistrates, signifying that he neither had nor made any complaint. He was not aware, as the proverb has it, that "He was playing the Cretan with a Cretan." Pharnabazus promised to comply with his request, and wrote a letter in his presence agreeable to his directions, but had contrived to have another by him to a quite contrary effect. When the letter was to be sealed, he palmed that on Lysander which he had written privately, and which exactly resembled it. Lysander, on his arrival at Lacedæmon, went, according to custom, to the senate-house, and delivered Pharnabazus's letter to the magistrates, assuring himself that the heaviest charge was removed. For he knew that the Lacedæmonians paid a particular attention to Pharnabazus, because, of all the king's lieutenants, he had done them the greatest services in the war. When the *ephori* had read the letter, they showed it to Lysander. He now found to his cost, that "others have art besides Ulysses," and in great confusion left the senate-house.

A few days after, he applied to the magistrates, and told them he was obliged to go to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and offer the sacrifices he had vowed before his battles. Some say, that when he was besieging the city of the Aphytæans in Thrace, Ammon actually appeared to him in a dream, and ordered him to raise the siege; that he complied with that order, and bade the Aphytæans sacrifice to Ammon; and for the same reason now hastened to pay his devotions

to that deity in Lybia. But it was generally believed that he only used the deity as a pretext, and that the true reason of his retiring was his fear of the *ephori*, and his aversion to subjection. He chose rather to wander in foreign countries than to be controlled at home. His haughty spirit was like that of a horse which has long ranged the pastures at liberty, and returns with reluctance to the stall, and to his former burden. As for the reason which Ephorus assigns for this voyage, I shall mention it by and by.

With much difficulty he got leave of the *ephori* to depart, and take his voyage. While he was upon it, the kings considered that it was by means of the associations he had formed, that he held the cities in subjection, and was in effect master of all Greece. They resolved, therefore, to drive out his friends, and re-establish the popular governments. This occasioned new commotions. First of all, the Athenians, from the castle of Phyle*, attacked the thirty tyrants, and defeated them. Immediately upon this, Lysander returned, and persuaded the Lacedæmonians to support the oligarchies, and to chastise the people; in consequence of which, they remitted a hundred talents to the tyrants to enable them to carry on the war, and appointed Lysander himself their general. But the envy with which the kings were actuated, and their fear that he would take Athens a second time, led them to determine that one of them should attend the expedition. Accordingly Pausanias marched into Attica, in appearance to support the thirty tyrants against the people, but in reality to put an end to the war, lest Lysander, by his interest in Athens, should become master of it again. This he easily effected, by reconciling the Athenians among themselves, and composing the tumults, he clipt the wings of Lysander's ambition.—Yet as the Athenians revolted soon after, Pausanias was blamed for taking the curb of the oligarchy out of the mouth of the people, and letting them grow bold and insolent again. On the contrary, it added to the reputation of Lysander: he was now considered as a man who took not his measures either through favour or ostentation, but in all his operations, how severe soever, kept a strict and steady eye upon the interests of Sparta.

Lysander, indeed, had a ferocity in his expressions, as well as actions, which confounded his adversaries. When the Argives had a dispute with him about their boundaries, and thought their plea better than that of the Lacedæmonians, he showed them his sword, and said, "He that is master of this can best plead about boundaries."

* A castle above Athens, strongly situated. Xenophon often mentions it in the second book of his Grecian History.

When a citizen of Megara treated him with great freedom in a certain conversation, he said, "My friend, those words of thine should not come but from strong walls and bulwarks."

When the Bœotians hesitated upon some propositions he made them, he asked them, "Whether he should trail or push his pikes amongst them."

The Corinthians having deserted the league, he advanced close up to their walls, but the Lacedæmonians, he found, were very loath to begin the assault. A hare just then happening to start out of the trenches, he took occasion to say, "Are not you ashamed to dread those enemies who are so idle that the very hares sit in quiet under their walls."

When king Agis paid the last tribute to nature, he left behind him a brother named Agesilaus, and a reputed son named Leotychidas. Lysander, who had regarded Agesilaus with an extraordinary affection, persuaded him to lay claim to the crown, as a genuine descendant of Hercules; whereas Leotychidas was suspected to be the son of Alcibiades, and the fruit of a private commerce which he had with Timæa the wife of Agis, during his exile in Sparta. Agis, they tell us, from his computation of the time, concluded that the child was not his, and therefore took no notice of Leotychidas, but rather openly disavowed him through the whole course of his life. However, when he fell sick, and was carried to Heræa*, he was prevailed upon by the entreaties of the youth himself, and of his friends, before he died, to declare before many witnesses that Leotychidas was his lawful son. At the same time, he desired all persons present to testify these his last words to the Lacedæmonians, and then immediately expired.

Accordingly they gave their testimony in favour of Leotychidas. As for Agesilaus, he was a man of uncommon merit, and supported besides by the interest of Lysander; but his affairs were nearly being ruined by Diophites, a famous interpreter of oracles, who applied this prophecy to his lameness:

> Beware, proud Sparta, lest a maimed empire †
> Thy boasted strength impair; for other woes
> Than thou behold'st await thee—borne away
> By the strong tide of war.·····

* Xenophon (lib. ii.) tells us that Agis fell sick at Heræa, a city of Arcadia, on his way from Delphi, and that he was carried to Sparta, and died there.

† The oracle considered the two kings of Sparta as its two legs, the supports of its freedom; which in fact they were, by being a check upon each other. The Lacedæmonians were, therefore, admonished to beware of a *lame government*, of having their republic converted into a monarchy, which, indeed, proved their ruin at last. Vide *Justin*, lib. vi.

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Many believed this interpretation, and were turning to Leotychidas. But Lysander observed, that Diophites had mistaken the sense of the oracle; for that the deity did not give himself any concern about their being governed by a lame king, but meant that their government would be lame, if spurious persons should wear the crown amongst the race of Hercules. Thus, partly by his address, and partly by his interest, he prevailed upon them to give the preference to Agesilaus, and he was declared king.

Lysander immediately pressed him to carry the war into Asia, encouraging him with the hope of destroying the Persian monarchy, and becoming himself the greatest of mankind. He likewise sent instructions to his friends in Asia, to petition the Lacedæmonians to give Agesilaus the conduct of the war against the barbarians. They complied with his order, and sent ambassadors to Lacedæmon for that purpose. Indeed, this command which Lysander procured Agesilaus, seems to have been an honour equal to the crown itself. But ambitious spirits, though in other respects not unfit for affairs of state, are hindered from many great actions by the envy they bear their fellow-candidates for fame: for thus they make those their adversaries who would otherwise have been their assistants in the course of glory.

Agesilaus took Lysander with him, made him one of his thirty counsellors, and gave him the first rank in his friendship. But when they came into Asia, Agesilaus found that the people, being unacquainted with him, seldom applied to him, and were very short in their addresses; whereas Lysander, whom they had long known, had them always at his gates or in his train, some attending out of friendship, and others out of fear. Just as it happens in tragedies, that a principal actor represents a messenger or a servant, and is admired in that character, while he who bears the diadem and sceptre is hardly listened to when he speaks; so in this case the counsellor engrossed all the honour, and the king had the title of commander without the power.

Doubtless, this unseasonable ambition of Lysander deserved correction, and he was to be made to know that the second place only belonged to him. But entirely to cast off a friend and benefactor, and, from a jealousy of honour, to expose him to scorn, was a step unworthy the character of Agesilaus. He began with taking business out of his hands, and making it a point not to employ him on any occasion where he might distinguish himself. In the next place, those for whom Lysander interested himself were sure to miscarry, and to meet with less indulgence than others of the meanest station. Thus the king gradually undermined his power.

When Lysander found that he failed in all his applications, and that his kindness was only a hinderance to his friends, he desired them to forbear their addresses to him, and to wait only upon the king, or the present dispensers of his favours. In consequence of this, they gave him no further trouble about business, but still continued their attentions, and joined him in the public walks and other places of resort. This gave Agesilaus more pain than ever, and his envy and jealousy continually increased; insomuch, that while he gave commands and governments to common soldiers, he appointed Lysander his carver. Then, to insult the Ionians, he bade them "go and make their court to his carver."

Hereupon Lysander determined to come to an explanation with him, and their discourse was very laconic: "Truly, Agesilaus, you know very well how to tread upon your friends." "Yes," said he, "when they want to be greater than myself. It is but fit that those who are willing to advance my power should share it." "Perhaps," said Lysander, "this is rather what you say, than what I did. I beg of you, however, for the sake of strangers who have their eyes upon us, that you will put me in some post where I may be least obnoxious, and most useful to you."

Agreeably to this request, the lieutenancy of the Hellespont was granted him; and though he still retained his resentment against Agesilaus, he did not neglect his duty. He found Spithridates*, a Persian remarkable for his valour, and with an army at his command, at variance with Pharnabazus, and persuaded him to revolt to Agesilaus. This was the only service he was employed upon; and when his commission was expired, he returned to Sparta in great disgrace, highly incensed against Agesilaus, and more displeased than ever with the whole frame of government. He resolved therefore now, without any further loss of time, to bring about the change he had long meditated in the constitution.

When the Heraclidæ mixed with the Dorians, and settled in Peloponnesus, there was a large and flourishing tribe of them at Sparta. The whole, however, were not entitled to the regal succession, but only two families, the Eurytionidæ and the Agidæ; while the rest had no share in the administration, on account of their high birth. For, as to the common rewards of virtue, they were open to all men of distinguished merit. Lysander, who was of this lineage, no sooner saw himself exalted by his great actions, and supported with friends and power, but he became uneasy to think that a city which owed its grandeur to him, should be ruled by others no better de-

* So Xenophon calls him, not Mithridates, the common reading in Plutarch. Indeed, some manuscripts have it Spithridates in the Life of Agesilaus.

scended than himself. Hence he entertained a design to alter the settlement, which confined the succession to two families only, and to lay it open to all the Heraclidæ. Some say his intention was to extend this high honour not only to all the Heraclidæ, but to all the citizens of Sparta; that it might not so much belong to the posterity of Hercules, as to those who resembled Hercules in that virtue which numbered him with the gods. He hoped, too, that when the crown was settled in this manner, no Spartan would have better pretensions than himself.

At first he prepared to draw the citizens into his scheme, and committed to memory an oration written by Cleon of Halicarnassus for that purpose. But he soon saw that so great and difficult a reformation required bolder and more extraordinary methods to bring it to bear. And as in tragedy machinery is made use of, where more natural means will not do, so he resolved to strike the people with oracles and prophecies, well knowing that the eloquence of Cleon would avail but little, unless he first subdued their minds with divine sanctions, and the terrors of superstition. Ephorus tells us, he first attempted to corrupt the priestess of Delphi, and afterwards those of Dodona, by means of one Pherecles; and having no success in either application, he went himself to the oracle of Ammon, and offered the priests large sums of gold. They too rejected his offers with indignation, and sent deputies to Sparta to accuse him of that crime. When these Lybians found he was acquitted, they took their leave of the Spartans in this manner—"We will pass better judgments, when you come to live among us in Lybia." It seems there was an ancient prophecy, that the Lacedæmonians would some time or other settle in Africa. This whole scheme of Lysander's was of no ordinary texture, nor took its rise from accidental circumstances, but was laid deep, and conducted with uncommon art and address; so that it may be compared to a methematical demonstration, in which, from some principles first assumed, the conclusion is deduced through a variety of abstruse and intricate steps. We shall therefore explain it at large, taking Ephorus, who was both a historian and philosopher, for our guide.

There was a woman in Pontus, who gave it out that she was pregnant by Apollo. Many rejected her assertion, and many believed it. So that when she was delivered of a son, several persons of the greatest eminence took particular care of his education, and for some reason or other gave him the name of Silenus. Lysander took this miraculous birth for a foundation, and raised all his building upon it. He made choice of such assistance as may bring the story into reputation, and put it beyond suspicion. Then he got another

story propagated at Delphi, and spread at Sparta, "That certain ancient oracles were kept in the private registers of the priests, which it was not lawful to touch or to look upon, till in some future age a person should arise, who could clearly prove himself the son of Apollo, and he was to interpret and publish those oracles." The way thus prepared, Silenus was to make his appearance, as the son of Apollo, and demand the oracles. The priests, who were in combination, were to inquire into every article, and examine him strictly as to his birth. At last they were to pretend to be convinced of his divine parentage, and to shew him the books. Silenus was then to read in public all those prophecies, particularly that for which the whole design was set on foot; namely, "That it would be more for the honour and interest of Sparta to set aside the present race of kings, and choose others out of the best and most worthy men in the commonwealth." But when Silenus was grown up, and came to undertake his part, Lysander had the mortification to see his piece miscarry by the cowardice of one of the actors, whose heart failed him just as the thing was going to be put in execution. However, nothing of this was discovered while Lysander lived.

He died before Agesilaus returned from Asia, after he had engaged his country, or rather involved all Greece, in the Bœotian war. It is indeed related variously, some laying the blame upon him, some upon the Thebans, and others upon both. Those who charge the Thebans with it say, they overturned the altar, and profaned the sacrifice* Agesilaus was offering at Aulus; and that Androclides and Amphitheus, being corrupted with Persian money†, attacked the Phocians, and laid waste their country, in order to draw upon the Lacedæmonians the Grecian war. On the other hand, they who make Lysander the author of the war inform us, he was highly

* Besides this affair of the sacrifice, the Lacedæmonians were offended at the Thebans for their claiming the tenths of the treasure taken at Decelea, as well as for refusing to attend them in their expedition against the Piræus, and dissuading the Corinthians from joining in that enterprise. Indeed, the Thebans began to be jealous of the growing power of the Lacedæmonians, and did not want to see the Athenians, whose weight had been considerable in the balance of power, entirely ruined. *Xenoph.* Gr. Hist. lib. iii.

† These were not the only persons who had taken the Persian money. Tithraustes, alarmed at the progress Agesilaus was making in Asia, sent Timocrates the Rhodian with fifty talents to be distributed among the leading men in the states of Greece.—Those of Corinth and Argos had their share, as well as the Thebans. In consequence of this, the Thebans persuaded the Locrians to pillage a track of land that was in dispute between the Phocians and the Thebans. The Phocians made reprisals. The Thebans supported the Locrians; whereupon the Phocians applied to the Spartans, and the war became general.

displeased that the Thebans only, of all the confederates, should claim the tenth of the Athenian spoils taken at Decelea, and complain of his sending the money to Sparta. But what he most resented was, their putting the Athenians in a way of delivering themselves from the thirty tyrants whom he had set up. The Lacedæmonians, to strengthen the hands of those tyrants, and make them more formidable, had decreed, "That if any Athenian fled out of the city, he should be apprehended, wherever he was found, and obliged to return; and that whoever opposed the taking such fugitives should be treated as enemies to Sparta." The Thebans on that occasion gave out orders that deserve to be enrolled with the actions of Hercules and Bacchus. They caused proclamation to be made, "That every house and city should be open to such Athenians as desired protection; that whoever refused assistance to a fugitive that was seized, should be fined a talent; and that if any one should carry arms through Bœotia against the Athenian tyrants, he should not meet with the least molestation." Nor were their actions unsuitable to these decrees so humane, and so worthy of Grecians. When Thrasybulus and his company seized the castle of Phyle, and laid the plan of their other operations, it was from Thebes they set out; and the Thebans not only supplied them with arms and money, but gave them a kind reception and every encouragement. These were the grounds of Lysander's resentment against them.

He was naturally prone to anger, and the melancholy that grew upon him with years made him still more so. He therefore importuned the *ephori* to send him against the Thebans. Accordingly he was employed, and marched out at the head of one army, and Pausanias was soon sent after him with another. Pausanias took a circuit by mount Cithæron to enter Bœotia, and Lysander went through Phocis with a very considerable force to meet him. The city of Orchomenus was surrendered to him as he was upon his march, and he took Lebadia by storm, and plundered it From thence he sent letters to Pausanias, to desire him to remove from Platæa, and join him at Haliartus; for he intended to be there himself by break of day. But the messenger was taken by a Theban reconnoitering party, and the letters were carried to Thebes. Hereupon the Thebans intrusted their city with a body of Athenian auxiliaries, and marched out themselves about midnight for Haliartus. They reached the town a little before Lysander, and entered it with part of their forces. Lysander at first thought proper to encamp upon an eminence, and wait for Pausanias. But when the day began to decline, he grew impatient, and ordered the Lacedæmonians and confederates to arms. Then he led out his troops in a direct line

along the high-road up to the walls. The Thebans who remained without, taking the city on the left, fell upon his rear at the fountain called Cissusa*.

It is fabled that the nurses of Bacchus washed him in this fountain immediately after his birth. The water is, indeed, of a bright and shining colour like wine, and a most agreeable taste. Not far off grow the Cretan canes†, of which javelins are made; by which the Haliartians would prove that Rhadamanthus dwelt there. Besides, they show his tomb, which they call Alea. The monument of Alcmena, too, is near that place; and nothing, they say, can be more probable than that she was buried there, because she married Rhadamanthus after Amphitryon's death.

The other Thebans, who had entered the city, drew up with the Haliartians, and stood still for some time. But when they saw Lysander with his vanguard approaching the walls, they rushed out at the gates, and killed him, with a diviner by his side, and some few more; for the greatest part retired as fast as possible to the main body. The Thebans pursued their advantage, and pressed upon them with so much ardour, that they were soon put to the rout, and fled to the hills. Their loss amounted to a thousand, and that of the Thebans to three hundred. The latter lost their lives by chasing the enemy into craggy and dangerous ascents. These three hundred had been accused of favouring the Lacedæmonians; and, being determined to wipe off that stain, they pursued with a rashness which proved fatal to themselves.

Pausanias received the news of this misfortune as he was upon his march from Platæa to Thespia, and he continued his route in good order to Haliartus. Thrasybulus likewise brought his Athenians thither from Thebes. Pausanias wanted a truce, that he might article for the dead; but the older Spartans could not think of it without indignation. They went to him, and declared, "That they would never recover the body of Lysander by truce, but by arms; that, if they conquered, they should bring it off, and bury it with honour, and if they were worsted, they should fall gloriously upon the same spot with their commander." Notwithstanding these representations of the veterans, Pausanias saw it would be very difficult to beat the Thebans, now flushed with victory; and that even if he should have the advantage, he could hardly without a truce carry

* The name of this fountain should probably be corrected from Pausanias and Strabo, and read *Tilphusa* or *Tilphosa*.

† Strabo tells us, Haliartus was destroyed by the Romans in the war with Perseus. He also mentions a lake near it which produces canes or reeds, not for shafts of javelins, but for pipes or flutes. Plutarch, too, mentions the latter use in the Life of Sylla.

off the body, which lay so near the walls. He therefore sent a herald who settled the conditions, and then retired with his army. As soon as they were got out of the confines of Bœotia, they interred Lysander in the territories of the Penopæans, which was the first ground belonging to their friends and confederates. His monument still remains by the road from Delphi to Chæronea. While the Lacedæmonians had their quarters there, it is reported that a certain Phocian, who was giving an account of the action to a friend of his that was not in it, said, "The enemy fell upon them just after Lysander had passed the Hoplites." While the man stood wondering at the account, a Spartan, a friend of Lysander's, asked the Phocian what he meant by *Hoplites**, for he could make nothing of it. "I mean," said he, "the place where the enemy cut down our first ranks. The river that runs by the town is called Hoplites." The Spartan, when he heard this, burst into tears, and cried out, "How inevitable is fate!" It seems Lysander had received an oracle couched in these terms—

Fly from Hoplites and the earth-born dragon
That stings thee in the rear .....

Some say the Hoplites does not run by Haliartus, but is a brook near Coronea, which mixes with the river Phliarus, and runs along to that city. It was formerly called Hoplias, but is now known by the name of Isomantus. The Haliartian who killed Lysander was named Neochorus, and he bore a dragon in his shield, which it was supposed the oracle referred to.

They tell us too, that the city of Thebes, during the Peloponnesian war, had an oracle from the Ismenian Apollo, which foretold the battle at Delium†, and this at Haliartus, though the latter did not happen till thirty years after the other. The oracle runs thus—

Beware the confines of the wolf; nor spread
Thy snares for foxes on th' Orchalian hills.

The country about Delium he calls the confines, because Bœotia there borders upon Attica, and by the Orchalian hill is meant that in particular called *Alopecus*‡, on that side of Helicon which looks towards Haliartus.

* *Hoplites*, though the name of that river, signifies also *a heavy-armed soldier.*

† The battle of Delium, in which the Athenians were defeated by the Thebans, was fought in the first year of the eighty-ninth Olympiad, four hundred and twenty-two years before Christ; and that of Haliartus full twenty-nine years after. But it is common for historians to make use of a round number, except in cases where great precision is required.

‡ That is, *fox-hill.*

After the death of Lysander, the Spartans so much resented the whole behaviour of Pausanias with respect to that event, that they summoned him to be tried for his life. He did not appear to answer that charge, but fled to Tegea, and took refuge in Minerva's temple, where he spent the rest of his days as her suppliant.

Lysander's poverty, which was discovered after his death, added lustre to his virtue. It was then found, that notwithstanding the money which had passed through his hands, the authority he had exercised over so many cities, and indeed the great empire he had been possessed of, he had not in the least improved his family fortune. This account we have from Theopompus, whom we more easily believe when he commends than when he finds fault; for he, as well as many others, was more inclined to censure than to praise.

Ephorus tells us, that afterwards, upon some disputes between the confederates and the Spartans, it was thought necessary to inspect the writings of Lysander, and for that purpose Agesilaus went to his house. Among the other papers, he found that political one, calculated to show how proper it would be to take the right of succession from the Eurytionidæ and Agidæ, and to elect kings from among persons of the greatest merit. He was going to produce it before the citizens, and to show what the real principles of Lysander were: but Lacratidas, a man of sense, and the principal of the *ephori*, kept him from it, by representing, "How wrong it would be to dig Lysander out of his grave, when this oration, which was written in so artful and persuasive a manner, ought rather to be buried with him."

Among the other honours paid to the memory of Lysander, that which I am going to mention is none of the least. Some persons, who had contracted themselves to his daughters in his lifetime, when they found he died poor, fell off from their engagement. The Spartans fined them for courting the alliance while they had riches in view, and breaking off when they discovered that poverty which was the best proof of Lysander's probity and justice. It seems, at Sparta there was a law which punished not only those who continued in a state of celibacy, or married too late, but those that married ill; and it was levelled chiefly at persons who married into rich rather than good families. Such are the particulars of Lysander's life, which history has supplied us with.

SYLLA.

LUCIUS CORNELIUS SYLLA was of a patrician family. One of his ancestors, named Rufinus*, is said to have been consul, but to have fallen under a disgrace more than equivalent to that honour. He was found to have in his possession more than ten pounds of plate, which the law did not allow, and for that was expelled the senate. Hence it was that his posterity continued in a low and obscure condition; and Sylla himself was born to a very scanty fortune. Even after he was grown up, he lived in hired lodgings, for which he paid but a small consideration; and afterwards he was reproached with it, when he was risen to such opulence as he had no reason to expect: for one day as he was boasting of the great things he had done in Africa, a person of character made answer, "How canst thou be an honest man, who art master of such a fortune, though thy father left thee nothing?" It seems, though the Romans at that time did not retain their ancient integrity and purity of manners, but were degenerated into luxury and expense, yet they considered it as no less disgraceful to have departed from family poverty, than to have spent a paternal estate. And a long time after, when Sylla had made himself absolute, and put numbers to death, a man who was only the second of his family that was free, being condemned to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock for concealing a friend of his that was in the proscription, spoke of Sylla in this upbraiding manner:—"I am his old acquaintance; we lived long under the same roof: I hired the upper apartment at two thousand sesterces, and he that under me at three thousand." So that the difference between their fortunes was then only a thousand sesterces, which, in Attic money, is two hundred and fifty drachmas. Such is the account we have of his origin.

As to his figure, we have the whole of it in his statues, except his eyes. They were of a lively blue, fierce, and menacing; and the ferocity of his aspect was heightened by his complexion, which was a strong red interspersed with spots of white. From his complexion

* Publius Cornelius Rufinus was twice consul; the first time in the year of Rome four hundred and sixty-three, and the second thirteen years after. He was expelled the senate two years after his second consulship, when Q. Fabricius Lucinus, and Caius Æmilius Papus, were censors. Velleius Paterculus tells us, Sylla was the sixth in descent from this Rufinus, which might very well be; for between the first consulship of Rufinus, and the first campaign of Sylla, there was a space of a hundred and eighty-eight years.

they tell us, he had the name of Sylla*; and an Athenian humorist drew the following jest from it:

"Sylla's a mulberry strew'd o'er with meal."—Nor is it foreign to make these observations upon a man who in his youth, before he emerged from obscurity, was such a lover of drollery, that he spent his time with mimics and jesters, and went with them every length of riot. Nay, when in the height of his power he would collect the most noted players and buffoons every day, and, in a manner unsuitable to his age and dignity, drink and join with them in licentious wit, while business of consequence lay neglected. Indeed, Sylla would never admit of any thing serious at his table; and though at other times a man of business, and rather grave and austere in his manner, he would change instantaneously, whenever he had company, and begin a carousal. So that to buffoons and dancers he was the most affable man in the world, the most easy of access, and they moulded him just as they pleased.

To this dissipation may be imputed his libidinous attachments, his disorderly and infamous love of pleasure, which stuck by him even in age. One of his mistresses, named Nicopolis, was a courtesan, but very rich. She was so taken with his company and the beauty of his person, that she entertained a real passion for him, and at her death appointed him her heir. His mother-in-law, who loved him as her own son, likewise left him her estate. With these additions to his fortune, he was tolerably provided for.

He was appointed quæstor to Marius in his first consulship, and went over with him into Africa to carry on the war with Jugurtha. In the military department he gained great honour, and, among other things, availed himself of an opportunity to make a friend of Bocchus king of Numidia. The ambassadors of that prince had just escaped out of the hands of robbers, and were in a very indifferent condition, when Sylla gave them the most humane reception, loaded them with presents, and sent them back with a strong guard.

Bocchus, who for a long time had both hated and feared his son-in-law Jugurtha, had him then at his court. He had taken refuge there after his defeat; and Bocchus, now meditating to betray him, chose rather to let Sylla seize him, than to deliver him up himself. Sylla communicated the affair to Marius, and taking a small party with him, set out upon the expedition, dangerous as it was. What, indeed, could be more so than, in hopes of getting another man into his power, to trust himself with a barbarian who was treacherous to his own relations? In fact, when Bocchus saw them both at his dispo-

* Sil or Syl is a yellow kind of earth, which when burnt becomes red. Hence *Syllaceus Color*, in Vitruvius, signifies purple.

sal, and that he was under a necessity to betray either the one or the other, he debated long with himself which should be the victim. At last he determined to abide by his first resolution, and gave up Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla.

This procured Marius a triumph; but envy ascribed all the glory of it to Sylla, which Marius in his heart not a little resented; especially when he found that Sylla, who was naturally fond of fame, and from a low and obscure condition now come to general esteem, let his ambition carry him so far as to give orders for a signet to be engraved with a representation of this adventure, which he constantly used in sealing his letters. The device was, Bocchus delivering up Jugurtha, and Sylla receiving him.

This touched Marius to the quick. However, as he thought Sylla not considerable enough to be the object of envy, he continued to employ him in his wars. Thus, in his second consulship, he made him one of his lieutenants, and in his third gave him the command of a thousand men. Sylla, in these several capacities, performed many important services. In that of lieutenant, he took Copillus, chief of the Tectosagæ, prisoner; and in that of tribune, he persuaded the great and popular nation of the Marsi to declare themselves friends and allies of the Romans. But finding Marius uneasy at his success, and that, instead of giving him new occasions to distinguish himself, he rather opposed his advancement, he applied to Catulus the colleague of Marius.

Catulus was a worthy man, but wanted that vigour which is necessary for action. He therefore employed Sylla in the most difficult enterprises, which opened him a fine field both of honour and power. He subdued most of the barbarians that inhabited the Alps, and in a time of scarcity undertook to procure a supply of provisions; which he performed so effectually, that there was abundance not only in the camp of Catulus, but the overplus served to relieve that of Marius.

Sylla himself writes, that Marius was greatly afflicted at this circumstance. From so small and childish a cause did that enmity spring, which afterwards grew up in blood, and was nourished by civil wars and the rage of faction, till it ended in tyranny and the confusion of the whole state. This shows how wise a man Euripides was, and how well he understood the distempers of governments, when he called upon mankind to beware of ambition*, as the most destructive of demons to those that worship her.

Sylla by this time thought the glory he had acquired in war sufficient to procure him a share in the administration, and therefore im-

* Phœnissæ, v. 534.

mediately left the camp to go and make his court to the people. The office he solicited was that of the *city prætorship*, but he failed in the attempt. The reason he assigns is this: the people, he says, knowing the friendship between him and Bocchus, expected, if he was ædile before his prætorship, that he would treat them with magnificent huntings and combats of African wild beasts, and on that account chose other prætors, that he might be forced upon the ædileship. But the subsequent events showed the cause alleged by Sylla not to be the true one: for the year following* he got himself elected prætor, partly by his assiduities, and partly by his money. While he bore that office, he happened to be provoked at Cæsar, and said to him angrily, "I will use *my* authority against you." Cæsar† answered, laughing, "You do well to call it *yours*, for you bought it."

After his prætorship, he was sent into Cappadocia. His pretence for that expedition was the re-establishment of Ariobarzanes; but his real design was to restrain the enterprising spirit of Mithridates, who was gaining himself dominions no less respectable than his paternal ones. He did not take many troops with him out of Italy, but availed himself of the service of the allies, whom he found well affected to the cause. With these he attacked the Cappadocians, and cut in pieces great numbers of them, and still more of the Armenians, who came to their succour; in consequence of which Gordius was driven out, and Ariobarzanes restored to his kingdom.

During his encampment on the banks of the Euphrates, Orobazus came ambassador to him from Arsaces, king of Parthia. There had as yet been no intercourse between the two nations; and it must be considered as a circumstance of Sylla's good fortune, that he was the first Roman to whom the Parthians applied for friendship and alliance. At the time of audience he is said to have ordered three chairs, one for Ariobarzanes, one for Orobazus, and another in the middle for himself. Orobazus was afterwards put to death by the king of Parthia, for submitting so far to a Roman. As for Sylla, some commended his lofty behaviour to the barbarians; while others blamed it, as insolent and out of season.

It is reported, that a certain Chalcidian ‡, in the train of Orobazus, looked at Sylla's face, and observed very attentively the turn of his ideas, and the motions of his body. These he compared with the

* The year of Rome six hundred and fifty-seven.

† This must have been Sextus Julius Cæsar, who was consul four years after Sylla's prætorship. Caius Julius Cæsar was only four years old when Sylla was prætor.

‡ Of Chalcis, the metropolis of Chalcidene in Syria; if Plutarch did not rather write Chaldæan.

rules of his art, and then declared, "That he must infallibly be one day the greatest of men; and that it was strange he could bear to be any thing less at present."

At his return, Censorinus prepared to accuse him of extortion, for drawing, contrary to law, vast sums from a kingdom that was in alliance with Rome. He did not, however, bring it to a trial, but dropped the intended impeachment.

The quarrel between Sylla and Marius broke out afresh on the following occasion: Bocchus, to make his court to the people of Rome and to Sylla at the same time, was so officious as to dedicate several images of Victory in the Capitol, and close by them a figure of Jugurtha in gold, in the form he had delivered him up to Sylla. Marius, unable to digest the affront, prepared to pull them down, and Sylla's friends were determined to hinder it. Between them both the whole city was set in a flame, when the confederate war, which had long lain smothered, broke out, and for the present put a stop to the sedition.

In this great war, which was so various in its fortune, and brought so many mischiefs and dangers upon the Romans, it appeared from the small execution Marius did, that military skill requires a strong and vigorous constitution to second it. Sylla, on the other hand, performed so many memorable things, that the citizens looked upon him as a great general, his friends as the greatest in the world, and his enemies as the most fortunate. Nor did he behave, with respect to that notion, like Timotheus the son of Conon. The enemies of that Athenian ascribed all his success to fortune, and got a picture drawn, in which he was represented asleep, and fortune by his side taking cities for him in her net. Upon this he gave way to an indecent passion, and complained that he was robbed of the glory due to his achievements. Nay, afterwards, on his return from a certain expedition, he addressed the people in these terms:—"My fellow citizens, you must acknowledge that in this fortune has no share." It is said, the goddess piqued herself so far on being revenged on this vanity of Timotheus, that he could never do any thing extraordinary afterwards, but was baffled in all his undertakings, and became so obnoxious to the people, that they banished him.

Sylla took a different course. It not only gave him pleasure to hear his success imputed to fortune, but he encouraged the opinion, thinking it added an air of greatness, and even divinity, to his actions. Whether he did this out of vanity, or from a real persuasion of its truth, we cannot say. However, he writes in his Commentaries, "That his instantaneous resolutions, and enterprises executed in a manner different from what he had intended, always succeeded

better than those on which he bestowed the most time and forethought." It is plain, too, from that saying of his, "That he was born rather for fortune than war," that he attributed more to fortune than to valour. In short, he makes himself entirely the creature of fortune, since he ascribes to her divine influence the good understanding that always subsisted between him and Metellus, a man in the same sphere of life with himself, and his father-in-law: for whereas he expected to find him a man troublesome in office, he proved, on the contrary, a quiet and obliging colleague. Add to this, that in the Commentaries inscribed to Lucullus, he advises him to depend upon nothing more than that which Heaven directed him to in the visions of the night. He tells us further, that when he was sent at the head of an army against the confederates, the earth opened on a sudden near Laverna*, and that there issued out of the chasm, which was very large, a vast quantity of fire, and a flame that shot up to the heavens. The soothsayers being consulted upon it, made answer, "That a person of courage and superior beauty should take the reins of government into his hands, and suppress the tumults with which Rome was then agitated." Sylla says, he was the man; for that his locks of gold were sufficient proof of his beauty, and that he needed not hesitate, after so many great actions, to avow himself a man of courage. Thus much concerning his confidence in the gods.

In other respects he was not so consistent with himself. Rapacious in a high degree, but still more liberal; in preferring or disgracing whom he pleased, equally unaccountable; submissive to those who might be of service to him, and severe to those who wanted services from him: so that it was hard to say whether he was more insolent or more servile in his nature. Such was his inconsistency in punishing, that he would sometimes put men to the most cruel tortures on the slightest grounds, and sometimes overlook the greatest crimes; he would easily take some persons into favour after the most unpardonable offences, while he took vengeance of others, for small and trifling faults, by death and confiscation of goods. These things can be no otherwise reconciled, than by concluding that he was severe and vindictive in his temper, but occasionally checked those inclinations where his own interest was concerned.

In this very war with the confederates, his soldiers despatched with clubs and stones a lieutenant of his, named Albinus, who had been honoured with the prætorship; yet he suffered them, after such

* In the Salarian way there was a grove and temple consecrated to the goddess Laverna.

a crime, to escape with impunity. He only took occasion from thence to boast, that he should find they would exert themselves more during the rest of the war, because they would endeavour to atone for that offence by extraordinary acts of valour. The censure he incurred on this occasion did not affect him. His great object was the destruction of Marius; and finding that the confederate war was drawing towards an end*, he paid his court to the army, that he might be appointed general against Marius. Upon his return to Rome, he was elected consul with Quinctus Pompeius, being then fifty years old, and at the same time he entered into an advantageous marriage with Cæcilia, daughter of Metellus the high-priest. This match occasioned a good deal of popular censure. Sarcastical songs were made upon it; and, according to Livy's account, many of the principal citizens invidiously thought him unworthy of that alliance, though they had not thought him unworthy of the consulship. This lady was not his first wife, for in the early part of his life he married Ilia, by whom he had a daughter; afterwards he espoused Ælia, and after her Cœlia, whom, on account of her barrenness, he repudiated, without any other marks of disgrace, and dismissed with valuable presents. However, as he soon after married Metella, the dismission of Cœlia became the object of censure. Metella he always treated with the utmost respect; insomuch that when the people of Rome were desirous that he should recal the exiles of Marius's party, and could not prevail with him, they entreated Metella to use her good offices for them. It was thought, too, that when he took Athens, that city had harder usage because the inhabitants had jested vilely on Metella from the walls. But these things happened afterwards.

The consulship was now but of small consideration with him in comparison of what he had in view. His heart was fixed on obtaining the conduct of the Mithridatic war. In this respect he had a rival in Marius, who was possessed with an ill-timed ambition and madness for fame, passions which never grow old. Though now unwieldy in his person, and obliged, on account of his age, to give up his share in the expeditions near home, he wanted the direction of foreign wars. This man, watching his opportunity in Rome, when Sylla was gone to the camp to settle some matters that remained unfinished, framed that fatal sedition which hurt her more essentially than all the wars she had ever been engaged in. Heaven sent prodigies to prefigure it. Fire blazed out of its own accord from the ensign staves, and was with difficulty extinguished.—

* In the year of Rome six hundred and sixty-five.

Three ravens brought their young into the city, and devoured them there, and then carried the remains back to their nests. Some rats having gnawed the consecrated gold in a certain temple, the sacristans caught one of them in a trap, where she brought forth five young ones, and ate three of them. And what was most considerable, one day when the sky was serene and clear, there was heard in it the sound of a trumpet, so loud, so shrill, and mournful, that it frightened and astonished all the world. The Tuscan sages said it portended a new race of men, and a renovation of the world: for they observed, that there were eight several kinds of men, all different in life and manners: that heaven had allotted each its time, which was limited by the circuit of the great year; and that when one came to a period, and another race was rising, it was announced by some wonderful sign either from earth or from heaven. So that it was evident at one view to those who attended to these things, and were versed in them, that a new sort of men was come into the world, with other manners and customs, and more or less the care of the gods than those who preceded them. They added, that in this revolution of ages many strange alterations happened; that divination, for instance, should be held in great honour in some one age, and prove successful in all its predictions, because the deity afforded pure and perfect signs to proceed by; whereas in another it should be in small repute, being mostly extemporaneous, and calculating future events from uncertain and obscure principles.—Such was the mythology of the most learned and respectable of the Tuscan soothsayers. While the sénate were attending to the interpretations in the temple of Bellona, a sparrow, in sight of the whole body, brought in a grashopper in her mouth, and after she had torn it in two, left one part among them, and carried the other off. The diviners declared, they apprehended from this a dangerous sedition and dispute between the town and the country: for the inhabitants of the town are noisy like the grashopper, and those of the country are domestic beings like the sparrow*.

Soon after this Marius got Sulpitius to join him. This man was inferior to none in desperate attempts. Indeed, instead of inquiring for another more emphatically wicked, you must ask in what instance of wickedness he exceeded himself. He was a compound of cruelty, impudence, and avarice, and he could commit the most horrid and infamous of crimes in cold blood. He sold the freedom of Rome

* The original is obscure and imperfect in this place; consequently corrupt. Bryan says it should be restored from the manuscript thus:—*The inhabitants of the town are noisy like the sparrow, and those of the country frequent the fields like the grashopper.*—There is, indeed, an anonymous manuscript which gives us that reading.

openly to persons that had been slaves, as well as to strangers, and had the money told out upon a table in the *forum*. He had always about him a guard of three hundred men well armed, and a company of young men of the equestrian order, whom he called his Anti-senate. Though he got a law made that no senator should contract debts to the amount of more than two thousand drachmas, yet it appeared at his death that he owed more than three millions. This wretch was let loose upon the people by Marius, and carried all before him by dint of the sword. Among other bad edicts which he procured, one was that which gave the command in the Mithridatic war to Marius. Upon this the consuls ordered all the courts to be shut up. But one day, as they were holding an assembly before the temple of Castor and Pollux, he set his ruffians upon them, and many were slain. The son of Pompey the consul, who was yet but a youth, was of the number. Pompey concealed himself, and saved his life. Sylla was pursued into the house of Marius, and forced from thence to the *forum*, to revoke the order for the cessation of public business. For this reason Sulpitius, when he deprived Pompey of the consulship, continued Sylla in it, and only transferred the conduct of the war with Mithridates to Marius. In consequence of this, he immediately sent some military tribunes to Nola to receive the army at the hands of Sylla, and bring it to Marius. But Sylla got before them to the camp, and his soldiers were no sooner acquainted with the commission of those officers, than they stoned them to death.

Marius in return dipped his hands in the blood of Sylla's friends in Rome, and ordered their houses to be plundered. Nothing now was to be seen but hurry and confusion, some flying from the camp to the city, and some from the city to the camp. The senate were no longer free, but under the direction of Marius and Sulpitius; so that when they were informed that Sylla was marching towards Rome, they sent two prætors, Brutus and Servilius, to stop him. As they delivered their orders with some haughtiness to Sylla, the soldiers prepared to kill them, but at last contented themselves with breaking their fasces, tearing off their robes, and sending them away with every mark of disgrace.

The very sight of them, robbed as they were of the ensigns of their authority, spread sorrow and consternation in Rome, and announced a sedition, for which there was no longer either restraint or remedy. Marius prepared to repel force with force. Sylla moved from Nola at the head of six complete legions, and had his colleague along with him. His army, he saw, was ready at the first word to march to Rome, but he was unresolved in his own mind, and apprehensive of the danger. However, upon his offering sacrifice, the

soothsayer Posthumius had no sooner inspected the entrails, than he stretched out both his hands to Sylla, and proposed to be kept in chains till after the battle, in order for the worst of punishments, if every thing did not soon succeed entirely to the general's wish. It is said too, that there appeared to Sylla in a dream the goddess whose worship the Romans received from the Cappadocians, whether it be the Moon, Minerva, or Bellona. She seemed to stand by him, and put thunder in his hand, and having called his enemies by name one after another, bade him strike them: they fell, and were consumed by it to ashes. Encouraged by this vision, which he related next morning to his colleague, he took his way towards Rome.

When he had reached Picinæ*, he was met by an embassy, that entreated him not to advance in that hostile manner, since the senate had come to a resolution to do him all the justice he could desire. He promised to grant all they asked; and, as if he intended to encamp there, ordered his officers, as usual, to mark out the ground. The ambassadors took their leave with entire confidence in his honour. But as soon as they were gone, he despatched Basillus and Caius Mummius to make themselves masters of the gate and the wall by the Æsquiline Mount. He himself followed with the utmost expedition. Accordingly Bassillus and his party seized the gate, and entered the city. But the unarmed multitude got upon the tops of the houses, and with stones and tiles drove them back to the foot of the wall. At that moment Sylla arrived, and seeing the opposition his soldiers met with, called out to them to set fire to the houses. He took a flaming torch in his own hands, and advanced before them. At the same time he ordered his archers to shoot fire-arrows at the roofs. Reason had no longer any power over him; passion and fury governed all his motions; his enemies were all he thought of; and in the thirst for vengeance, he made no account of his friends, nor took the least compassion on his relations. Such was the case, when he made his way with fire, which makes no distinction between the innocent and guilty.

Meanwhile Marius, who was driven back to the temple of Vesta, proclaimed liberty to the slaves that would repair to his standard.—But the enemy pressed on with so much vigour, that he was forced to quit the city.

Sylla immediately assembled the senate, and got Marius and a few others condemned to death. The tribune Sulpitius, who was of the number, was betrayed by one of his own slaves, and brought

* There being no place between Nola and Rome called Picinæ, Lubinos thinks we should read Pictæ, which was a place of public entertainment about twenty-five miles from the capital. Strabo and Antoninus mention it as such.

to the block. Sylla gave the slave his freedom, and then had him thrown down the Tarpeian rock. As for Marius, he set a price upon his head; in which he neither behaved with gratitude nor good policy, since he had not long before fled into the house of Marius, and put his life in his hands, and yet was dismissed in safety. Had Marius, instead of letting him go, given him up to Sulpitius, who thirsted for his blood, he might have been absolute master of Rome. But he spared his enemy; and a few days after, when there was an opportunity for his making a suitable return, met not with the same generous treatment.

The senate did not express the concern which this gave them; but the people openly, and by acts, showed their resentment and resolution to make reprisals: for they rejected his nephew Nonius, who relied on his recommendation, and his fellow-candidate Servius, in an ignominious manner, and appointed others to the consulship, whose promotion they thought would be most disagreeable to him. Sylla pretended great satisfaction at the thing, and said, "He was quite happy to see the people by his means enjoy the liberty of proceeding as they thought proper." Nay, to obviate their hatred, he proposed Lucius Cinna, who was of the opposite faction, for consul, but first laid him under the sanction of a solemn oath to assist him in all his affairs. Cinna went up to the Capitol with a stone in his hand; there he swore before all the world to preserve the friendship between them inviolable, adding this imprecation, "If I be guilty of any breach of it, may I be driven from the city as this stone is from my hand!" at the same time he threw the stone upon the ground. Yet, as soon as he was entered upon his office, he began to raise new commotions, and set up an impeachment against Sylla, of which Verginius, one of the tribunes, was to be the manager. But Sylla left both the manager and the impeachment behind him, and set forward against Mithridates.

About the time that Sylla set sail from Italy, Mithridates, we are told, was visited with many evil presages at Pergamus. Among the rest, an image of victory bearing a crown, which was contrived to be let down by a machine, broke just as it was going to put the crown upon his head, and the crown itself was dashed to pieces upon the floor of the theatre. The People of Pergamus were seized with astonishment, and Mithridates felt no small concern, though his affairs then prospered beyond his hopes: for he had taken Asia from the Romans, and Bithynia and Cappadocia from their respective kings, and was set down in quiet at Pergamus, disposing of rich governments and kingdoms among his friends at pleasure. As for his sons, the eldest governed in peace the ancient kingdoms of Pon-

tus and Bosphorus, extending as far as the deserts above the Mæotic lake; the other, named Ariarathes, was subduing Thrace and Macedonia with a great army. His generals, with their armies, were reducing other considerable places. The principal of these was Archelaus, who commanded the seas with his fleet, was conquering the Cyclades, and all the other islands within the bay of Malea, and was master of Eubœa itself. He met, indeed, with some check at Chæronea. There Brutius Sura, lieutenant to Sentius, who commanded in Macedonia, a man distinguished by his courage and capacity, opposed Archelaus, who was overflowing Bœotia like a torrent, defeated him in three engagements near Chæronea, and confined him again to the sea. But as Lucius Lucullus came and ordered him to give place to Sylla, to whom that province and the conduct of the war there was decreed, he immediately quitted Bœotia, and returned to Sentius, though his success was beyond all that he could have flattered himself with, and Greece was ready to declare again for the Romans on account of his valour and conduct. It is true, these were the most shining actions of Brutius's life.

When Sylla was arrived, the cities sent ambassadors with an offer of opening their gates to him. Athens alone was held by its tyrant Aristion for Mithridates. He therefore attacked it with the utmost vigour, invested the Piræus, brought up all sorts of engines, and left no kind of assault whatever unattempted. Had he waited a while, he might, without the least danger, have taken the upper town, which was already reduced by famine to the last extremity; but his haste to return to Rome, where he apprehended some change in affairs to his prejudice, made him run every risk, and spare neither men nor money, to bring this war to a conclusion: for, besides his other warlike equipage, he had ten thousand yoke of mules, which worked every day at the engines. As wood began to fail, by reason of the immense weights which broke down his machines, or their being burnt by the enemy, he cut down the sacred groves.—The shady walks of the Academy and the Lycæum in the suburbs fell before his axe. And as the war required vast sums of money to support it, he scrupled not to violate the holy treasures of Greece, but took from Epidaurus, as well as Olympia, the most beautiful and precious of their gifts. He wrote also to the Amphictyones at Delphi, "That it would be best for them to put the treasures of Apollo in his hands; for either he would keep them safer than they could, or, if he applied them to his own use, would return the full value." Caphis the Phocian, one of his friends, was sent upon this commission, and ordered to have every thing weighed to him.

Caphis went to Delphi, but was loath to touch the sacred deposits,

and lamented to the Amphictyones the necessity he was under, with many tears. Some said they heard the sound of the lyre in the inmost sanctuary; and Caphis, either believing it, or willing to strike Sylla with a religious terror, sent him an account of it. But he wrote back in a jesting way, "That he was surprised Caphis should not know that music was the voice of joy, and not of resentment. He might, therefore, boldly take the treasures, since Apollo gave him them with the utmost satisfaction."

These treasures were carried off, without being seen by many of the Greeks. But, of the royal offerings, there remained a silver urn, which, being so large and heavy that no carriage could b ear it, the Amphictyones were obliged to cut it in pieces. At sight of this they called to mind one while Flaminius and Manius Acilius, and another while Paulus Æmilius; one of whom having driven Antiochus out of Greece, and the others subdued the kings of Macedonia, not only kept their hands from spoiling the Grecian temples, but expressed their regard and reverence for them, by adding new gifts. Those great men, indeed, were legally commissioned, and their soldiers were persons of sober minds, who had learned to obey their generals without murmuring. The generals, with the magnanimity of kings, exceeded not private persons in their expenses, nor brought upon the state any charge but what was common and reasonable. In short, they thought it no less a disgrace to flatter their own men than to be afraid of the enemy. But the commanders of these times raised themselves to high posts by force, not by merit; and as they wanted soldiers to fight their countrymen, rather than any foreign enemies, they were obliged to treat them with great complaisance. While they thus bought their services at the price of ministering to their vices, they were not aware that they were selling their country, and making themselves slaves to the meanest of mankind, in order to command the greatest and the best. This banished Marius from Rome, and afterwards brought him back against Sylla. This made Cinna dip his hands in the blood of Octavius, and Fimbria the assassin in that of Flaccus.

Sylla opened one of the first sources of this corruption: for, to draw the troops of other officers from them, he lavishly supplied the wants of his own. Thus, while by one and the same means he was inviting the former to desertion, and the latter to luxury, he had occasion for infinite sums, and particularly in this siege. For his passion for taking Athens was irresistibly violent; whether it was that he wanted to fight against that city's ancient renown, of which nothing but the shadow now remained, or whether he could not bear the scoffs and taunts with which Aristion, in all the wantonness of ribaldry, insulted him and Metella from the walls.

The composition of this tyrant's heart was insolence and cruelty. He was the sink of all the follies and vices of Mithridates. Poor Athens, which had got clear of innumerable wars, tyrannies, and seditions, perished at last by this monster, as by a deadly disease.—A bushel* of wheat was now sold there for a thousand drachmas. The people ate not only the herbs and roots that grew about the citadel, but sodden leather and oil bags, while he was indulging himself in riotous feasts and dancings in the day-time, or mimicking and laughing at the enemy. He let the sacred lamp of the goddess go out for want of oil; and when the principal priestess sent to ask him for half a measure of barley, he sent her that quantity of pepper. The senators and priests came to entreat him to take compassion on the city, and capitulate with Sylla, but he received them with a shower of arrows. At last, when it was too late, he agreed with much difficulty to send two or three of the companions of his riots to treat of peace. These, instead of making any proposals that tended to save the city, talked in a lofty manner about Theseus and Eumolpus, and the conquest of the Medes; which provoked Sylla to say, "Go, my noble souls, and take back your fine speeches with you; for my part, I was not sent to Athens to learn its antiquities, but to chastise its rebellious people."

In the mean time, Sylla's spies heard some old men, who were conversing together in the Ceramicus, blame the tyrant for not securing the wall near the Heptachalcos, which was the only place not impregnable. They carried this news to Sylla; and he, far from disregarding it, went by night to take a view of that part of the wall, and found that it might be scaled. He then set immediately about it; and he tells us in his Commentaries, that Marcus Teius† was the first man who mounted the wall. Teius there met with an adversary, and gave him such a violent blow on the skull, that he broke his sword; notwithstanding which, he stood firm and kept his place.

Athens‡, therefore, was taken, as the old men had foretold.—Sylla having levelled with the ground all that was between the Piræan gate and that called the Sacred, entered the town at midnight, in a manner the most dreadful that can be conceived. All the trumpets and horns sounded, and were answered by the shouts and clang of the soldiers let loose to plunder and destroy. They rushed along the streets with drawn swords, and horrible was the slaughter they made.

* Medimnus. See the table.

† Probably it should be Ateius. In the Life of Crassus one Ateius is mentioned as a tribune of the people.

‡ Athens was taken eighty-four years before the birth of Christ.

The number of the killed could not be computed; but we may form some judgment of it by the quantity of ground which was overflowed with blood: for, beside those that fell in other parts of the city, the blood which was shed in the market-place only covered all the Ceramicus as far as Dipylus. Nay, there are several who assure us that it ran through the gates, and overspread the suburbs.

But though such numbers were put to the sword, there were as many who laid violent hands upon themselves, in grief for their sinking country. What reduced the best men among them to this despair of finding any mercy or moderate terms for Athens, was the well-known cruelty of Sylla. Yet, partly by the intercession of Midia and Calliphon, and the exiles who threw themselves at his feet, partly by the entreaties of the senators who attended him in that expedition, and being himself satiated with blood besides, he was at last prevailed upon to stop his hand; and, in compliment to the ancient Athenians, he said, "He forgave the many for the sake of the few, the living for the dead."

He tells us in his Commentaries, that he took Athens on the kalends of March, which falls in with the new moon in the month of Anthesterion; when the Athenians were performing many rites in memory of the destruction of the country by water; for the deluge was believed to have happened about that time of the year*.

The city thus taken, the tyrant retired into the citadel, and was besieged there by Curio, to whom Sylla gave that charge. He held out a considerable time, but at last was forced to surrender for want of water. In this the hand of Heaven was very visible: for the very same day and hour that Aristion was brought out, the sky, which before was perfectly seren , grew black with clouds, and such a quantity of rain fell, as quite overflowed the citadel. Soon after this, Sylla made himself master of the Piræus, the most of which he laid in ashes, and among the rest, that admirable work, the arsenal built by Philo.

During these transactions, Taxiles, Mithridates's general, came down from Thrace and Macedonia with a hundred thousaud foot, ten thousand horse, and four-score and ten chariots, armed with scythes, and sent to desire Archelaus to meet him there. Archelaus had then his station at Munychia, and neither chose to quit the sea, nor yet fight the Romans, but was persuaded his point was to protract the war, and to cut off the enemy's convoys. Sylla saw better than he the distress he might be in for provisions, and therefore moved from that barren country, which was scarce sufficient to maintain his troops in time of peace, and led them into Bœotia. Most people

* The deluge of Ogyges happened in Attica near seventeen hundred years before.

thought this an error in his counsels, to quit the rocks of Attica, where horse could hardly act, and to expose himself on the large and open plains of Bœotia, when he knew the chief strength of the barbarians consisted in cavalry and chariots. But, to avoid hunger and famine, he was forced, as we have observed, to hazard a battle.—Besides, he was in pain for Hortensius, a man of a great and enterprising spirit, who was bringing him a considerable reinforcement from Thessaly, and was watched by the barbarians in the straits. These were the reasons which induced Sylla to march into Bœotia. As for Hortensius, Caphis, a countryman of ours, led him another way, and disappointed the barbarians. He conducted him by Mount Parnassus to Tithora, which is now a large city, but was then only a fort situated on the brow of a steep precipice, where the Phocians of old took refuge when Xerxes invaded their country. Hortensius, having pitched his tents there, in the day-time kept off the enemy, and in the night made his way down the broken rocks to Patronis, where Sylla met him with all his forces.

Thus united, they took possession of a fertile hill in the middle of the plains of Elateia, well sheltered with trees, and watered at the bottom. It is called Philobœotus, and is much commended by Sylla for the fruitfulness of its soil and its agreeable situation. When they were encamped, they appeared to the enemy no more than a handful. They had not indeed above fifteen hundred horse, and not quite fifteen thousand foot. The other generals in a manner forced Archelaus upon action; and when they came to put their forces in order of battle, they filled the whole plain with horses, chariots, bucklers, and targets. The clamour and hideous roar of so many nations, ranked thick together, seemed to rend the sky; and the pomp and splendour of their appearance was not without its use in exciting terror. For the lustre of their arms, which were richly adorned with gold and silver, and the colours of their Median and Scythian vests, intermixed with brass and polished steel, when the troops were in motion, kindled the air with an awful flame like that of lightning.

The Romans, in great consternation, shut themselves up within their trenches. Sylla could not, with all his arguments, remove their fears; and, as he did not choose to force them into the field in this dispirited condition, he sat still and bore, though with great reluctance, the vain boasts and insults of the barbarians.—This was of more service to him than any other measure he could have adopted. The enemy, who held him in great contempt, and were not before very obedient to their own generals, by reason of their number, now forgot all discipline, and but few of them remained within their in-

trenchments. Invited by rapine and plunder, the greatest part had dispersed themselves, and were got several days journey from the camp. In these excursions, it is said, they ruined the city of Panopea, sacked Lebadia, and pillaged a temple where oracles were delivered, without orders from any one of their generals.

Sylla, full of sorrow and indignation to have these cities destroyed before his eyes, was willing to try what effect labour would have upon his soldiers. He compelled them to dig trenches, to draw the Cephisus from its channel, and made them work at it without intermission, standing inspector himself, and severely punishing all whom he found remiss. His view in this was to tire them with labour, that they might give the preference to danger; and it answered the end he proposed. On the third day of their drudgery, as Sylla passed by, they called out to him to lead them against the enemy. Sylla said, "It is not any inclination to fight, but an unwillingness to work, that puts you upon this request. If you really want to come to an engagement, go sword in hand and seize that post immediately." At the same time he pointed to the place where had formerly stood the citadel of the Paropotamians, but all the buildings were now demolished, and there was nothing left but a craggy and steep mountain, just separated from mount Edylium by the river Assus, which at the foot of the mountain falls into the Cephisus. The river growing very rapid by this confluence, makes the ridge a safe place for an encampment. Sylla seeing those of the enemy's troops called *Chalcaspides* hastening to seize that post, wanted to gain it before them, and, by availing himself of the present spirit of his men, he succeeded. Archelaus, upon this disappointment, turned his arms against Chæronea: the inhabitants, in consequence of their former connexions with Sylla, entreated him not to desert the place; upon which he sent along with them the military tribune Gabinius with one legion. The Chæroneans, with all their ardour to reach the city, did not arrive sooner than Gabinius: such was his honour, when engaged in their defence, that it even eclipsed the zeal of those who implored his assistance. Juba tells us, that it was not Gabinius, but Ericius*, who was despatched on this occasion. In this critical situation, however, was the city of Chæronea.

The Romans now received from Lebadia and the cave of Trophonius very agreeable accounts of oracles that promised victory. The inhabitants of that country tell us many stories about them; but what Sylla himself writes, in the tenth book of his Commentaries, is

* It is probable it should be read Hirtius; for so some manuscripts have it, where the same person is mentioned again afterwards.

this: Quintus Titius, a man of some note among the Romans employed in Greece, came to him one day after he had gained the battle of Chæronea, and told him, that Trophonius foretold another battle to be fought shortly in the same place, in which he should likewise prove victorious. After him came a private soldier of his own, with a promise from heaven of the glorious success that would attend his affairs in Italy. Both agreed as to the manner in which these prophecies were communicated: they said the deity that appeared to them, both in beauty and majesty, resembled the Olympian Jupiter.

When Sylla had passed the Assus, he encamped under Mount Edylium, over against Archelaus, who had strongly intrenched himself between Ancontium and Edylium, near a place called Assia. That spot of ground bears the name of Archelaus to this day. Sylla passed one day without attempting any thing. The day following, he left Muræna with a legion and two cohorts to harass the enemy, who were already in some disorder, while he himself went and sacrificed on the banks of the Cephisus. After the ceremony was over, he proceeded to Chæronea to join the forces there, and to take a view of Thurium, a post which the enemy had gained before him. This is a craggy eminence, running up gradually to a point, which we express in our language by the term *Orthopagus*. At the foot of it runs the river Morius*, and by it stands the temple of Apollo Thurius. Apollo is so called from Thuro the mother of Chæron, who, as history informs us, was the founder of Chæronea. Others say, that the heifer which the Pythian Apollo appointed Cadmus for his guide first presented herself there, and that the place was thence named Thurium; for the Phœnicians call a heifer *Thor*.

As Sylla approached Chæronea, the tribune who had the city in charge led out his troops to meet him, having himself a crown of laurel in his hands. Just as Sylla received them, and began to animate them to the intended enterprise, Homoloicus and Anaxidamus, two Chæroneans, addressed him, with a promise to cut off the corps that occupied Thurium, if he would give them a small party to support them in the attempt: for there was a path which the barbarians were not apprised of, leading from a place called Petrochus, by the temple of the Muses, to a part of the mountain that overlooked them; from whence it was easy either to destroy them with stones, or drive them down into the plain. Sylla finding the character of these men for courage and fidelity supported by Gabinius, ordered them to put the thing in execution. Meantime he drew up his forces, and placed

* This river is afterwards called *Molus*; but which is the right reading is uncertain.

the cavalry in the wings, taking the right himself, and giving the left to Muræna. Gallus* and Hortensius, his lieutenants, commanded a body of reserve in the rear, and kept watch upon the heights, to prevent their being surrounded. For it was easy to see that the enemy were preparing with their wings, which consisted of an infinite number of horse, and all their light-armed foot, troops that could move with great agility, and wind away at pleasure, to take a circuit, and quite enclose the Roman army.

In the mean time, the two Chæroneans, supported according to Sylla's order, by a party commanded by Ericius, stole unobserved up Thurium, and gained the summit. As soon as they made their appearance, the barbarians were struck with consternation, and sought refuge in flight; but in the confusion many of them perished by means of each other: for, unable to find any firm footing, as they moved down the steep mountain, they fell upon the spears of those that were next before them, or else pushed them down the precipice. All this while the enemy were pressing upon them from above, and galling them behind, insomuch that three thousand men were killed upon Thurium. As to those who got down, some fell into the hands of Muræna, who met them in good order, and easily cut them in pieces; others who fled to the main body under Archelaus, wherever they fell in with it, filled it with terror and dismay; and this was the thing that gave the officers most trouble, and principally occasioned the defeat. Sylla, taking advantage of their disorder, moved with such vigour and expedition to the charge, that he prevented the effect of the armed chariots. For the chief strength of those chariots consists in the course they run, and in the impetuosity consequent upon it; and if they have but a short compass, they are as insignificant as arrows sent from a bow not well drawn.—This was the case at present with respect to the barbarians. Their chariots moved at first so slow, and their attacks were so lifeless, that the Romans clapped their hands, and received them with the utmost ridicule. They even called for fresh ones, as they used to do in the Hippodrome at Rome.

Upon this the infantry engaged. The barbarians, for their part, tried what the long pikes would do; and, by locking their shields together, endeavoured to keep themselves in good order. As for the Romans, after their spears had had all the effect that could be expected from them, they drew their swords, and met the scimitars of the enemy with a strength which a just indignation inspires. For Mithridates's generals had brought over fifteen thousand slaves upon

* Guerin. after Appian's *Mithrid.* reads *Galba.* And so it is in several manuscripts. Dacier proposes to read *Balbus,* which name occurs afterwards.

a proclamation of liberty, and placed them among the heavy-armed infantry; on which occasion, a certain centurion is said thus to have expressed himself:—"Surely these are the *Saturnalia;* for we never saw slaves have any share of liberty at another time." However, as their ranks were so close, and their files so deep, that they could not easily be broken, and as they exerted a spirit which could not be expected from them, they were not repulsed and put in disorder, till the archers and slingers of the second line discharged all their fury upon them.

Archelaus was now extending his right wing in order to surround the Romans, and Hortensius, with the cohorts under his command, pushed down to take him in flank. But Archelaus, by a sudden manœuvre, turned against him with two thousand horse whom he had at hand, and by little and little drove him towards the mountains; so that, being separated from the main body, he was in danger of being quite hemmed in by the enemy. Sylla, informed of this, pushed up with his right wing, which had not yet engaged, to the assistance of Hortensius. On the other hand, Archelaus conjecturing, from the dust that flew about, the real state of the case, left Hortensius, and hastened back to the right of the Roman army, from whence Sylla had advanced, in hopes of finding it without a commander.

At the same time Taxiles led on the *Chalcaspides* against Muræna, so that shouts were set up on both sides, which were re-echoed by the neighbouring mountains. Sylla now stopped to consider which way he should direct his course. At length, concluding to return to his own post, he sent Hortensius with four cohorts to the assistance of Muræna, and himself with the fifth made up to his right wing with the utmost expedition. He found that without him it kept a good countenance against the troops of Archelaus; but as soon as he appeared, his men made such prodigious efforts, that they routed the enemy entirely, and pursued them to the river and Mount Acontium.

Amidst this success, Sylla was not unmindful of Muræna's danger, but hastened with a reinforcement to that quarter. He found him, however, victorious, and therefore had nothing to do but to join in the pursuit. Great numbers of the barbarians fell in the field of battle, and still greater as they were endeavouring to gain their intrenchments; so that out of so many myriads, only ten thousand men reached Chalcis. Sylla says he missed only fourteen of his men, and two of these came up in the evening. For this reason he inscribed his trophies *to Mars, to Victory, and Venus,* to show that he was no less indebted to good fortune, than to capacity and valour, for the advantages he had gained. The trophy I am speaking of was erect-

ed for the victory won on the plain, where the troops of Archelaus began to give way, and to fly to the river Molus. The other trophy upon the top of Thurium, in memory of their getting above the barbarians, was inscribed in Greek characters *to the valour of Homolocius and Anaxidamus.*

He exhibited games on this occasion at Thebes, in a theatre erected for that purpose near the fountain of Œdipus*. But the judges were taken from other cities of Greece, by reason of the implacable hatred he bore the Thebans. He deprived them of half their territories, which he consecrated to the Pythian Apollo and the Olympian Jupiter, leaving orders that out of their revenues the money should be repaid which he had taken from their temples.

After this, he received news that Flaccus, who was of the opposite faction, was elected consul, and that he was bringing a great army over the Ionian, in pretence against Mithridates, but in reality against him. He therefore marched into Thessaly to meet him. However, when he was arrived at Melitea, intelligence was brought him from several quarters, that the countries behind him were laid waste by another army of the king's, superior to the former. Dorylaus was arrived at Chalcis with a large fleet, which brought over eighty thousand men of the best equipped and best disciplined troops of Mithridates. With these he entered Bœotia, and made himself master of the country, in hopes of drawing Sylla to a battle. Archelaus remonstrated against that measure, but Dorylaus was so far from regarding him, that he scrupled not to assert, that so many myriads of men could not have been lost without treachery. But Sylla soon turned back, and showed Dorylaus how prudent the advice was which he had rejected, and what a proper sense its author had of the Roman valour. Indeed, Dorylaus himself, after some slight skirmishes with Sylla at Tilphosium, was the first to agree that action was not the thing to be pursued any longer, but that the war was to be spun out, and decided at last by dint of money.

However, the plain of Orchomenus, where they were encamped, being most advantageous for those whose chief strength consisted in cavalry, gave fresh spirits to Archelaus. For, of all the plains of Bœotia, the largest and most beautiful is this, which, without either tree or bush, extends itself from the gates of Orchomenus to the fens in which the river Melas loses itself. That river rises under the walls of the city just mentioned, and is the only Grecian river which is navigable from its source. About the summer solstice it overflows like the Nile, and produces plants of the same nature; only they are

* Pausanias tells us this fountain was so called, because Œdipus there washed off the blood he was stained with in the murder of his father.

meagre and bear but little fruit. Its course is short, great part of it soon stopping in those dark and muddy fens. The rest falls into the river Cephisus, about the place where the water is bordered with such excellent canes for flutes.

The two armies being encamped opposite each other, Archelaus attempted not any thing. But Sylla began to cut trenches in several parts of the field, that he might, if possible, drive the enemy from the firm ground, which was so suitable for cavalry, and force them upon the morasses. The barbarians could not bear this, but, upon the first signal from their generals, rode up at full speed, and handled the labourers so rudely, that they all dispersed. The corps too, designed to support them was put to flight. Sylla that moment leaped from his horse, seized one of the ensigns, and pushed through the middle of the fugitives towards the enemy, crying out, "Here, Romans, is the bed of honour I am to die in. Do you, when you are asked where you betrayed your general, remember to say it was at Orchomenus." These words stopped them in their flight; besides, two cohorts came from the right wing to his assistance, and at the head of this united corps he repulsed the enemy.

Sylla then drew back a little to give his troops some refreshment; after which he brought them to work again, intending to draw a line of circumvallation round the barbarians. Hereupon they returned in better order than before. Diogenes, son-in-law to Archelaus, fell gloriously as he was performing wonders on the right. Their archers were charged so close by the Romans, that they had not room to manage their bows, and therefore took a quantity of arrows in their hands, which they used instead of swords, and with them killed several of their adversaries. At last, however, they were broken and shut up in their camp, where they passed the night in great misery, on account of their dead and wounded. Next morning Sylla drew out his men to continue the trench; and as numbers of the barbarians came out to engage him, he attacked and routed them so effectually, that, in the terror they were in, none stood to guard the camp, and he entered it with them. The fens were then filled with the blood of the slain, and the lake with dead bodies; insomuch, that even now many of the weapons of the barbarians, bows, helmets, fragments of iron breast-plates, and swords, are found buried in the mud, though it is almost two hundred years since that battle. Such is the account we have of the actions of Chæronea and Orchomenus.

Meanwhile Cinna and Carbo behaved with so much rigour and injustice at Rome to persons of the greatest distinction, that many, to avoid their tyranny, retired to Sylla's camp, as to a safe harbour; so

that, in a little time, he had a kind of senate about him. Metella, with much difficulty, stole from Rome with his children, and came to tell him that his enemies had burnt his house and all his villas, and to entreat his return home, where his help was so much wanted. He was much perplexed in his deliberations, neither choosing to neglect his afflicted country, nor knowing how to go and leave such an important object as the Mithridatic war in so unfinished a state, when he was addressed by a merchant of Delium, called Archelaus, on the part of the general of that name, who wanted to sound him about an accommodation, and to treat privately of the conditions on which it should be concluded.

Sylla was so charmed with the thing, that he hastened to a personal conference with the general. Their interview was on the sea-coast near Delium, where stands a celebrated temple of Apollo. Upon their meeting, Archelaus proposed that Sylla should quit the Asiatic and Pontic expedition, and turn his whole attention to the civil war, engaging on the king's behalf to supply him with money, vessels, and troops. Sylla proposed in answer, that Archelaus should quit the interest of Mithridates, be appointed king in his place, assume the title of an ally to the Romans, and put the king's shipping in his hands. When Archelaus expressed his detestation of this treachery, Sylla thus proceeded: "Is it possible, then, that you Archelaus, a Cappadocian, the slave, or, if you please, the friend of a barbarous king, should be shocked at a proposal, which, however in some respects exceptionable, must be attended with the most advantageous consequences? Is it possible, that to me the Roman general, to Sylla, you should take upon you to talk of treachery?—As if you were not that same Archelaus who at Chæronea fled with a handful of men, the poor remains of a hundred and twenty thousand, who hid himself two days in the marshes of Orchomenus, and left the roads of Bœotia blocked up with heaps of dead bodies." Upon this Archelaus had recourse to entreaty, and begged at last a peace for Mithridates. This was allowed upon certain conditions: Mithridates was to give up Asia and Paphlagonia, cede Bithynia to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes. He was to allow the Romans two thousand talents to defray the expense of the war, besides seventy armed galleys fully equipped. Sylla, on the other hand, was to secure Mithridates in the rest of his dominions, and procure him the title of friend and ally to the Romans.

These conditions, being accepted and negotiated, Sylla returned through Thessaly and Macedonia towards the Hellespont. Archelaus, who accompanied him, was treated with the greatest respect, and when he happened to fall sick at Larissa, Sylla halted there for

some time, and showed him all the attention he could have paid to his own general officers, or even to his colleague himself. This circumstance rendered the battle of Chæronea a little suspected, as if it had been gained by unfair means; and what added to the suspicion was, the restoring of all the prisoners of Mithridates, except Aristion, the avowed enemy of Archelaus, who was taken off by poison. But what confirmed the whole was the cession of ten thousand acres in Eubœa to the Cappadocian, and the title that was given him of friend and ally to the Romans. Sylla, however, in his Commentaries, obviates all these censures.

During his stay at Larissa, he received an embassy from Mithridates, entreating him not to insist upon his giving up Paphlagonia, and representing that the demand of shipping was inadmissable. Sylla heard these remonstrances with indignation—"What," said he, "does Mithridates pretend to keep Paphlagonia, and refuse to send the vessels I demanded? Mithridates, whom I should have expected to entreat me on his knees that I would spare that right hand which had slain so many Romans—But I am satisfied that, when I return to Asia, he will change his stile. While he resides at Pergamus, he can direct at ease the war he has not seen." The ambassadors were struck dumb with this indignant answer, while Archelaus endeavoured to sooth and appease the anger of Sylla by every mitigating expression, and bathing his hands with his tears. At length he prevailed on the Roman general to send him to Mithridates, assuring him that he would obtain his consent to all the articles, or perish in the attempt.

Sylla, upon this assurance, dismissed him, and invaded Media, where he committed great depredations, and then returned to Macedonia. He received Archelaus at Philippi, who informed him that he had succeeded perfectly well in his negotiation, but that Mithridates was extremely desirous of an interview. His reason for it was this: Fimbria, who had slain the consul Flaccus, one of the heads of the opposite faction, and defeated the king's generals, was now marching against Mithridates himself. Mithridates, alarmed at this, wanted to form a friendship with Sylla.

Their interview was at Dardanus in the country of Troas. Mithridates came with two hundred galleys, an army of twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and a great number of armed chariots. Sylla had no more than four cohorts and two hundred horse. Mithridates came forward, and offered him his hand, but Sylla first asked him, "Whether he would stand to the conditions that Archelaus had settled with him?" The king hesitated upon it, and Sylla then said, "It is for petitioners to speak first, and for conquerors to hear

in silence." Mithridates then began a long harangue, in which he endeavoured to apologize for himself, by throwing the blame partly upon the gods and partly upon the Romans. At length Sylla interrupted him—"I have often," said he, "heard that Mithridates was a good orator, but now I know it by experience, since he has been able to give a colour to such unjust and abominable deeds." Then he set forth in bitter terms, and in such a manner as could not be replied to, the king's shameful conduct, and in conclusion asked him again, "Whether he would abide by the conditions settled with Archelaus?" Upon his answering in the affirmative, Sylla took him in his arms and saluted him. Then he presented to him the two kings, Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes, and reconciled them to each other.

Mithridates having delivered up to him seventy of his ships, and five hundred archers, sailed back to Pontus. Sylla perceived that his troops were much offended at the peace: they thought it an insufferable thing that a prince, who, of all the kings in the universe, was the bitterest enemy to Rome, who had caused a hundred and fifty thousand Romans to be murdered in Asia in one day, should go off with the wealth and spoils of Asia, which he had been plundering and oppressing full four years. But he excused himself to them by observing, that they should never have been able to carry on the war against both Fimbria and Mithridates, if they had joined their forces.

From thence he marched against Fimbria, who was encamped at Thyatira; and having marked out a camp very near him, he began upon the intrenchment. The soldiers of Fimbria came out in their vests, and saluted those of Sylla, and readily assisted them in their work. Fimbria, seeing this desertion, and withal dreading Sylla as an implacable enemy, despatched himself upon the spot.

Sylla laid a fine upon Asia of twenty thousand talents; and besides this, the houses of private persons were ruined by the insolence and disorder of the soldiers he quartered upon them: for he commanded every householder to give the soldier who lodged with him sixteen drachmas a-day, and to provide a supper for him and as many friends as he chose to invite. A centurion was to have fifty drachmas a-day, and one dress to wear within doors, and another to appear with in public.

These things settled, he set sail for Ephesus with his whole fleet, and reached the harbour of Piræus the third day. At Athens he got himself initiated in the mysteries of Ceres, and from that city he took with him the library of Apellicon and Teian, in which were most of the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, books at that time not suf-

ficiently known to the world. When they were brought to Rome, it is said that Tyrannio the grammarian prepared many of them for publication, and that Andronicus the Rhodian, getting the manuscripts by his means, did actually publish them, together with those indexes that are now in every body's hands. The old Peripatetics appear, indeed, to have been men of curiosity and erudition; but they had neither met with many of Aristotle's and Theophrastus's books, nor were those they did meet with correct copies; because the inheritance of Neleus the Scepsian, to whom Theophrastus left his works, fell into mean and obscure hands,

During Sylla's stay at Athens, he felt a painful numbness in his feet, which Strabo calls the *lisping of the gout.* This obliged him to sail to Ædepsum for the benefit of the warm-baths, where he lounged away the day with mimics and buffoons, and all the train of Bacchus. One day as he was walking by the sea-side, some fishermen presented him with a curious dish of fish. Delighted with the present, he asked the people of what country they were; and when he heard they were Alæans, "What," said he, "are any of the Alæans alive?" for, in pursuance of his victory at Orchomenus, he had razed three cities of Bœotia, Anthedon, Larymna, and Alææ. The poor men were struck dumb with fear, but he told them with a smile, "They might go away quite happy, for they had brought very respectable mediators with them." The Alæans tell us, that from that time they took courage, and re-established themselves in their old habitations.

Sylla, now recovered, passed through Thessaly and Macedonia to the sea, intending to cross over from Dyrrachium to Brundusium with a fleet of twelve hundred sail. In that neighbourhood stands Apollonia, near which is a remarkable spot of ground called Nymphæum*. The lawns and meadows are of incomparable verdure, though interspersed with springs from which continually issues fire. In this place, we are told, a satyr was taken asleep, exactly such as statuaries and painters represent to us. He was brought to Sylla, and interrogated in many languages who he was; but he uttered nothing intelligible; his accent being harsh and inarticulate, something between the neighing of a horse and the bleating of a goat. Sylla was shocked with his appearance, and ordered him to be taken out of his presence.

When he was upon the point of embarking with his troops, he

* In this place the Nymphs had an oracle, of the manner of consulting which, Dion (l. 41.) relates several ridiculous stories. Strabo, speaking of it in his seventh book, tells us the Nymphæum is a rock, out of which issues fire, and that beneath it flow streams of flaming bitumen.

began to be afraid, that as soon as they reached Italy, they would disperse and retire to their respective cities. Hereupon they came to him of their own accord, and took an oath that they should stand by him to the last, and not wilfully do any damage to Italy. And as they saw he would want large sums of money, they went and collected each as much as they could afford, and brought it him. He did not, however, receive their contribution, but having thanked them for their attachment, and encouraged them to hope the best, he set sail. He had to go, as he himself tells us, against fifteen generals of the other party, who had under them no less than two hundred and fifty cohorts. But heaven gave him evident tokens of success. He sacrificed immediately upon his landing at Tarentum, and the liver of the victim had the plain impression * of a crown of laurel, with two strings hanging down. A little before his passage, there were seen in the day-time upon Mount Hephæum † in Campania, two great he-goats engaged, which used all the movements that men do in fighting.—The phenomenon raised itself by degrees from the earth into the air, where it dispersed itself in the manner of shadowy phantoms, and quite disappeared.

A little after this, young Marius, and Norbanus the consul, with two very powerful bodies, presumed to attack Sylla, who, without any regular disposition of his troops, or order of battle, by the mere valour and impetuosity of his soldiers, after having slain seven thousand of the enemy, obliged Norbanus to seek a refuge within the walls of Capua. This success he mentions as the cause why his soldiers did not desert, but despised the enemy, though greatly superior in numbers. He tells us, moreover, that an enthusiastic servant of Pontius, in the town of Silvium, announced him victorious upon the communicated authority of Bellona, but informed him at the same time, that if he did not hasten, the Capitol would be burnt.—This actually happened on the day predicted, which was the sixth of July. About this time it was that Marcus Lucullus, one of Sylla's officers, who had no more than sixteen cohorts under his command, found himself on the point of engaging an enemy who had fifty: though he had the utmost confidence in the valour of his troops, yet, as many of them were without arms, he was doubtful about the onset. While he was deliberating about the matter, a gentle breeze bore from a neighbouring field a quantity of flowers, that fell on the

* The priests traced the figures they wanted upon the liver on their hands, and by holding it very close, easily made the impression upon it, while it was warm and pliant.

† There is no such mountain as Hephæum known. Livy mentions the hills of Tifata near Capua.

shields and helmets of the soldiers in such a manner that they appeared to be crowned with garlands. This circumstance had such an effect upon them *, that they charged the enemy with double vigour and courage, killed eighteen thousand, and became complete masters of the field, and of the camps. This Marcus Lucullus was brother to that Lucullus who afterwards conquered Mithridates and Tigranes.

Sylla still saw himself surrounded with armies and powerful enemies, to whom he was inferior in point of force, and therefore had recourse to fraud. He made Scipio, one of the consuls, some proposals for an accommodation, upon which many interviews and conferences ensued. But Sylla, always finding some pretence for gaining time, was corrupting Scipio's soldiers all the while by means of his own, who were as well practised as their general in every art of solicitation. They entered their adversaries' camp, and, mixing among them, soon gained them over, some by money, some by fair promises, and others by the most insinuating adulation. At last Sylla advancing to their intrenchments with twenty cohorts, Scipio's men saluted them as fellow-soldiers, and came out and joined them; so that Scipio was left alone in his tent, where he was taken, but immediately after dismissed in safety. These twenty cohorts were Sylla's decoy-birds, by which he drew forty more into his net, and then brought them altogether into his camp. On this occasion Carbo is reported to have said, that in Sylla he had to contend both with a fox and a lion, but the fox gave him the most trouble.

The year following, young Marius being consul, and, at the head of fourscore cohorts, gave Sylla the challenge. Sylla was very ready to accept it that day in particular, on account of a dream he had the night before. He thought he saw old Marius, who had now been long dead, advising his son to beware of the ensuing day, as big with mischief to him. This made Sylla impatient for the combat. The first step he took towards it was to send for Dolabella, who had encamped at some distance. The enemy had blocked up the roads, and Sylla's troops were much harassed in endeavouring to open them. Besides, a violent rain happened to fall, and still more incommoded them in their work. Hereupon the officers went and entreated Sylla to defer the battle till another day, showing him how

* The use that the ancient Romans as well as Greeks made of enthusiasm and superstition, in war particularly, was so great and so frequent, that it appears to take off much from the idea of their native courage and valour. The slightest circumstance, as in the improbable instance referred to, of a preternatural kind, or bearing the least shadow of a religious ceremony, would animate them to those exploits, which, though a rational valour was certainly capable of effecting them, without such influence they would never have undertaken.

his men were beaten out with fatigue, and seated upon the ground with their shields under them. Sylla yielded to their arguments, though with great reluctance, and gave them orders to intrench themselves.

They were just begun to put these orders in execution, when Marius rode boldly up in hopes of finding them dispersed and in great disorder. Fortune seized this moment for accomplishing Sylla's dream. His soldiers, fired with indignation, left their work, struck their pikes in the trench, and with drawn swords and loud shouts ran to the charge. The enemy made but a slight resistance; they were routed, and vast numbers slain in their flight. Marius himself fled to Prænestę, where he found the gates shut; but a rope was let down, to which he fastened himself, and so he was taken up in safety over the wall.

Some authors indeed write, and among the rest Fenestalla, that Marius saw nothing of the engagement, but that, being oppressed with watching and fatigue, he laid himself down in a shade, after the signal was given, and was not awaked without difficulty when all was lost. Sylla says, he lost only three-and-twenty men in this battle, though he killed ten thousand of the enemy, and took eight thousand prisoners. He was equally saccessful with respect to his lieutenants Pompey, Crassus, Metellus, and Servilius, who, without any miscarriage at all, or with none of any consequence, defeated great and powerful armies; insomuch, that Carbo, who was the chief support of the opposite party, stole out of his camp by night, and passed over into Africa.

The last conflict Sylla had was with Telesinus the Samnite, who entered the lists like a fresh champion against one that was weary, and was near throwing him at the very gates of Rome. Telesinus had collected a great body of forces, with the assistance of a Lucanian named Lamponius, and was hastening to the relief of Marius, who was besieged in Prænestę. But he got intelligence that Sylla and Pompey were advancing against him by long marches, the one to take him in front, and the other in rear, and that he was in the utmost danger of being hemmed in, both before and behind. In this case, like a man of great abilities and experience of the most critical kind, he decamped by night, and marched with his whole army directly towards Rome; which was in so unguarded a condition, that he might have entered it without difficulty. But he stopped when he was only ten furlongs from the Colline Gate, and contented himself with passing the night before the walls, greatly encouraged and elevated at the thought of having outdone so many great commanders in point of generalship.

Early next morning, the young nobility mounted their horses, and fell upon him. He defeated them, and killed a considerable number; among the rest fell Appius Claudius, a young man of spirit, and of one of the most illustrious families in Rome. The city was now full of terror and confusion—the women ran about the streets, bewailing themselves, as if it was just going to be taken by assault—when Balbus, who was sent forward by Sylla, appeared advancing at full speed with seven hundred horse. He stoped just long enough to give his horses time to cool, and then bridled them again, and proceeded to keep the enemy in play.

In the mean time Sylla made his appearance, and having caused his first ranks to take a speedy refreshment, he began to put them in order of battle. Dolabella and Torquatus pressed him to wait some time, and not lead his men in that fatigued condition to an engagement that must prove decisive. For he had not now to do with Carbo and Marius, but with Samnites and Lucanians, the most inveterate enemies to the Roman name. However, he overruled their motion, and ordered the trumpets to sound to the charge, though it was now so late as the tenth hour of the day. There was now no battle during the whole war fought with such obstinacy as this.—The right wing commanded by Crassus, had greatly the advantage; but the left was much distressed, and began to give way. Sylla made up to its assistance. He rode a white horse of uncommon spirit and swiftness; and two of the enemy, knowing him by it, levelled their spears at him. He himself perceived it not, but his groom did, and with a sudden lash made the horse spring forward, so that the spears only grazed his tail, and fixed themselves in the ground. It is said, that in all his battles he wore in his bosom a small golden image of Apollo, which he brought from Delphi. On this occasion he kissed it with particular devotion*, and addressed it in these terms:—"O Pythian Apollo, who has conducted the fortunate Cornelius Sylla through so many engagements with honour; when thou hast brought him to the threshold of his country, wilt thou let him fall there ingloriously by the hands of his own citizens?"

After this act of devotion, Sylla endeavoured to rally his men: some he entreated, some he threatened, and others he forced back to the charge. But at length his whole left wing was routed, and he was obliged to mix with the fugitives to regain his camp, after having lost many of his friends of the highest distinction. A great number, too, of those who came out of the city to see the battle, were trodden under foot and perished. Nay, Rome itself was thought to

* By this it appears, that the heathens made the same use of the images of their gods, which the Romanists do of images and relics.

be absolutely lost; and the siege of Prænestę, where Marius had taken up his quarters, nearly being raised. For, after the defeat, many of the fugitives repaired thither, and desired Lucretius Ofella, who had the direction of the siege, to quit it immediately, because (they said) Sylla was slain, and his enemies masters of Rome.

But the same evening, when it was quite dark, there came persons to Sylla's camp, on the part of Crassus, to desire refreshments for him and his soldiers: for he had defeated the enemy, and pursued them to Antemna, where he was set down to besiege them. Along with this news, Sylla was informed that the greatest part of the enemy was cut off in the action. As soon, therefore, as it was day, he repaired to Antemna. There three thousand of the other faction sent deputies to him to intercede for mercy; and he promised them impunity, on condition that they would come to him after some notable stroke against the rest of his enemies. Confiding in his honour, they fell upon another corps, and thus many of them were slain by the hands of their fellow-soldiers. Sylla, however, collected these, and what was left of the others, to the number of six thousand, into the Circus, and at the same time assembled the senate in the temple of Bellona. The moment he began his harangue, his soldiers, as they had been ordered, fell upon these six thousand poor wretches, and cut them in pieces. The cry of such a number of people massacred in a place of no great extent, as may well be imagined, was very dreadful. The senators were struck with astonishment. But he, with a firm and unaltered countenance continuing his discourse, "Bade them attend to what he was saying, and not trouble themselves about what was doing without; for the noise they heard came only from some malefactors, whom he had ordered to be chastised."

Hence it was evident, to the least discerning among the Romans, that they were not delivered from tyranny; they had only changed their tyrant. Marius, indeed, from the first, was of a harsh and severe disposition, and power did not produce, it only added to his cruelty. But Sylla, at the beginning, bore prosperity with great moderation; and though he seemed more attached to the patricians, it was thought he would protect the rights of the people: he had loved to laugh from his youth, and had been so compassionate that he often melted into tears. This change in him, therefore, could not but cast a blemish upon power. On his account it was believed, that high honours and fortunes will not suffer men's manners to remain in their original simplicity, but that it begets in them insolence, arrogance, and inhumanity. Whether power does really produce such a change of disposition, or whether it only displays the native badness of

the heart, belongs, however, to another department of letters to make inquiry.

Sylla, now turning himself to kill and to destroy, filled the city with massacres, which had neither number nor bounds. He even gave up many persons, against whom he had no complaint, to the private revenge of his creatures. At last one of the young nobility, named Caius Metellus, ventured to put these questions to him in the senate—"Tell us, Sylla, when we shall have an end of our calamities? how far thou wilt proceed, and when we may hope thou wilt stop? We ask thee not to spare those whom thou hast marked out for punishment, but we ask an exemption from anxiety for those whom thou hast determined to save." Sylla said, "He did not yet know whom he should save." "Then," replied Metellus, "let us know whom thou intendest to destroy;" and Sylla answered, "He would do it." Some, indeed, ascribe the last reply to Aufidius, one of Sylla's flatterers.

Immediately upon this, he proscribed eighty citizens, without consulting any of the magistrates in the least. And as the public expressed their indignation at this, the second day after he proscribed two hundred and twenty more, and as many on the third. Then he told the people from the *rostrum*, "He had now proscribed all that he remembered; and such as he had forgot, must come into some future proscription." Death was the punishment he ordained for any one who should harbour or save a person proscribed, without excepting a brother, a son, or a parent! Such was to be the reward of humanity! But two talents were to be the reward of murder, whether it were a slave that killed his master, or a son his father!—The most unjust circumstance, however, of all, seemed to be, that he declared the sons and grandsons of proscribed persons infamous, and confiscated their goods!

The lists were put up not only at Rome, but in all the cities of Italy. Neither temple of the gods, nor paternal dwelling, nor hearth of hospitality, was any protection against murder. Husbands were despatched in the bosoms of their wives, and sons in those of their mothers. And the sacrifices to resentment and revenge were nothing to those who fell on account of their wealth: so that it was a common saying among the ruffians, "His fine house was the death of such a one, his gardens of another, and his hot-baths of a third." Quintus Aurelius, a quiet man, who thought he could have no share in those miseries, but that which compassion gave him, came one day into the *forum*, and out of curiosity read the names of the proscribed. Finding his own, however, among the rest, he cried out, "Wretch that I am! my Alban villa pursues me;" and he had not gone far before a ruffian came up and killed him.

In the mean time young Marius being taken*, slew himself. Sylla then came to Prænestę, where at first he tried the inhabitants, and had them executed singly. But afterwards, finding he had not leisure for such formalities, he collected them to the number of twelve thousand, and ordered them to be put to death, excepting only one who had formerly entertained him at his house. This man with a noble spirit told him, "He would never owe his life to the destroyer of his country;" and, voluntarily mixing with the crowd, he died with his fellow-citizens! The strangest, however, of all his proceedings was that with respect to Cataline. This wretch had killed his own brother during the civil war, and now he desired Sylla to put him among the proscribed, as a person still alive; which he made no difficulty of doing. Cataline in return went and killed one Marcus Marius, who was of the opposite faction, brought his head to Sylla, as he sat on his tribunal in the *forum*, and then washed his hands in the lustral water† at the door of Apollo's temple, which was just by.

These massacres were not the only thing that afflicted the Romans. He declared himself dictator, reviving that office in his own favour, though there had been no instance of it for a hundred and twenty years. He got a decree of amnesty for all he had done: and, as to the future, it invested him with the power of life and death, of confiscating, of colonizing, of building or demolishing cities, of giving or taking away kingdoms at his pleasure. He exercised his power in such an insolent and despotic manner with regard to confiscated goods, that his applications of them from the tribunal were more intolerable than the confiscations themselves. He gave to handsome prostitutes, to harpers, to buffoons, and to the most wicked of his enfranchised slaves, the revenues of whole cities and provinces, and compelled women of condition to marry some of these ruffians.

He was desirous of an alliance with Pompey the Great, and made him divorce the wife he had, in order to his marrying Æmilia, the daughter of Scaurus by his own wife Metella, though he had to force her from Manius Glabrio, by whom she was pregnant. The young lady, however, died in childbed in the house of Pompey, her second husband.

* He was not taken; but, as he was endeavouring to make his escape by a subterraneous passage, he found it beset by Sylla's soldiers; whereupon he ordered one of his slaves to kill him.

† Here is another instance of a heathen custom adopted by the Romanists. An exclusion from the use of this holy water was considered by the Greeks as a sort of excommunication. We find Œdipus prohibiting it to the murderers of Laius. *Sophoc. Œdip.* act. ii. sc. 1.

Lucretius Ofella, who had besieged Marius in Præneste, now aspired to the consulship, and prepared to sue for it. Sylla forbade him to proceed; and when he saw that, in confidence of his interest with the people, he appeared notwithstanding in public as a candidate, he sent one of the centurions who attended him to despatch that brave man, while he himself sat on his tribunal in the temple of Castor and Pollux, and looked down upon the murder. The people seized the centurion, and brought him with loud complaints before Sylla. He commanded silence, and told them the thing was done by his order; the centurion therefore was to be dismissed immediately.

About this time he led up his triumph, which was magnificent for the display of wealth, and of the royal spoils, which were a new spectacle; but that which crowned all was the procession of the exiles. Some of the most illustrious and most powerful of the citizens followed the chariot, and called Sylla their saviour and father, because by his means it was that they returned to their country, and were restored to their wives and children. When the triumph was over, he gave an account of his great actions in a set speech to the people, and was no less particular in relating the instances of his good fortune than those of his valour. He even concluded with an order, that for the future he should be called Felix (that is, the Fortunate). But in writing to the Grecians, and in his answers to the applications, he took the additional name of Epaphroditus *(the favourite of Venus)*. The inscription upon the trophies left among us is, Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus. And to the twins he had by Metella, he gave the names of Faustus and Fausta, which, in the Roman language signifies *auspicious* and *happy*.

A still stronger proof of his placing more confidence in his good fortune than in his achievements, was his laying down the dictatorship. After he had put an infinite number of people to death, broke in upon the constitution, and changed the form of government, he had the hardiness to leave the people full power to choose consuls again; while he himself, without pretending to any direction of their suffrages, walked about the *forum* as a private man, and put it in the power of any person to take his life. In the first election he had the mortification to see his enemy Marcus Lepidus, a bold and enterprising man, declared consul, not by his own interest, but by that of Pompey, who on this occasion exerted himself with the people. And when he saw Pompey going off happy in his victory, he called him to him, and said, "No doubt, young man, your politics are very excellent, since you have preferred Lepidus to Catulus, the worst and most stupid of men to the best. It is high time to awake and be

on your guard, now you have strengthened your adversary against yourself." Sylla spoke this from something like a prophetic spirit, for Lepidus soon acted with the utmost insolence, as Pompey's declared enemy.

Sylla gave the people a magnificent entertainment on account of his dedicating the tenths of his substance to Hercules. The provisions were so over-abundant, that a great quantity was thrown every day into the river; and the wine that was drank was forty years old at least. In the midst of this feasting, which lasted many days, Metella sickened and died. As the priests forbade him to approach her, and to have his house defiled with mourning, he sent her a bill of divorce, and ordered her to be carried to another house while the breath was in her body. His superstition made him very punctilious in observing these laws of the priests; but, by giving into the utmost profusions, he transgressed a law of his own, which limited the expense of funerals. He broke in upon his own sumptuary law, too, with respect to diet, by passing his time in the most extravagant banquets, and having recourse to debauches to combat anxiety.

A few months after he presented the people with a show of gladiators. And as at that time men and women had no separate places, but sat promiscuously in the theatre, a woman of great beauty, and of one of the best families, happened to sit near Sylla. She was the daughter of Messala, and sister to the orator Hortensius; her name Valeria; and she had lately been divorced from her husband. This woman, coming behind Sylla, touched him, and took off a little of the nap of his robe, and then returned to her seat. Sylla looked at her, quite amazed at her familiarity; when she said, "Wonder not, my lord, at what I have done; I had only a mind to share a little in your good fortune." Sylla was far from being displeased; on the contrary, it appeared that he was flattered very agreeably: for he sent to ask her name, and to inquire into her family and character. Then followed an exchange of amorous regards and smiles, which ended in a contract and marriage. The lady, perhaps, was not to blame: but Sylla, though he got a woman of reputation and great accomplishments, yet came into the match upon wrong principles. Like a youth, he was caught with soft looks and languishing airs, things that are wont to excite the lowest of the passions.

Yet, notwithstanding he had married so extraordinary a woman, he continued his commerce with actresses and female musicians, and sat drinking whole days with a parcel of buffoons about him. His chief favourites at this time were Roscius the commedian, Sorex the mimic, and Metrobius, who used to act a woman's part;

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

These courses added strength to a distemper that was but slight at the beginning, and for a long time he knew not that he had an abscess within him. This abscess corrupted his flesh, and turned it all into lice: so that, though he had many persons employed both day and night to clean him, the part taken away was nothing to that which remained. His whole attire, his baths, his basons, and his food, were filled with that perpetual flux of vermin and corruption. And though he bathed many times a-day to cleanse and purify himself, it was in vain: the corruption came on so fast, that it was impossible to overcome it.

We are told, that among the ancients, Acastus, the son of Pelias, died of this sickness; and of those that come nearer our times, Alcman the poet, Pherecydes the divine, Callisthenes the Olynthian, who was kept in close prison, and Mucius the lawyer. And if after these we may take notice of a man who did not distinguish himself by any thing laudable, but was noted another way, it may be mentioned, that the fugitive slave Eunus, who kindled up the *Servile* war in Sicily, and was afterwards taken and carried to Rome, died there of this disease.

Sylla not only foresaw his death, but has left something relating to it in his writings. He finished the twenty-second book of his Commantaries only two days before he died: and he tells us that the Chaldeans had predicted, that, after a life of glory, he would depart in the height of his prosperity. He further acquaints us, that his son, who died a little before Metella, appeared to him in a dream, dressed in a mean garment, and desired him to bid adieu to his cares, and go along with him to his mother Metella, with whom he should live at ease, and enjoy the charms of tranquillity. He did not, however, withdraw his attention from public affairs. It was but ten days before his death that he reconciled the contending parties of Puteoli*, and gave them a set of laws for the regulation of their police. And the very day before he died, upon information that the quæstor Granius would not pay what he was indebted to the state, but waited for his death to avoid paying it at all, he sent for him into his apartment, planted his servants about him, and ordered them to strangle him. The violence with which he spoke strained him so much, that the imposthume broke, and he voided a vast quantity of blood. His strength now failed fast, and, after he had passed the night in great agonies, he expired. He left two young children by Metella; and Valeria, after his death, was delivered of a daughter called *Posthumia;* a name given of course by the Romans to such as are born after the death of their father.

* In the Greek *Dichærachia*, which is another name for *Puteoli*.

Many of Sylla's enemies now combined with Lepidus to prevent his having the usual honours of burial: but Pompey, though he was somewhat displeased at Sylla, because, of all his friends, he had left him only out of his will, in this case interposed his authority, and prevailed upon some, by his interest and entreaties, and on others by menaces, to drop their opposition. Then he conveyed the body to Rome, and conducted the whole funeral not only with security, but with honour. Such was the quantity of spices brought in by the women, that, exclusive of those carried in two hundred and ten great baskets, a figure of Sylla at full length, and of a *lictor* besides, was made entirely of cinnamon and the choicest frankincense. The day happened to be so cloudy, and the rain was so much expected, that it was about the ninth hour* before the corpse was carried out. However, it was no sooner laid upon the pile, than a brisk wind blew, and raised so strong a flame, that it was consumed immediately. But after the pile was burnt down, and the fire began to die out, a great rain fell, which lasted till night. So that his good fortune continued to the last, and assisted at his funeral. His monument stands in the *Campus Martius;* and they tell us he wrote an epitaph for himself, to this purport: "No friend ever did me so much good, or enemy so much harm, but I repaid him with interest."

LYSANDER AND SYLLA COMPARED.

WE have now gone through the life of Sylla, and will proceed to the comparison. This, then, Lysander and he have in common, that they were entirely indebted to themselves for their elevation. But Lysander has this advantage, that the high offices he gained were with the consent of the people, while the constitution of his country was in a sound and healthy state; and that he got nothing by force, or by acting against the laws—

In civil broils the worst of men may rise.

So it was then in Rome. The people were so corrupt, and the republic in so sickly a condition, that tyrants sprung up on every side. Nor is it any wonder if Sylla gained the ascendant, at a time when wretches like Glaucias and Saturninus expelled such men as Metellus; when the sons of consuls were murdered in the public assemblies; when men supported their seditious purposes with soldiers

* Three in the afternoon.

purchased with money, and laws were enacted with fire and sword, and every species of violence*.

In such a state of things, I do not blame the man who raised himself to supreme power; all I say is, that when the commonwealth was in so depraved and desperate a condition, power was no evidence of merit. But since the laws and public virtue never flourished more at Sparta than when Lysander was sent upon the highest and most important commissions, we may conclude that he was the best among the virtuous, and first among the great. Thus the one, though he often surrendered the command, had it as often restored to him by his fellow-citizens, because his virtue, which alone has a claim to the prize of honour, continued still the same†. The other, after he was once appointed general, usurped the command, and kept in arms for ten years, sometimes styling himself consul, sometimes pro-consul, and sometimes dictator, but was always in reality a tyrant.

It is true, as we have observed above, Lysander did attempt a change in the Spartan consitution, but he took a milder and more legal method than Sylla. It was by persuasion‡, not by arms, he proceeded: nor did he attempt to overturn every thing at once. He only wanted to correct the establishment as to kings. And indeed it seemed natural, that in a state which had the supreme direction of Greece, on account of its virtue, rather than any other superiority, merit should gain the sceptre. For as the hunter and the jockey do not so much consider the breed, as the dog or horse already bred, (for what if the foal should prove a mule)?—so the politician would entirely miss his aim, if, instead of inquiring into the qualities of a person for first magistrate, he looked upon nothing but his family. Thus the Spartans deposed some of their kings, because they had not princely talents, but were persons of no worth or consequence. Vice even with high birth is dishonourable: and the honour which virtue enjoys is all her own; family has no share in it.

They were both guilty of injustice, but Lysander *for* his friends, and Sylla *against* his. Most of Lysander's frauds were committed for his creatures, and it was to advance to high stations and absolute power that he dipped his hands so much in blood: whereas Sylla envied Pompey the army, and Dolabella the naval command he had

* We need no other instances than this to show that a republican government will never do in corrupt times.

† What kind of virtue can Plutarch possibly ascribe to Lysander?—unless he means military virtue. Undoubtedly he was a man of the greatest duplicity of character, of the greatest profaneness—for he corrupted the priests, and prostituted the honour of the gods, to gratify his personal envy and ambition.

‡ It was by hypocrisy, by profane and impious expedients.

given them; and he attempted to take them away. And when Lucretius Ofella, after the greatest and most faithful services, solicited the consulship, he ordered him to be despatched before his eyes. Terror and dismay seized all the world, when they saw one of his best friends thus murdered.

If we consider their behaviour with respect to riches and pleasure, we shall find the one the prince, and the other the tyrant. When the power and authority of Lysander were so extensive, he was not guilty of one act of intemperance or youthful dissipation. He, if any man, avoided the sting of that proverb, *Lions within doors, and foxes without;* so sober, so regular, so worthy of a Spartan, was his manner of living. Sylla, on the other hand, neither let poverty set bounds to his passions in his youth, nor years in his age: but, as Sallust says, while he was giving his countrymen laws for the regulation of marriages, and for promoting sobriety, he indulged himself in adultery and every species of lust.

By his debaucheries he so drained the public treasures, that he was obliged to let many cities in alliance and friendship with Rome purchase independence and the privilege of being governed only by their own laws; though at the same time he was daily confiscating the richest and best houses in Rome. Still more immense were the sums he squandered upon his flatterers. Indeed, what bounds or moderation could be expected in his private gifts, when his heart was dilated with wine, if we do but attend to one instance of his behaviour in public? One day as he was selling a considerable estate, which he wanted a friend to have at an under-price, another offered more, and the crier proclaiming the advance, he turned with indignation to the people, and said, "What outrage and tyranny is this, my friends, that I am not allowed to dispose of my own spoils as I please?"

Far from such rapaciousness, Lysander, to the spoils he sent his countrymen, added his own share. Not that I praise him in that; for perhaps he hurt Sparta more essentially by the money he brought into it, than Sylla did Rome by that which he took from it. I only mention it as a proof of the little regard he had for riches. It was something very particular, however, that Sylla, while he abandoned himself to all the profusion of luxury and expense, should bring the Romans to sobriety; whereas Lysander subjected the Spartans to those passions which he restrained in himself. The former acted worse than his own laws directed, and the other brought his people to act worse than himself: for he filled Sparta with the love of that which he knew how to despise. Such they were in their political capacity.

As to military achievements and acts of generalship, the number

of victories, and the dangers he had to combat, Sylla is beyond comparison. Lysander, indeed, gained two naval victories, to which we may add his taking of Athens; for though that affair was not difficult in the execution, it was glorious in its consequences. As to his miscarriage in Bœotia and at Haliartus, ill fortune, perhaps, had some concern in it, but it was principally owing to indiscretion, since he would not wait for the great reinforcement which the king was bringing from Platæa, and which was upon the point of joining him, but with an ill-timed resentment and ambition marched up to the walls. Hence it was that he was slain by some troops of no consideration, who sallied out to the attack. He fell not as Cleombrotus did at Leuctra, who was slain as he was making head against an impetuous enemy; not like Cyrus, or Epaminondas, who received a mortal wound as he was rallying his men, and ensuring to them the victory. These great men died the death of generals and kings.—But Lysander threw away his life ingloriously, like a common soldier or desperate adventurer.—By his death he showed how right the ancient Spartans were in not choosing to fight against stone-walls, where the bravest man in the world may be killed; I will not say by an insignificant man, but by a child or a woman. So Achilles is said to have been slain by Paris at the gates of Troy. On the other hand, so many pitched battles were won by Sylla, and so many myriads of enemies killed, that it is not easy to number them. He took Rome itself twice*, and the Piræus at Athens, not by famine as Lysander had done, but by assault, after he had defeated Archelaus in several great battles at land, and forced him to take refuge in his fleet.

It is a material point, too, to consider what generals they had to oppose. I can look upon it as no more than the play of children to have beaten Antiochus, who was no better than Alcibiades's pilot, and to have outwitted Philocles the Athenian demagogue,

A man whose tongue was sharpened—not his sword.

Mithridates would not have compared them with his groom, nor Marius with one of his lictors. But Sylla had to contend with princes, consuls, generals, and tribunes, of the highest influence and abilities; and, to name but a few of them, who among the Romans was more formidable than Marius; among the kings, more powerful than Mithridates; or, among the people of Italy, more warlike than Lamponius and Telesinus? yet Sylla banished the first, subdued the second, and killed the other two.

* Whatever military merit he might display in other battles, he had certainly none in the taking of Rome. For it was not generalship, but necessity, that brought it into his hands.

What is of more consequence, in my opinion, than any thing yet mentioned, is, that Lysander was supported in all his enterprises by his friends at home, and owed all his success to their assistance; whereas Sylla, a banished man, overpowered by a faction at a time when his enemies were expelling his wife, destroying his house, and putting his friends to death, fought the battles of his country, on the plains of Bœotia, against armies that could not be numbered, and was victorious in her cause. This was not all: Mithridates offered to second him with all his power, and join him with all his forces, against his enemies at Rome; yet he relaxed not the least of his demands, nor showed him the least countenance. He would not so much as return his salutation, or give him his hand, till he promised in person to relinquish Asia, to deliver up his ships, and to restore Bithynia and Cappadocia to their respective kings.—There was nothing in the whole conduct of Sylla more glorious, or that showed greater magnanimity. He preferred the public good to his own: like a dog of generous breed, he kept his hold till his adversary had given out, and after that he turned to revenge his own cause.

The different methods they observed with respect to the Athenians contribute not a little to mark their characters. Sylla, though they bore arms against him for Mithridates, after he had taken their city, indulged them with their liberty, and the privilege of their own laws: Lysander showed no sort of compassion for a people of late so glorious and powerful, but abolished the popular government, and set over them the most cruel and unjust of tyrants.

Perhaps we shall not be wide of the truth, if we conclude, that in the life of Sylla there are more great actions, and in Lysander's fewer faults; if we assign to the Grecian the prize of temperance and prudence, and to the Roman that of valour and capacity for war.

CIMON.

PERIPOLTAS the diviner*, who conducted king Opheltas and his subjects from Thessaly into Bœotia, left a family that flourished for many years. The greatest part of that family dwelt in Chæronea, where they first established themselves after the expulsion of the barbarians. But as they were of a gallant and martial turn, and never spared themselves in time of action, they fell in the wars with the

* Plutarch here introduces an obscure and dirty story, for the sake of talking of the place of his nativity.

Medes and the Gauls.—There remained only a young orphan, named Damon, and surnamed Peripoltas. Damon, in beauty of person and dignity of mind, far exceeded all of his age, but he was of a harsh and morose temper, unpolished by education.

He was now in the dawn of youth, when a Roman officer, who wintered with his company in Chæronea, conceived a criminal passion for him, and as he found solicitations and presents of no avail, he was preparing to use force. It seems he despised our city, whose affairs were then in a bad situation, and whose smallness and poverty rendered it an object of no importance. As Damon dreaded some violence, and withal was highly provoked at the past attempts, he formed a design against the officer's life, and drew some of his comrades into the scheme. The number was but small, that the matter might be more private; in fact, they were no more than sixteen. One night they daubed their faces over with soot, after they had drank themselves up to a pitch of elevation, and next morning fell upon the Roman as he was sacrificing in the market-place. The moment they had killed him, and a number of those that were about him, they fled out of the city. All was now in confusion. The senate of Chæronea met and condemned the assassins to death, in order to excuse themselves to the Romans. But, as the magistrates supped together according to custom, Damon and his accomplices returned in the evening, broke into the town-hall, killed every man of them, and then made off again.

It happened that Lucius Lucullus, who was going upon some expedition, marched that way. He stopped to make an inquiry into the affair, which was quite recent, and found that the city was so far from being accessary to the death of the Roman officer, that it was a considerable sufferer itself. He therefore withdrew the garrison, and took the soldiers with him.

Damon, for his part, committed depredations in the adjacent country, and greatly harassed the city. The Chæroneans endeavoured to decoy him by frequent messages and decrees in his favour; and when they had got him among them again, they appointed him master of the wrestling-ring, but soon took opportunity to despatch him, as he was anointing himself in the bagnio. Our fathers tell us, that for a long time certain spectres appeared on that spot, and sad groans were heard; for which reason the doors of the bagnio were walled up: and, to this very day, those who live in that neighbourhood imagine that they see strange sights, and are alarmed with doleful voices. There are some remains, however, of Damon's family, who live mostly in the town of Stiris in Phocis. These are called, ac-

cording to the Æolic dialect, *Asholomenoi*, that is, *Sooty-faced*, on account of their ancestor having smeered his face with soot, when he went about the assassination.

The people of Orchomenus, who were neighbours to the Chæroneans, having some prejudice against them, hired a Roman informer to accuse the city of the murder of those who fell by the hands of Damon and his associates, and to prosecute it as if it had been an individual. The cause came before the governor of Macedonia, for the Romans had not yet sent prætors into Greece; and the persons employed to plead for the city appealed to the testimony of Lucullus. Upon this the governor wrote to Lucullus, who gave a true account of the affair, and by that means delivered Chæronea from utter ruin.

Our forefathers, in gratitude for their preservation, erected a marble statue to Lucullus in the market-place, close by that of Bacchus. And though many ages are since elapsed, we are of opinion that the obligation extends even to us. We are persuaded too, that a representation of the body is not comparable to that of the mind and the manners, and therefore, in this work of lives compared, shall insert his. We shall, however, always adhere to the truth; and Lucullus will think himself sufficiently repaid by our perpetuating the memory of his actions. He cannot want, in return for his true testimony, a false and fictitious account of himself. When a painter has to draw a fine and elegant form, which happens to have some little blemish, we do not want him entirely to pass over that blemish, nor yet to mark it with exactness: the one would spoil the beauty of the picture, and the other destroy the likeness. So in our present work, since it is very difficult, or rather impossible, to find any life whatever without its spots and errors, we must set the good qualities in full light, with all the likeness of truth. But we consider the faults and stains that proceed either from some sudden passion or from political necessity, rather as defects of virtue than signs of a bad heart; and for that reason we shall cast them a little into shade in reverence to human nature, which produces no specimen of virtue absolutely pure and perfect.

When we looked out for one to put in comparison with Cimon, Lucullus seemed the properest person. They were both of a warlike turn, and both distinguished themselves against the barbarians.—They were mild in their administration; they reconciled the contending factions in their country. They both gained great victories, and erected glorious trophies. No Grecian carried his arms to more distant countries than Cimon, or Roman than Lucullus. Hercules and Bacchus only exceeded them; unless we add the expeditions of

Perseus against the Ethiopians, Medes, and Armenians, and that of Jason against Colchis. But the scenes of these last actions are laid in such very ancient times, that we have some doubt whether the truth could reach us. This also they have in common, that they left their wars unfinished; they both pulled their enemies down, but neither of them gave them their death's-blow. The principal mark, however, of likeness in their characters, is their affability and gentleness of deportment in doing the honours of their houses, and the magnificence and splendour with which they furnished their tables. Perhaps there are some other resemblances which we pass over, that may easily be collected from their history itself.

Cimon was the son of Miltiades and Hegesipyla. That lady was a Thracian, and daughter to king Olorus, as it stands recorded in the poems of Archelaus and Melanthius, written in honour of Cimon, so that Thucydides the historian was his relation, for his father was called Olorus; a name that had been long in the family, and he had gold mines in Thrace. Thucydides is said, too, to have been killed in Scapte Hyle*, a place in that country. His remains, however, were brought into Attica, and his monument is shown among those of Cimon's family, near the tomb of Elpinice, sister to Cimon. But Thucydides was of the ward of Alimus, and Miltiades of that of Lacias. Miltiades was condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents, for which he was thrown into prison by the government, and there he died. He left his son Cimon very young, and his daughter Elpinice was not yet marriageable.

Cimon, at first, was a person of no reputation, but censured as a disorderly and riotous young man. He was even compared to his grandfather Cimon, who, for his stupidity, was called *Coalemos* (that is, *Ideot)*. Stesimbrotus the Thasian, who was his cotemporary, says he had no knowledge of music, or any other accomplishment which was in vogue among the Greeks, and that he had not the least spark of the Attic wit or eloquence; but that there was a generosity and sincerity in his behaviour which showed the composition of his soul to be rather of the Peloponnesian kind. Like the Hercules of Eurypides, he was

Rough and unbred, but great on great occasions:

and therefore we may well add that article to the account Stesimbrotus has given of him.

In his youth he was accused of a criminal commerce with his sister Elpinice†. There are other instances, indeed, mentioned of Elpi-

* *Scapte Hyle* signifies *a wood full of trenches.* Stephanus (de Urb.) calls it Scaptesule.

† Some say Elpinice was only half sister to Cimon, and that as such he married her;

nice's irregular conduct, particularly with respect to Polygnotus the painter. Hence it was, we are told, that when he painted the Trojan woman in the portico then called *Plesianaction**, but now *Pockilæ*, he drew Elpinice's face in the character of Laodice. Polygnotus, however, was not a painter by profession, nor did he receive wages for his work in the portico, but painted without reward, to recommend himself to his countrymen. So the historians write, as well as the poet Melanthius in these verses —

> The temples of the gods,
> The fanes of heroes, and Cecropian halls,
> His liberal hand adorn'd.

It is true, there are some who assert that Elpinice did not live in a private commerce with Cimon, but that she was publicly married to him, her poverty preventing her from getting a husband suitable to her birth. Afterwards Callias, a rich Athenian, falling in love with her, made a proposal to pay the government her father's fine, if she would give him her hand, which condition she agreed to, and, with her brother's consent, became his wife. Still it must be acknowledged that Cimon had his attachments to the sex: witness his mistress Asteria of Salamis, and one Menstra, on whose account the poet Melanthius jests upon him in his elegies. And though he was legally married to Isodice the daughter of Euryptolemus the son of Megacles, yet he was too uxorious while she lived, and at her death he was inconsolable, if we may judge from the elegies that were addressed to him by way of comfort and condolence. Panætius the philosopher thinks Archelaus the physician was author of those elegies, and, from the times in which he flourished, the conjecture seems not improbable.

The rest of Cimon's conduct was great and admirable. In courage he was not inferior to Miltiades, nor in prudence to Themistocles, and he was confessedly an honester man than either of them. He could not be said to come short of them in abilities for war: and even while he was young, and without military experience, it is surprising how much he exceeded them in political virtue. When Themistocles, upon the invasion of the Medes, advised the people to quit their city and territory, and retire to the Straits of Salamis to try their fortunes in a naval combat, the generality were astonished at the rashness of the enterprise. But Cimon, with a gay air, led the way with his friends through the Ceramicus to the citadel, carrying a bridle in his hand to dedicate to the goddess. This was to show

the laws of Athens not forbidding him to marry one that was sister only by the father's side. Cornelius Nepos expressly affirms it.

* Diogenes, Suidas, and others, call it Peisianaction.

that Athens had no need of cavalry, but of marine forces, on the present occasion. After he had consecrated the bridle, and taken down a shield from the wall, he paid his devotions to the goddess, and then went down to the sea; by which means he inspired numbers with courage to embark. Besides, as the poet Ion informs us, he was not unhandsome in his person, but tall and majestic, and had an abundance of hair, which curled upon his shoulders. He distinguished himself in so extraordinary a manner in the battle, that he gained not only the praise but the hearts of his countrymen; insomuch that many joined his train, and exhorted him to think of designs and actions worthy of those at Marathon.

When he applied for a share in the administration, the people received him with pleasure. By this time they were weary of Themistocles, and as they knew Cimon's engaging and humane behaviour to their whole body consequent upon his natural mildness and candour, they promoted him to the highest honours and offices in the state. Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, contributed not a little to his advancement. He saw the goodness of his disposition, and set him up as a rival against the keenness and daring spirit of Themistocles.

When the Medes were driven out of Greece, Cimon was elected admiral. The Athenians had not now the chief command at sea, but acted under the orders of Pausanias the Lacedæmonian. The first thing Cimon did was to equip his countrymen in a more commodious manner, and to make them much better seamen than the rest. And as Pausanias began to treat with the barbarians, and write letters to the king about betraying the fleet to them, in consequence of which he treated the allies in a rough and haughty style, and foolishly gave into many unnecessary and oppressive acts of authority; Cimon, on the other hand, listened to the complaints of the injured with so much gentleness and humanity, that he insensibly gained the command of Greece, not by arms, but by his kind and obliging manners. For the greatest part of the allies, no longer able to bear the severity and pride of Pausanias, put themselves under the direction of Cimon and Aristides. At the same time they wrote to the *ephori*, to desire them to recal Pausanias, by whom Sparta was so dishonoured, and all Greece so much discomposed.

It is related, that when Pausanias was at Byzantium, he cast his eyes upon a young virgin named Cleonice, of a noble family there, and insisted on having her for a mistress. The parents, intimidated by his power, were under the hard necessity of giving up their daughter. The young woman begged that the light might be taken out of his apartment, that she might go to his bed in secrecy and silence. When she entered, he was asleep, and she unfortunately

stumbled upon the candlestick, and threw it down. The noise waked him suddenly, and he, in his confusion, thinking it was an enemy coming to assassinate him, unsheathed a dagger that lay by him, and plunged it into the virgin's heart. After this he could never rest. Her image appeared to him every night, and with a menacing tone repeated this heroic verse—

Go to the fate which pride and lust prepare!

The allies, highly incensed at this infamous action, joined Cimon to besiege him in Byzantium. But he found means to escape thence; and as he was still haunted by the spectre, he is said to have applied to a temple at Heraclea*, where the *manes* of the dead were consulted. There he invoked the spirit of Cleonice†, and entreated her pardon. She appeared, and told him, "He would soon be delivered from all his troubles, after his return to Sparta:" in which, it seems, his death was enigmatically foretold‡. These particulars we have from many historians.

All the confederates had now put themselves under the conduct of Cimon, and he sailed with them to Thrace, upon intelligence that some of the most honourable of the Persians, and of the king's relations, had seized the city of Eion upon the river Strymon, and greatly harassed the Greeks in that neighbourhood. Cimon engaged and defeated the Persian forces, and then shut them up in the town. After this, he dislodged the Thracians above the Strymon, who had used to supply the town with provisions, and kept so strict a guard over the country that no convoys could escape him. By this means, the place was reduced to such extremity, that Butes, the king's general, in absolute despair, set fire to it, and so perished there with his friends and all his substance.

In consequence of this, Cimon became master of the town; but there was no advantage to be reaped from it worth mentioning, because the barbarians had destroyed all by fire. The country about it, however, was very beautiful and fertile, and that he peopled with Athenians. For this reason the Athenians permitted him to erect there three marble *Hermæ*, which had the following inscriptions:

Where Strymon with his silver waves
The lofty towers of Eion laves,
The hapless Mede, with famine prest,
The force of Grecian arms confest.

* Heraclea was a place near Olympia. Pausanias applied to the necromancers there, called Psychagogi, whose office it was to call up departed spirits.

† Thus we find that it was a custom in the Pagan as well as in the Hebrew theology to conjure up the spirits of the dead, and that the witch of Endor was not the only witch in the world.

‡ The Lacedæmonians having resolved to seize him, he fled for refuge to a temple of Minerva, called *Chalcioicos*. There they shut him up and starved him.

Let him, who, born in distant days,
Behold these monuments of praise—
These forms that valour's glory save—
And see how Athens crowns the brave,
For honour feel the patriot sigh,
And for his country learn to die.

Afar to Phrygia's fated lands
When Mnestheus leads his Attic bands,
Behold! he bears in Homer still
The palm of military skill.
In every age, on every coast,
'Tis thus the sons of Athens boast!

Though Cimon's name does not appear in any of these inscriptions, yet his cotemporaries considered them as the highest pitch of honour: for neither Themistocles nor Miltiades were favoured with any thing of that kind. Nay, when the latter asked only for a crown of olive, Sochares, of the ward of Decelea, stood up in the midst of the assembly, and spoke against it, in terms that were not candid indeed, but agreeable to the people. He said, "Miltiades, when you shall fight the barbarians alone, and conquer alone, then ask to have honours paid you alone." What was it then that induced them to give the preference so greatly to this action of Cimon? was it not that under the other generals they fought for their lives and existence as a people, but under him they were able to distress their enemies, by carrying war into the countries where they had established themselves, and by colonizing Eion and Amphipolis? They planted a colony too in the isle of Scyros*, which was reduced by Cimon on the occasion I am going to mention: the Dolopes, who then held it, paid no attention to agriculture. They had so long been addicted to piracy, that at last they spared not even the merchants and strangers who came into their ports, but in that of Ctesium plundered some Thessalians who came to traffic with them, and put them in prison. These prisoners, however, found means to escape, and went and lodged an impeachment against the place before the Amphictyones, (who commanded the whole island to make restitution). Those who had no concern in the robbery were unwilling to pay any thing, and, instead of that, called upon the persons who committed it, and had the goods in their hands, to make satisfaction. But these pirates, apprehensive of the consequence, sent to invite Cimon to come with his ships and take the town, which they promised to deliver up to him. In pursuance of this, Cimon took the island, expelled the Dolopes, and cleared the Ægean sea of corsairs.

* This happened about the beginning of the seventy-seventh Olympiad.

This done, he recollected that their ancient hero, Theseus, the son of Ægeus, had retired from Athens to Scyros, and was there treacherously killed by king Lycomedes, who entertained some suspicion of him. And as there was an oracle which enjoined the Athenians to bring back his remains *, and to honour him as a demi-god, Cimon set himself to search for his tomb. This was no easy undertaking, for the people of Scyros had all along refused to declare where he lay, or to suffer any search for his bones. At last, with much pains and inquiry, he discovered the repository, and put his remains, decorated with all imaginable magnificence, on board his own galley, and carried them to the ancient seat of that hero almost four hundred years after he had left it †.

Nothing could give the people more pleasure than this event. To commemorate it, they instituted games in which the tragic poets were to try their skill; and the dispute was very remarkable. Sophocles, then a young man, brought his first piece upon the theatre: and Aphepsion the archon, perceiving that the audience were not unprejudiced, did not appoint the judges by lot in the usual manner. The method he took was this: when Cimon and his officers had entered the theatre, and made the due libations to the god who presided over the games, the archon would not suffer them to retire, but obliged them to sit down and select ten judges upon oath, one out of each tribe. The dignity of the judges caused an extraordinary emulation among the actors. Sophocles gained the prize; at which Æschylus was so much grieved and disconcerted, that he could not bear to stay much longer in Athens, but in anger retired to Sicily, where he died, and was buried near Gela.

Ion tells us, that when he was very young, and lately come from Chios to Athens, he supped at Laomedon's with Cimon. After supper, when the libations were over, Cimon was desired to sing, and he did it so agreeably, that the company preferred him, in point of politeness, to Themistocles: for he, on a like occasion, said, "He had not learned to sing or play upon the harp; but he knew how to raise a small city to wealth and greatness." The conversation afterwards turned upon the actions of Cimon, and each of the guests dwelt upon such as appeared to him the most considerable: he, for his part, mentioned only this, which he looked upon as the most artful expedient he had made use of: a great number of barbarians were made prisoners in Sestos and at Byzantium, and the allies desired

* This oracle was delivered to them four years before; in the first year of the seventy-sixth Olympiad.

† Plutarch could not make a mistake of four hundred years. We are persuaded, therefore, that he wrote *eight hundred*.

Cimon to make a division of the booty. Cimon placed the prisoners, quite naked, on one side, and all their ornaments on the other. The allies complained the shares were not equal; whereupon he bade them take which part they pleased, assuring them that the Athenians would be satisfied with that they left. Herophytus the Samian advised them to make choice of the Persian spoils, and of course the Persian captives fell to the share of the Athenians. For the present, Cimon was ridiculed in private for the division he had made, because the allies had chains of gold, rich collars and bracelets, and robes of scarlet and purple to show, while the Athenians had nothing but a parcel of naked slaves, and those very unfit for labour. But a little after, the friends and relations of the prisoners came down from Phrygia and Lydia, and gave large sums for their ransom; so that Cimon, with the money, purchased four months provisions for his ships, and sent a quantity of gold besides to the Athenian treasury.

Cimon by this time had acquired a great fortune; and what he had gained gloriously in the war from the enemy, he laid out with as much reputation upon his fellow-citizens. He ordered the fences of his fields and gardens to be thrown down, that strangers, as well as his own countrymen, might freely partake of his fruit. He had a supper provided at his house every day, in which the dishes were plain, but sufficient for a multitude of guests. Every poor citizen repaired to it at pleasure, and had his diet without care or trouble; by which means he was enabled to give proper attention to public affairs. Aristotle, indeed, says this supper was not provided for all the citizens in general, but only for those of his own tribe, which was that of Lacia*.

When he walked out, he used to have a retinue of young men well clothed; and if he happened to meet an aged citizen in a mean dress, he ordered some one of them to change clothes with him. This was great and noble. But, besides this, the same attendants carried with them a quantity of money, and when they met in the market-place with any necessitous person of tolerable appearance, they took care to slip some pieces into his hand as privately as possible. Cratinus, the comic writer, seems to have referred to these circumstances in one of his pieces entitled Archilochi.

Even I Metrobius, though a scrivener, hoped
To pass a cheerful and a sleek old age,
And live to my last hour at Cimon's table;
Cimon! the best and noblest of the Greeks!
Whose wide-spread bounty vied with that of Heaven!
But, ah! he's gone before me!

* Cimon's ward being afterwards called Oeneis, it must be reconciled with this place from Stephanus, who tells us, *the Laciadæ were a people of the ward Oeneis.*

Georgias the Leontine gives him this character: "He got riches to use them, and used them so as to be honoured on their account." And Critias, one of the thirty tyrants, in his elegies thus expresses the utmost extent of his wishes:

> The wealth of Scopas'* heirs, the soul of Cimon,
> And the fam'd trophies of Agesilaus.

Lichas the Lacedæmonian, we know, gained a great name among the Greeks by nothing but entertaining strangers who came to see the public exercises of the Spartan youth. But the magnificence of Cimon exceeded even the ancient hospitality and bounty of the Athenians. They, indeed, taught the Greeks to sow bread-corn, to avail themselves of the use of wells, and of the benefit of fire; in these things they justly glory. But Cimon's house was a kind of common hall for all the people; the first-fruits of his lands were theirs; whatever the seasons produced of excellent and agreeable, they freely gathered; nor were strangers in the least debarred from them; so that he in some measure revived the community of goods, which prevailed in the reign of Saturn, and which the poets speak so much of. Those who malevolently ascribed this liberality of his to a desire of flattering or courting the people were refuted by the rest of his conduct, in which he favoured the nobility, and inclined to the constitution and customs of Lacedæmon. When Themistocles wanted to raise the power and privileges of the commons too high, he joined Aristides to oppose him. In like manner he opposed Ephialtes, who, to ingratiate himself with the people, attempted to abolish the court of Areopagus. He saw all persons concerned in the administration, except Aristides and Ephialtes, pillaging the public; yet he kept his own hands clean, and in all his speeches and actions continued to the last perfectly disinterested. One instance of this they give us in his behaviour to Rhœsaces, a barbarian who had revolted from the king of Persia, and was come to Athens with great treasures. This man, finding himself harassed by informers there, applied to Cimon for his protection; and, to gain his favour, placed two cups, the one full of gold, and the other of silver darics, in his antichamber. Cimon, casting his eye upon them, smiled, and asked him, "Whether he should choose to have him his mercenary or his friend?"—"My friend, undoubtedly," said the barbarian. "Go, then," said Cimon, "and take these things back with you; for if I be your friend, your money will be mine whenever I have occasion for it."

About this time the allies, though they paid their contributions, began to scruple the furnishing of ships and men. They wanted to

* Scopas, a rich Thessalian, is mentioned in the Life of Cato.

bid adieu to the troubles of war, and to till the ground in quiet and tranquillity, particularly as the barbarians kept at home, and gave them no disturbance. The other Athenian generals took every method to compel them to make good their quota, and by prosecutions and fines rendered the Athenian government oppressive and invidious. But Cimon took a different course when he had the command: he used no compulsion to any Grecian; he took money and ships unmanned of such as did not choose to serve in person; and thus suffered them to be led by the charms of ease to domestic employment, to husbandry and manufactures; so that of a warlike people they became, through an inglorious attachment to luxury and pleasure, quite unfit for any thing in the military department. On the other hand, he made all the Athenians in their turns serve on board his ships, and kept them in continual exercise. By these means he extended the Athenian dominion over the allies, who were all the while paying him for it. The Athenians were always upon one expedition or other, had their weapons for ever in their hands, and were trained up to every fatigue of service; hence it was that the allies learned to fear and flatter them, and, instead of being their fellow-soldiers as formerly, insensibly became their tributaries and subjects.

Add to this, that no man humbled the pride and arrogance of the great king more than Cimon. Not satisfied with driving him out of Greece, he pursued his footsteps, and, without suffering him to take breath, ravaged and laid waste some parts of his dominions, and drew over others to the Grecian league; insomuch that in all Asia, from Ionia to Pamphylia, there was not a Persian standard to be seen. As soon as he was informed that the king's fleets and armies lay upon the Pamphylian coast, he wanted to intimidate them in such a manner that they should never more venture beyond the Chelidonian isles. For this purpose, he set sail from Cnidus and Triopium with a fleet of two hundred galleys, which Themistocles had, in their first construction, made light, and fit to turn with the utmost agility. Cimon widened them, and joined a platform to the deck of each, that there might in time of action be room for a greater number of combatants. When he arrived at Phaselis, which was inhabited by Greeks, but would neither receive his fleet, nor revolt from the king, he ravaged their territories, and advanced to assault their walls. Hereupon the Chians who were among his forces, having of old had a friendship for the people of Phaselis, on one side endeavoured to pacify Cimon, and on the other addressed themselves to the townsmen, by letters fastened to arrows which they shot over the walls. At length they reconciled the two parties; the conditions were, that

the Phaselites should pay down ten talents, and should follow Cimon's standard against the barbarians.

Ephorus says, Tithraustes commanded the king's fleet, and Pherendates his land-forces; but Callisthenes will have it, that Ariomandes the son of Gobryas was at the head of the Persians. He tells us further, that he lay at anchor in the river Eurymedon, and did not yet choose to come to an engagement with the Greeks, because he expected a reinforcement of eighty Phœnician ships from Cyprus. On the other hand, Cimon wanted to prevent that junction, and therefore sailed with a resolution to compel the Persians to fight, if they declined it. To avoid it, they pushed up the river. But when Cimon came up, they attempted to make head against him with six hundred ships, according to Phanodemus, or, as Ephorus writes, with three hundred and fifty. They performed, however, nothing worthy of such a fleet, but presently made for land. The foremost got on shore, and escaped to the army, which was drawn up hard by. The Greeks laid hold of the rest, and handled them very roughly, as well as their ships. A certain proof that the Persian fleet was very numerous is, that though many in all probability got away, and many others were destroyed, yet the Athenians took no less than two hundred vessels.

The barbarian land-forces advanced close to the sea; but it appeared to Cimon an arduous undertaking to make good his landing by dint of the sword, and with his troops, who were fatigued with the late action, to engage those that were quite fresh, and many times their number. Notwithstanding this, he saw the courage and spirits of his men elevated with their late victory, and that they were very desirous to be led against the enemy. He therefore disembarked his heavy-armed infantry, yet warm from the late action. They rushed forward with loud shouts, and the Persians stood and received them with a good countenance. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the bravest and most distinguished among the Athenians were slain. At last, with much difficulty, the barbarians were put to the rout; many were killed, and many others were taken, together with their pivilions full of all manner of rich spoil.

Thus Cimon, like an excellent champion, won two prizes in one day, and by these two actions outdid the victory of Salamis at sea, and of Platæa on land. He added, however, a new trophy to his victories. Upon intelligence that the eighty Phœnician galleys, which were not in the battle, were arrived at Hydrus*, he steered that way

* As no such place as Hydrus is to be found, Lubinus thinks we should read Sydra, which was a maritime town of Cilicia. Dacier proposes to read Hydrussa, which was one of the Cyclades. But, perhaps Hydrus is only a corruption of Cyprus; for Polya-

as fast as possible. They had not received any certain account of the forces to whose assistance they were going; and as this suspense much intimidated them, they were easily defeated, with the loss of all their ships and most of their men.

These events so humbled the king of Persia, that he came into that famous peace which limited him to the distance of a day's journey* on horseback from the Grecian sea; and by which he engaged that none of his galleys or other ships of war should ever come within the Cyanean and Chelidonian isles. Callisthenes, indeed, denies that the king agreed to these conditions; but he allows that his subsequent behaviour was equivalent to such an agreement; for his fears consequent upon the defeat made him retire so far from Greece, that Pericles, with fifty ships, and Ephialtes, with no more than thirty, sailed beyond the Chelidonian rocks without meeting with any fleet of the barbarians. However, in the collection of Athenian decrees made by Craterus, there is a copy of the articles of this peace, which are in substance the same as we have related them. We are told also, that the Athenians built an altar to Peace on this occasion, and that they paid particular honours to Callias, who negotiated the treaty. So much was raised from the sale of the spoils, that, besides what was reserved for other occasions, the people had money enough to build the wall on the south side of the citadel. Nay, such was the treasure this expedition afforded, that with it were laid the foundations of the long walls called Legs; they were not finished, indeed, till some time after. And as the place where they were to be erected was marshy and full of water, Cimon, at his own expense, had the bottom secured by ramming down large stones, and binding them with gravel. He, too, first adorned the city with those elegant and noble places for exercise and disputation, which a little after came to be so much admired. He planted the *forum* with plane-trees; and whereas the Academy before was a dry and unsightly plat, he brought water to it, and sheltered it with groves, so that it abounded with clean alleys and shady walks.

By this time the Persians refused to evacuate the Chersonesus, and, instead of that, called down the Thracians to their assistance. Cimon set out against them from Athens with a very few galleys; and as they looked upon him with contempt on that account, he attacked them, and with four ships only took thirteen of theirs. Thus he expelled the Persians, and beat the Thracians too; by which suc-

nus (lib. i.) tells us, Cimon sailed thither immediately after his twofold victory. And he adds, that he went disguised in a Persian dress, which must be with a view to deceive the Phœnician galleys.

* Four hundred furlongs.

cess he reduced the whole Chersonesus to the obedience of Athens. After this, he defeated at sea the Thasians, who had revolted from the Athenians, took three-and-thirty of their ships, and stormed their town. The gold mines which were in the neighbouring continent he secured to his countrymen, together with the whole Thasian territories.

From thence there was an easy opening to invade Macedonia, and possibly to conquer great part of it; and as he neglected the opportunity, it was thought to be owing to the presents which king Alexander made him. His enemies therefore, impeached him for it, and brought him to his trial. In his defence, he thus addressed his judges:—"I have no connexion with rich Ionians or Thessalians, whom other generals have applied to, in hopes of receiving compliments and treasures from them. My attachment is to the Macedonians*, whose frugality and sobriety I honour and imitate; things preferable with me to all the wealth in the world. I love, indeed, to enrich my country at the expense of its enemies." Stesimbrotus, who mentions this trial, says, Elpinice waited on Pericles at his own house, to entreat that he would behave with some lenity to her brother: for Pericles was the most vehement accuser he had. At present he only said, "You are old, Elpinice, much too old to transact such business as this." However, when the cause came on, he was favourable enough to Cimon, and rose up only once to speak during the whole impeachment, and then he did it in a slight manner. Cimon, therefore, was honourably acquitted.

As to the rest of his administration, he opposed and restrained the people, who were invading the rights of the nobility, and wanted to appropriate the direction of every thing to themselves. But when he was gone out upon a new expedition, they broke out again, and overturning the constitution and most sacred customs of their country, at the instigation of Ephialtes, they took from the council of Areopagus those causes that used to come before it, and left it the cognizance of but very few. Thus, by bringing all matters before themselves, they made the government a perfect democracy: and this they did with the concurrence of Pericles, who by this time was grown very powerful, and had espoused their party. It was with great indignation that Cimon found, at his return, the dignity of that

* The manuscripts in general have Lacedæmonians, and that is probably the true reading; for Cimon is well known to have had a strong attachment to that people. Besides, the Macedonians were not a sober people. As to what some object, that it is strange he should make no mention of the Macedonians, when he was accused of being bribed by them, the answer is easy, we are not certain that Plutarch has given us all Cimon's defence.

high court insulted; and he set himself to restore its jurisdiction, and to revive such an aristocracy as had obtained under Clisthenes. Upon this, his adversaries raised a great clamour, and exasperated the people against him, not forgetting those stories about his sister, and his attachment to the Lacedæmonians. Hence those verses of Eupolis about Cimon:—

> He's not a villian, but a debauchee,
> Whose careless heart is lost on wine and women.
> The time has been, he slept in Lacedæmon,
> And left poor Elpinice here alone.

But if, with all his negligence and love of wine, he took so many cities, and gained so many victories, it is plain that if he had been a sober man, and attentive to business, none of the Greeks, either before or after him, could have exceeded him in great and glorious actions.

From his first setting out in life, he had an attachment to the Lacedæmonians. According to Stesimbrotus, he called one of the twins he had by a Clitonian woman, Lacedæmonius, and the other Eleus; and Pericles often took occasion to reproach them with their mean descent by the mother's side. But Diodorus the geoprapher writes that he had both these sons, and a third named Thessalus, by Isodice, daughter to Euryptolemus, the son of Megacles.

The Spartans contributed not a little to the promotion of Cimon. Being declared enemies to Themistocles, they much rather chose to adhere to Cimon, though but a young man, at the head of affairs in Athens. The Athenians, too, at first saw this with pleasure, because they reaped great advantages from the regard which the Spartans had for Cimon. When they began to take the lead among the allies, and were gaining the chief direction of all the business of the league, it was no uneasiness to them to see the honour and esteem he was held in. Indeed, Cimon was the man they pitched upon for transacting that business, on account of his humane behaviour to the allies, and his interest with the Lacedæmonians. But when they were become great and powerful, it gave them pain to see Cimon still adoring the Spartans; for he was always magnifying that people, at their expense; and particularly, as Stesimbrotus tells us, when he had any fault to find with them, he used to say, "The Lacedæmonians would not have done so." On this account his countrymen began to envy and to hate him.

They had, however, a still heavier complaint against him, which took its rise as follows: In the fourth year of the reign of Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, there happened the greatest earthquake at Sparta that ever was heard of. The ground in many parts

of Laconia was cleft asunder; mount Taygetus felt the shock, and its ridges were torn off; the whole city was dismantled, except five houses. The young men and boys were exercising in the portico, and it is said, that a little before the earthquake, a hare crossed the place, upon which the young men naked and anointed as they were, ran out in sport after it. The building fell upon the boys that remained, and destroyed them all together. Their monument is still called, from that event, Sismatia.

Archidamus, amidst the present danger, perceived another that was likely to ensue, and, as he saw the people busy in endeavouring to save their most valuable moveables, he ordered the trumpets to give the alarm, as if some enemy were ready to fall upon them, that they might repair to him immediately with their weapons in their hands. This was the only thing which at that crisis saved Sparta; for the Helots flocked together on all sides from the fields to dispatch such as had escaped the earthquake; but, finding them armed and in good order, they returned to their villages, and declared open war. At the same time they pursuaded some of their neighbours, among whom were the Messenians, to join them against Sparta.

In this great distress, the Lacedæmonians sent Periclidas to Athens to beg for succours. Aristophanes*, in his comic way, says, "There was an extraordinary contrast between his pale face and his red robe, as he sat a suppliant at the altars, and asked us for troops." Ephialtes strongly opposed and protested against giving any assistance to re-establish a city which was rival to their own, insisting that they ought rather to suffer the pride of Sparta to be trodden under foot. Cimon, however, as Critias tells us, preferred the relief of Sparta to the enlargement of the Athenian power, and persuaded the people to march with a great army to its aid. Ion mentions the words which had the most effect upon them: he desired them, it seems, "not to suffer Greece to be maimed, nor to deprive their own city of its companion."

When he returned from assisting the Lacedæmonians, he marched with his army through Corinth. Lachartus complained in high terms of his bringing in his troops without permission of the citizens: "for," said he, "when we knock at another man's door, we do not enter without leave from the master."—"But you, Lachartus," answered Cimon, "did not knock at the gates of Cleone and Megara, but broke them in pieces, and forced your way in, upon this principle, that nothing should be shut against the strong." With this boldness and propriety, too, did he speak to the Corinthian, and then pursued his march.

* Lysistrata, l. 1140.

After this, the Spartans called in the Athenians a second time against the Messenians and Helots in Ithome*; but when they were arrived, they were more afraid of their spirit of enterprise than of the enemy; and therefore, of all their allies, sent them only back again, as persons suspected of some dishonourable design. They returned full of resentment of course†, and now openly declared themselves against the partisans of the Lacedæmonians, and particularly against Cimon. In consequence of this, on a slight pretence, they banished him for ten years, the term to which the ostracism extends.

In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians, in their return from an expedition in which they had delivered Delphi from the Phocians, encamped at Tanagra. The Athenians came to give them battle.—On this occasion, Cimon appeared in arms among those of his own tribe, which was that of Oeneis, to fight for his country against the Lacedæmonians. When the council of five hundred heard of it, they were afraid that his enemies would raise a clamour against him, as if he was only come to throw things into confusion, and to bring the Lacedæmonians into Athens, and therefore forbade the generals to receive him. Cimon, upon this, retired, after he had desired Euthippus the Anaphlystian, and the rest of his friends, who were most censured as partisans of Sparta, to exert themselves gloriously against the enemy, and by their behaviour to wipe off the aspersion.

These brave men, in number about a hundred, took Cimon's armour (as a sacred pledge) into the midst of their little band, formed themselves into a close body, and fought, till they all fell, with the greatest ardour imaginable. The Athenians regretted them exceedingly, and repented of the unjust censures they had fixed upon them. Their resentment against Cimon, too, soon abated, partly from the remembrance of his past services, and partly from the difficulties they lay under at the present juncture. They were beaten in the great battle fought at Tanagra, and they expected another army would come against them from Peloponnesus the next spring.—Hence it was that they recalled Cimon from banishment, and Pericles himself was the first to propose it. With so much candour were differences managed then, so moderate the resentments of men, and so easily laid down, where the public good required it! Ambition itself, the strongest of all passions, yielded to the interests and necessities of their country.

Cimon, soon after his return, put an end to the war, and reconciled the two cities. After the peace was made, he saw the Athe-

* The Spartans were not skilled in sieges.

† The Athenians, in resentment of this affront, broke the alliance with Sparta, and joined in confederacy with the Argives.—*Thucyd.* lib. 1.

nians could not sit down quietly, but still wanted to be in motion, and to aggrandize themselves by new expeditions. To prevent their exciting further troubles in Greece, and giving a handle for intestine wars, and heavy complaints of the allies against Athens, on account of their formidable fleets traversing the seas about the islands and round Peloponnesus, he fitted out a fleet of two hundred sail, to carry war into Egypt and Cyprus*. This, he thought, would answer two purposes; it would accustom the Athenians to conflicts with the barbarians, and it would improve their substance in an honourable manner, by bringing the rich spoils of their natural enemies into Greece.

When all was now ready, and the army on the point of embarking, Cimon had this dream: an angry bitch seemed to bay at him, and, something between barking and a human voice, to utter these words:—*Come on; I and my whelps with pleasure shall receive thee.* Though the dream was hard to interpret, Astyphilus the Posidonian, a great diviner, and friend of Cimon, told him it signified his death. He argued thus:—a dog is an enemy to the man he barks at; and nothing can give his enemy greater pleasure than his death. The mixture of the voice pointed out that the enemy was a Mede, for the armies of the Medes are composed of Greeks and barbarians. After this dream, he had another sign in sacrificing to Bacchus.—When the priest had killed the victim, a swarm of ants took up the clotted blood by little and little, and laid it upon Cimon's great toe. This they did for some time, without any one's taking notice of it;

* The history of the first expedition is this: while Cimon was employed in his enterprise against Cyprus, Inarus king of Lybia, having brought the greatest part of Lower Egypt to revolt from Artaxerxes, called in the Athenians to assist him to complete his conquest. Hereupon the Athenians quitted Cyprus, and sailed into Egypt. They made themselves masters of the Nile, and attacking Memphis, seized two of the outworks, and attempted the third, called the *white wall*. But the expedition proved very unfortunate. Artaxerxes sent Megabyzus with a powerful army into Egypt. He defeated the rebels and the Lybians their associates, drove the Greeks from Memphis, shut them up in the island of Prospitis eighteen months, and at last forced them to surrender. They almost all perished in that war, which lasted six years. Inarus, in violation of the public faith, was crucified.

The second expedition was undertaken a few years after, and was not more successful. The Athenians went against Cyprus with two hundred galleys. While they were besieging Citium there, Amyrtæus the Saite applied to them for succours in Egypt, and Cimon sent him sixty of his galleys. Some say he went with them himself; others, that he continued before Citium. But nothing of moment was transacted at this time to the prejudice of the Persians in Egypt. However, in the tenth year of Darius Nothus, Amyrtæus issued from the fens, and, being joined by all the Egyptians, drove the Persians out of the kingdom, and became king of the whole country.—*Thucyd.* l. ii. *Diod. Sic.* l. xi.

at last Cimon himself observed it, and at the same instant the soothsayer came and showed him the liver without a head.

The expedition, however, could not now be put off, and therefore he set sail. He sent sixty of his galleys against Egypt, and with the rest made for the Asiatic coast, where he defeated the king's fleet, consisting of Phœnician and Cilician ships, made himself master of the cities in that circuit, and watched his opportunity to penetrate into Egypt. Every thing was great in the designs he formed. He thought of nothing less than overturning the whole Persian empire; and the rather because he was informed that Themistocles was in great reputation and power with the barbarians, and had promised the king to take the conduct of the Grecian war, whenever he entered upon it. But Themistocles, they tell us, in despair of managing it to any advantage, and of getting the better of the good fortune and valour of Cimon, fell by his own hand.*

When Cimon had formed these great projects, as a first step towards them, he cast anchor before Cyprus. From thence he sent persons in whom he could confide with a private question to the oracle of Jupiter Ammon; for their errand was entirely unknown. Nor did the deity return them any answer, but, immediately upon their arrival, ordered them to return, "Because Cimon," said he, "is already with me." The messengers, upon this, took the road to the sea; and when they reached the Grecian camp, which was then on the coast of Egypt, they found that Cimon was dead. They then inquired what day he died, and comparing it with the time the oracle was delivered, they perceived that his departure was enigmatically pointed at in the expression, "That he was already with the gods."

According to most authors, he died a natural death, during the siege of Citium; but some say he died of a wound he received in an engagement with the barbarians.

The last advice he gave those about him was to sail away immediately, and to conceal his death. Accordingly, before the enemy or their allies knew the real state of the case, they returned in safety, by the generalship of Cimon, exercised, as Phanodemus says, thirty days after his death.

After he was gone, there was not one Grecian general who did any thing considerable against the barbarians. The leading orators were little better than incendiaries, who set the Greeks one against another, and involved them in intestine wars; nor was there any healing hand to interpose. Thus the king's affairs had time to recover themselves, and inexpressible ruin was brought upon the powers of Greece. Long after this, indeed, Agesilaus carried his

arms into Asia, and renewed the war for a time against the king's lieutenants on the coast; but he was so soon recalled by the seditions and tumults which broke out afresh in Greece, that he could do nothing extraordinary. The Persian tax-gatherers were then left amidst the cities in alliance and friendship with the Greeks; whereas, while Cimon had the command, not a single collector was seen, nor so much as a horseman appeared, within four hundred furlongs from the sea coast.

That his remains were brought to Attica, his monument there is a sufficient proof, for it still bears the title of Cimonia. Nevertheless, the people of Citium have a tomb of Cimon which they hold in great veneration, as Nausicrates the orator informs us; the gods having ordered them in a certain famine not to disregard his *manes*, but to honour and worship him as a superior being. Such was this Grecian general.

LUCULLUS.

THE grandfather of Lucullus was a man of consular dignity; Metellus, surnamed Numidicus, was his uncle by his mother's side. His father was found guilty of embezzling the public money, and his mother, Cæcilia, had but an indifferent reputation for chastity. As for Lucullus himself, while he was but a youth, before he solicited any public charge, or attempted to gain a share in the administration, he made his first appearance in impeaching Servilius the augur, who had been his father's accuser. As he had caught Servilius in some act of injustice in the execution of his office, all the world commended the prosecution, and talked of it as an indication of extraordinary spirit. Indeed, where there was no injury to revenge, the Romans considered the business of impeachments as a generous pursuit, and they chose to have their young men fasten upon criminals, like so many well-bred hounds upon their prey.

The cause was argued with so much vehemence, that they came to blows, and several were wounded, and some killed. In the end, however, Servilius was acquitted. But though Lucullus lost his cause, he had great command both of the Greek and Latin tongues; insomuch that Sylla dedicated his Commentaries to him, as a person who could reduce the acts and incidents to much better order, and compose a more agreeable history of them, than himself; for his

eloquence was not only occasional, or exerted when necessity called for it, like that of other orators who beat about in the *forum*,

As sports the vaulting tunny in the main,

But when they are out of it,

Are dry, inelegant, and dead—

He had applied himself to the sciences called *liberal*, and was deep in the study of *humanity* from his youth; and in his age he withdrew from public labours, of which he had a great share, to repose himself in the bosom of philosophy, and to enjoy the speculations she suggested; bidding a timely adieu to ambition after his difference with Pompey. To what we have said of his ingenuity and skill in languages, the following story may be added:—While he was but a youth, as he was jesting one day with Hortensius the orator, and Sisenna the historian, he undertook to write a short history of the Marsi, either in Greek or Latin verse, as the lot should fall. They took him at his word, and, according to the lot, it was to be in Greek. That history of his is still extant.

Among the many proofs of his affection for his brother Marcus, the Romans speak most of the first. Though he was much older than Marcus, he would not accept of any office without him, but waited his time. This was so agreeable to the people, that, in his absence, they created him ædile along with his brother.

Though he was but a stripling at the time of the Marsian war, there appeared many instances of his courage and understanding. But Sylla's attachment to him was principally owing to his constancy and mildness. On this account he made use of his services from first to last in his most important affairs. Amongst other things, he gave him the direction of the mint. It was he who coined most of Sylla's money in Peloponnesus during the Mithridatic war. From him it was called Lucullia; and it continued to be chiefly in use for the occasions of the army, for the goodness of it made it pass with ease.

Some time after this, Sylla engaged in the siege of Athens; and though he was victorious by land, the superiority of the enemy at sea straitened him for provisions. For this reason he despatched Lucullus into Egypt and Lybia to procure him a supply of ships. It was then the depth of winter; yet he scrupled not to sail with three small Greek brigantines, and as many small Rhodian galleys, which were to meet strong seas, and a number of the enemy's ships which kept watch on all sides, because their strength lay there. In spite of this opposition he reached Crete, and brought it over to Sylla's interest.

From thence he passed to Cyrene, where he delivered the people

from the tyrants and civil wars with which they had been harassed, and re-established their constitution. In this he availed himself of a saying of Plato, who, when he was desired to give them a body of laws, and to settle their government upon rational principles, gave them this oracular answer, "It is very difficult to give laws to so prosperous a people." In fact, nothing is harder to govern than man, when fortune smiles; nor any thing more tractable than he, when calamity lays her hands upon him. Hence it was that Lucullus found the Cyrenians so pliant and submissive to his regulations.

From Cyrene he sailed to Egypt, but was attacked by pirates on his way, and lost most of the vessels he had collected. He himself escaped, and entered the port of Alexandria in a magnificent manner, being introduced by the whole Egyptian fleet set off to the best advantage, as it used to be when it attended the king in person. Ptolemy*, who was but a youth, received him with all demonstrations of respect, and even lodged and provided him a table in his own palace; an honour which had not been granted before to any foreign commander. Nor was the allowance for his expenses the same which others had, but four times as much. Lucullus, however, took no more than was absolutely necessary, and refused the king's presents, though he was offered no less than the value of eighty talents. It is said, he neither visited Memphis, nor any other of the celebrated wonders of Egypt; thinking it rather the business of a person who has time, and only travels for pleasure, than of him who had left his general engaged in a siege, and encamped before the enemy's fortifications.

Ptolemy refused to enter into alliance with Sylla, for fear of bringing war upon himself; but he gave Lucullus a convoy to escort him to Cyprus, embraced him at parting, and respectfully offered him a rich emerald set in gold. Lucullus at first declined it; but, upon the king's showing him his own picture engraved on it, he was afraid to refuse it, lest he should be thought to go away with hostile intentions, and in consequence have some fatal scheme formed against him at sea.

In his return, he collected a number of ships from the maritime towns, excepting those that had given shelter and protection to pirates, and with this fleet he passed over to Cyprus. There he found that the enemy's ships lay in wait for him under some point of land; and therefore he laid up his fleet, and wrote to the cities to provide him quarters and all necessaries, as if he intended to pass the winter

* Palmerius takes this for Ptolemy Auletes; but Auletes was not king till the year before Christ sixty-five. It must, therefore, have been Ptolemy Lathyrus; for Sylla concluded the peace with Mithridates in the year before Christ eighty-two.

there. But, as soon as the wind served, he immediately launched again, and proceeded on his voyage, lowering his sails in the day time, and hoisting them again when it grew dark; by which stratagem he got safe to Rhodes. There he got a fresh supply of ships, and found means to persuade the people of Cos and Cnidus to quit Mithridates, and join him against the Samians. With his own forces he drove the king's troops out of Chios, took Epigonus, the Colophonian tyrant, prisoner, and set the people free.

At this time Mithridates was forced to abandon Pergamus, and had retired to Pitana. As Fimbria shut him up by land, he cast his eyes upon the sea, and, in despair of facing in the field that bold and victorious officer, collected his ships from all quarters. Fimbria saw this, but was sensible of his want of naval strength, and therefore sent to entreat Lucullus to come with his fleet, and assist him in taking a king who was the most warlike and virulent enemy the Romans had. "Let not Mithridates," said he, "the glorious prize which has been sought in so many labours and conflicts, escape; as he is fallen into the hands of the Romans, and is already in their net. When he is taken, who will have a greater share in the honour than he who stops his flight, and catches him as he goes? If I shut him up by land, and you do the same by sea, the palm will be all our own. What value will Rome then set upon the actions of Sylla at Orchomenus and Chæronea, though now so much extolled?"

There was nothing absurd in the proposal. Every body saw, that if Lucullus, who was at no great distance, had brought up his fleet, and blocked up the harbour, the war would have been at an end, and they would all have been delivered from infinite calamities. But whether it was that he preferred his fidelity, as Sylla's lieutenant, to his own interest, and that of the public; whether he abhorred Fimbria as a villain, whose ambition had lately led him to murder his general and his friend; or whether, by some overruling influence of fortune, he reserved Mithridates for his own antagonist, he absolutely rejected the proposal. He suffered him to get out of the harbour, and to laugh at Fimbria's land-forces.

After this, he had the honour of beating the king's fleet twice. The first time was at Lectum, a promontory of Troas; the second at Tenedos, where he saw Neoptolemus at anchor with a more considerable force. Upon this, Lucullus advanced before the rest of his ships in a Rhodian galley of five banks of oars, commanded by Demagoras, a man very faithful to the Romans, and experienced in naval affairs. Neoptolemus met him with great fury, and ordered the master of his ship to strike against that of Lucullus. But Demagoras fearing the weight of the admiral's galley, and the shock

of its brazen beak, thought it dangerous to meet him a-head. He therefore tacked about, and received him a-stern, in which place he received no great damage, because the stroke was upon the lower parts of the ship, which were under water. In the mean time the rest of his fleet coming up, Lucullus ordered his own ship to tack again, fell upon the enemy, and, after many gallant actions, put them to flight, and pursued Neoptolemus for some time.

This done, he went to meet Sylla, who was going to cross the sea from the Chersonesus. Here he secured the passage, and helped to transport his army. When the peace was agreed upon*, Mithridates sailed into the Euxine sea, and Sylla laid a fine upon Asia of twenty thousand talents. Lucullus was commissioned to collect the tax, and to coin the money; and it was some consolation to the cities, amidst the severity of Sylla, that Lucullus acted not only with the utmost justice, but with all the lenity that so difficult and odious a charge would admit of.

As the Mityleneans had openly revolted, he wanted to bring them to acknowledge their fault, and pay a moderate fine for having joined Marius's party. But, led by their ill genius, they continued obstinate. Upon this, he went against them with his fleet, beat them in a great battle, and shut them up within their walls. Some days after he had begun the siege, he had recourse to this stratagem. In open day he set sail towards Elea, but returned privately at night, and lay close near the city. The Mityleneans then sallying out in a bold and disorderly manner to plunder his camp, which they thought he had abandoned, he fell upon them, took most of them prisoners, and killed five hundred who stood upon their defence. Here he got six thousand slaves, and an immense quantity of other spoil.

He had no hand in the various and unspeakable evils which Sylla and Marius brought upon Italy; for, by the favour of Providence he was engaged in the affairs of Asia: yet none of Sylla's friends had greater interest with him. Sylla, as we have said, out of particular regard, dedicated his Commentaries to him; and, passing Pompey by, in his last will, constituted him guardian to his son. This seems to have first occasioned those differences and that jealousy which subsisted between Pompey and Lucullus, both young men, and full of ardour in the pursuit of glory.

A little after the death of Sylla, Lucullus was chosen consul along with Marcus Cotta, about the hundred and seventy-sixth Olympiad. At this time many proposed to renew the war with Mithridates; and

* This peace was concluded in the year of Rome six hundred and sixty-nine, eight years before the death of Sylla.

Cotta himself said, "The fire was not extinguished, it only slept in embers." Lucullus, therefore, was much concerned at having the Cisalpine Gaul allotted as his province, which promised him no opportunity to distinguish himself. But the honour Pompey had acquired in Spain gave him most trouble; because that general's superior reputation, he clearly saw, after the Spanish war was ended, would entitle him to the command against Mithridates. Hence it was, that when Pompey applied for money, and informed the government that, if he was not supplied, he must leave Spain and Sertorius, and bring his forces back to Italy, Lucullus readily exerted himself to procure the supplies, and to prevent his returning upon any pretext whatever during his consulship. He knew that every measure at home would be under Pompey's direction, if he came with such an army; for at this very time the tribune Cethegus, who had the lead, because he consulted nothing but the humour of the people, was at enmity with Lucullus, on account of his detesting that tribune's life, polluted as it was with infamous amours, insolence, and every species of profligacy. Against this man he declared open war. Lucius Quintius, another tribune, wanted to annul the acts of Sylla, and disorder the whole face of affairs, which was now tolerably composed. But Lucullus, by private representations and public remonstrances, drew him from his purpose, and restrained his ambition. Thus, in the most polite and salutary way imaginable, he destroyed the seeds of a very dangerous disease.

About this time news was brought of the death of Octavius, governor of Cilicia. There were many competitors for that province, and they all paid their court to Cethegus, as the person most likely to procure it for them. Lucullus set no great value upon that government; but, as it was near Cappadocia, he concluded, if he could obtain it, that the Romans would not think of employing any other general against Mithridates. For this reason, he exerted all his art to secure the province to himself. At last he was necessitated, against the bent of his disposition, to give into a measure which was indirect and illiberal, but very conducive to his purpose.

There was a woman then in Rome named Præcia, famed for beauty and enchanting wit, but in other respects no better than a common prostitute. By applying her interest with those who frequented her house, and were fond of her company, to serve her friends in the administration, and in other affairs, she added to her other accomplishments the reputation of being a useful friend, and a woman of business. This exalted her not a little. But when she had captivated Cethegus, who was then in the height of his glory, and carried all before him in Rome, the whole power fell into her

hands. Nothing was done without the favour of Cethegus, nor by Cethegus without the consent of Precia. To her Lucullus applied, by presents and the most insinuating compliments; nor could any thing have been more acceptable to a vain and pompous woman than to see herself flattered and courted by such a man as Lucullus. The consequence was, that Cethegus immediately espoused his cause, and solicited for him the province of Cilicia. When he had gained this, he had no further need either of Precia or Cethegus. All came into his interest, and with one voice gave him the command in the Mithridatic war. He, indeed, could not but be considered as the fittest person for that charge, because Pompey was engaged with Sertorius, and Metellus had given up his pretensions on account of his great age; and these were the only persons who could stand in competition for it with Lucullus. However, his colleague Cotta, by much application, prevailed upon the senate to send him with a fleet to guard the Propontis, and to protect Bithynia.

Lucullus, with a legion now levied in Italy, passed over into Asia, where he found the rest of the troops that were to compose his army. These had all been long entirely corrupted by luxury and avarice; and that part of them called Fimbrians was more untractable than the rest, on account of their having been under no command. At the instigation of Fimbria, they had killed Flaccus, who was consul, and their general too, and had betrayed Fimbria himself to Sylla; and they were still mutinous and lawless men, though in other respects brave, hardy, and experienced soldiers. Nevertheless, Lucullus in a little time subdued the seditious spirit of these men, and corrected the faults of the rest; so that now they first found a real commander, whereas before they had been brought to serve by indulgence and every promise of pleasure.

The affairs of the enemy were in this posture: Mithridates, like a sophistical warrior, had formerly met the Romans in a vain and ostentatious manner, with forces that were showy and pompous indeed, but of little use. Baffled and disgraced in his attempt, he grew wiser; and therefore, in this second war, he provided troops that were capable of real service. He retrenched that mixed multitude of nations, and those bravadoes that were issued from his camp, in a barbarous variety of language, together with the rich arms, adorned with gold and precious stones, which he now considered rather as the spoils of the conqueror, than as adding any vigour to the men that wore them. Instead of this, he armed them with swords in the Roman fashion, and with large and heavy shields; and his cavalry he provided with horses rather well trained than gaily accoutred. His infantry consisted of a hundred and twenty thousand, and his cavalry

of sixteen thousand, besides armed chariots to the number of a hundred. His navy was not equipped, as before, with gilded pavillions, baths, and delicious apartments for the women, but with all manner of weapons, offensive and defensive, and money to pay the troops.

In this respectable form he invaded Bithynia, where the cities received him with pleasure; and not only that country, but all Asia, returned to its former distempered inclinations, by reason of the intolerable evils that the Roman usurers and tax-gatherers had brought upon them. These Lucullus afterwards drove away, like so many harpies which robbed the poor inhabitants of their food. At present he was satisfied with reprimanding them, and bringing them to exercise their office with more moderation; by which means he kept the Asiatics from revolting, when their inclination lay almost universally that way.

While Lucullus was employed in these matters, Cotta, thinking he had found his opportunity, prepared to give Mithridates battle. And as he had accounts from many hands that Lucullus was coming up, and was already encamped in Phrygia, he did every thing to expedite the engagement, in order to prevent Lucullus from having any share in the triumph, which he believed was now all his own. He was defeated, however, both by sea and land, with the loss of sixty ships, and all their crews, as well as four thousand land-forces; after which he was shut up in Chalcedon, and had no resource, except in the assistance of Lucullus. Lucullus was advised, notwithstanding, to take no notice of Cotta, but to march forward into the kingdom of Mithridates, which he would find in a defenceless state. On this occasion the soldiers were loudest in their complaints. They represented that Cotta had, by his rash counsels, not only ruined himself and his own men, but done them, too, great prejudice; since, had it not been for his error, they might have conquered without loss. But Lucullus, in a set speech upon this subject, told them, "He had rather deliver one Roman out of the enemy's hands, than take all the enemy had." And when Archelaus, who formerly had commanded the king's forces in Bœotia, but now was come over to the Romans, and fought for them, asserted, "That if Lucullus would but once make his appearance in Pontus, all would immediately fall before him;" he said, "He would not act in a more cowardly manner than hunters, nor pass the wild beasts by, and go to their empty dens." He had no sooner uttered these words, than he marched against Mithridates with thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse.

When he got sight of the enemy, he was astonished at their num-

bers, and determined to avoid a battle and gain time. But Marius*, a Roman officer, whom Sertorius had sent to Mithridates out of Spain with some troops, advanced to meet Lucullus, and gave him the challenge. Lucullus accepted it, and put his army in order of battle. The signal was just ready to be given, when, without any visible alteration, there was a sudden explosion in the air, and a large luminous body was seen to fall between the two armies; its form was like that of a huge tun, and its colour that of molten silver. Both sides were so affected with the phenomenon, that they parted without striking a blow. This prodigy is said to have happened in Phrygia, at a place called Otryæ.

Lucullus, concluding that no human supplies could be sufficient to maintain so many myriads as Mithridates had for any length of time, especially in presence of an enemy, ordered one of the prisoners to be brought before him. The first question he put to him was, how many there were in his mess? and the second, what provisions he had left in his tent? When he had this man's answer, he commanded him to withdraw; and then examined a second and a third in like manner. The next thing was to compare the quantity of provisions which Mithridates had laid in, with the number of soldiers he had to support; by which he found, that in three or four days they would be in want of bread-corn. This confirmed him in his design of gaining time; and he caused great plenty of provisions to be brought into his own camp, that in the midst of abundance he might watch the enemy's distress.

Notwithstanding this, Mithridates formed a design against the Cyzicenians, who were beaten in the late battle near Chalcedon†, and had lost three thousand men and ten ships. To deceive Lucullus, he decamped soon after supper, one dark tempestuous night; and marched with so much expedition, that at break of day he got before the town, and posted himself upon Mount Adrastia‡. As soon as Lucullus perceived he was gone, he followed his steps; and without falling unawares upon the enemy in the obscurity of the night, as he might easily have done, he reached the place of his destination, and sat down at a village called Thraceia, the most commodious situation imaginable for guarding the roads, and cutting off the enemy's convoys.

He was now so sure of his aim, that he concealed it no longer

* Appian calls him Varius.

† Along with Cotta.

‡ So called from a temple in the city consecrated by Adrastus to the goddess Nemesis, who from thence had the name of Adrastia.

from his men; but when they had intrenched themselves, and returned from their labour, called them together, and told them, with great triumph, "In a few days he would gain them a victory which should not cost one drop of blood."

Mithridates had planted his troops in ten different posts about the city, and with his vessels blocked up the frith which parts it from the continent*, so that it was invested on all sides. The Cyzicenians were prepared to combat the greatest difficulties, and to suffer the last extremities in the Roman cause; but they knew not where Lucullus was, and were much concerned that they could get no account of him. Though his camp was visible enough, the enemy had the art to impose upon them. Pointing to the Romans who were posted on the heights, "Do you see that army?" said they; "Those are the Armenians and Medes, whom Tigranes has sent as a reinforcement to Mithridates." Surrounded with such an immense number of enemies, as they thought, and having no hope of relief but from the arrival of Lucullus, they were in the utmost consternation.

When Demonax, whom Achelaus found means to send into the town†, brought them news that Lucullus was arrived, at first they could hardly believe it, imagining he came only with a feigned story, to encourage them to bear up in their present distress. However, the same moment a boy made his appearance who had been a prisoner among the enemy, and had just made his escape. Upon their asking him where Lucullus was, he laughed, thinking them only in jest; but when he saw they were in earnest, he pointed with his finger to the Roman camp. This sufficiently revived their drooping spirits.

In the lake Dascylitis, near Cyzicus, there were vessels of a considerable size. Lucullus hauled up the largest of them, put it upon a carriage, and drew it down to the sea. Then he put on board it as many soldiers as it could contain, and ordered them to get into Cyzicus, which they effected in the night.

It seems, too, that Heaven, delighted with the valour of the Cyzicenians, supported them with several remarkable signs. The feast of Proserpine was come, when they were to sacrifice a black heifer to her; and as they had no living animal of that kind, they made one of paste‡, and were approaching the altar with it. The victim bred

* Strabo says, Cyzicus lies upon the Propontis, and is an island joined to the continent by two bridges; near which is a city of the same name, with two harbours capable of containing two hundred vessels.—*Strab.* lib. xii.

† By the assistance of bladders he swam into the town.—*Florus*, lib. iii.

‡ The Pythagoreans, who thought it unlawful to kill any animal, seem to have been the first among the Greeks who offered the figures of animals in paste, myrrh, or some

for that purpose pastured with the rest of their cattle on the other side of the frith. On that very day she parted from the herd, swam alone to the town, and presented herself before the altar. The same goddess appeared to Aristogoras, the public secretary, in a dream, and said, "Go and tell your fellow-citizens to take courage, for I shall bring the African piper against the trumpeter of Pontus."

While the Cyzicenians were wondering at this oracular expression, in the morning a strong wind blew, and the sea was in the utmost agitation. The king's machines erected against the walls, the wonderful work of Niconidus the Thessalian, by the noise and cracking, first announced what was to come. Then a south wind, incredibly violent, arose, and in the short space of an hour broke all the engines to pieces, and destroyed the wooden tower, which was a hundred cubits high. It is moreover related, that Minerva was seen by many at Ilium, in their sleep, all covered with sweat, and with part of her veil rent; and that she said she was just come from assisting the people of Cyzicus. Nay, they showed at Ilium a pillar which had an inscription to that purpose.

As long as Mithridates was deceived by his officers, and kept in ignorance of the famine that prevailed in the camp, he lamented his miscarriage in the siege.—But when he came to be sensible of the extremity to which his soldiers were reduced, and that they were forced to eat even human flesh*, all his ambition and spirit of contention died away. He found Lucullus did not make war in a theatrical ostentatious manner, but aimed his blows at his very heart, and left nothing unattempted to deprive him of provisions. He therefore seized his opportunity, while the Roman was attacking a certain fort, to send off almost all his cavalry and his beasts of burden, as well as the least useful part of his infantry, into Bithynia.

When Lucullus was apprised of their departure, he retired during the night into his camp. Next morning there was a violent storm; nevertheless he began the pursuit with ten cohorts of foot, besides his cavalry.—All the way he was greatly incommoded by the snow; and the cold was so piercing, that several of his soldiers sunk under it, and were forced to stop. With the rest he overtook the enemy at

other composition. The poorer sort of Egyptians are said to have done the same from another principle.

* There is something extremely improbable in this. It does not appear that Mithridates was so totally blocked up by Lucullus as to reduce him to this extremity; and even had that been the case, it certainly would have been more eligible to have risked a battle, than to have submitted to the dreadful alternative here mentioned. But wherefore eat human flesh, when afterwards we are expressly told that they had beasts to send away? There is, to the best of our knowledge and belief, as little foundation in history for this practice, as there is in nature.

the river Rhyndacus, and made such havoc among them, that the women of Apollonia came out to plunder the convoys, and to strip the slain.

'The slain, as may well be imagined, were very numerous, and Lucullus made fifteen thousand prisoners; besides which, he took six thousand horses, and an infinite number of beasts of burden. And he made it his business to lead them all by the enemy's camp.

I cannot help wondering at Sallust's saying, that this was the first time that the Romans saw a camel*. How could he think that those who formerly under Scipio conquered Antiochus, and lately defeated Archelaus at Orchomenus and Chæronea, should be unacquainted with that animal?

Mithridates now resolved upon a speedy flight; and, to amuse Lucullus with employment in another quarter, he sent his admiral Aristonicus to the Grecian sea. But, just as he was on the point of sailing, he was betrayed to Lucullus, together with ten thousand pieces of gold, which he took with him to corrupt some part of the Roman forces. After this, Mithridates made his escape by sea, and left his generals to get off with the army in the best manner they could. Lucullus, coming up with them at the river Granicus, killed full twenty thousand, and made a prodigious number of prisoners. It is said that in this campaign the enemy lost near three hundred thousand men, reckoning the servants of the army as well as soldiers.

Lucullus immediately entered Cyzicum, where he was received with every testimony of joy and respect. After which he went to the Hellespont to collect ships to make up a fleet. On this occasion he touched at Troas, and slept there in the temple of Venus. The goddess, he dreamt, stood by him, and addressed him as follows:

> Dost thou then sleep, great monarch of the woods?
> The fawns are rustling near thee.——

Upon this he arose, and calling his friends together while it was yet dark, related to them the vision. He had hardly made an end, when messengers arrived from Ilium with an account that they had seen, off the Grecian harbour†, thirteen of the king's large galleys steering towards Lemnos. He went in pursuit of them without losing a moment, took them, and killed their admiral Isidorus. When this was done, he made all the sail he could after some

* Livy expressly tells us, there were camels in Antiochus's army. "Before the cavalry were placed the chariots armed with scythes, and camels of that species called dromedaries."—*Liv.* lib. xxxvii. c. 40.

† Plutarch means the harbour where the Grecians landed when they were going to the siege of Troy.

others which were before. These lay at anchor by the island; and as soon as the officers perceived his approach, they hauled the ships ashore, and fighting from the decks, galled the Romans exceedingly. The Romans had no chance to surround them; nor could their galleys, which were by the waves kept in continual motion, make any impression upon those of the enemy, which were on firm ground, and stood immoveable. At last, having with much difficulty found a landing-place, he put some of his troops on shore, who, taking them in the rear, killed a number of them, and forced the rest to cut their cables, and stand out to sea. In the confusion, the vessels dashed one against another, or fell upon the beaks of those of Lucullus. The destruction consequently was great. Marius, the general sent by Sertorius, was among the prisoners. He had but one eye; and Lucullus, when he first set sail, had given his men a strict charge not to kill any person with one eye, in order that he might be reserved for a death of greater torture and disgrace.

After this, he hastened to pursue Mithridates himself, whom he hoped to find in Bithynia blocked up by Voconius. He had sent this officer before with a fleet to Nicodemia, to prevent the king's escape. But Voconius had loitered in Samothrace about getting himself initiated in the mysteries*, and celebrating festivals. Mithridates in the mean time had got out, and was making great efforts to reach Pontus, before Lucullus could come to stop him; but a violent tempest overtook him, by which many of his vessels were dashed to pieces, and many sunk. The whole shore was covered with the wreck which the sea threw up for several days. As for the king himself, the ship in which he sailed was so large, that the pilots could not make land with it amidst such a terrible agitation of the waves, and it was by this time ready to founder with the water it had taken in. He therefore got into a shallop belonging to some pirates, and trusting his life to their hands, beyond all hope was brought safe to Heraclea in Pontus, after having passed through the most unspeakable dangers.

In this war Lucullus behaved to the senate of Rome with an honest pride, which had its success. They had decreed him three thousand talents to enable him to fit out a fleet. But he acquainted them by letters, that he had no need of the money, and boasted that, without so much expense, and such mighty preparations, he would

* The mysteries of the Cabiri. The worship of these gods was probably brought from Phœnicia; for Cabir, in the language of that country, signifies powerful. They were reverenced as the most tremendous of superior beings; the more so, because of the mysterious and awful solemnities of their worship. Some have pretended to give us an account of their names, all which were locked up in the profoundest secrecy.

drive Mithridates out of the sea with the ships the allies would give him. And he performed his promise by the assistance of a superior power; for the tempest which ruined the Pontic fleet is said to have been raised by the resentment of Diana of Priapus, for their plundering her temple, and beating down her statue.

Lucullus was now advised by many of his officers to let the war sleep awhile; but, without regarding their opinion, he penetrated into the kingdom of Pontus, by way of Bithynia and Galatia. At first he found provisions so scarce, that he was forced to have thirty thousand Gauls follow him, each with a measure* of wheat upon his shoulders. But as he proceeded farther in his march, and bore down all opposition, he came to such plenty, that an ox was sold for one drachma, and a slave for four. The rest of the booty was so little regarded, that some left it behind them, and others destroyed it; for, amidst such abundance, they could not find a purchaser. Having, in the excursions of their cavalry, laid waste all the country as far as Themiscyræ and about the river Thermodon, they complained that Lucullus took all the towns by capitulation, instead of storm, and gave not up one to the soldiers for plunder. "Now," said they, "you leave Amisus, a rich and flourishing city, which might be easily taken, if you would assault it vigorously; and drag us after Mithridates into the wastes of Tibarene and Chaldæa."

Lucullus, however, not thinking they would break out into that rage which afterwards appeared, neglected their remonstrances. He took more pains to excuse himself to those who blamed his slow progress, and his losing time in reducing towns and villages of little consequence, while Mithridates was again gathering power. "This is the very thing," said he, "that I want, and aim at, in all my operations, that Mithridates may get strength, and collect an army respectable enough to make him stand an engagement, and not continue to fly before us. Do not you see what vast and boundless deserts lie behind him? Is not Caucasus, with all its immense train of mountains at hand, sufficient to hide him, and numberless other kings who wish to avoid a battle? It is but a few days journey from the country of the Cabiri† into Armenia, where Tigranes, king of kings, is seated, surrounded with that power which has wrested Asia from the Parthians, which carries Grecian colonies into Media, subdues Syria and Palestine, cuts off the Seleucidæ, and carries their

* Medimnus.

† Hence it appears, as well as from a passage in Strabo, that there was a district on the borders of Phrygia called Cabiri. Indeed, the worship of those gods had prevailed in several parts of Asia, and they are supposed to have had homage paid them at Rome under the title of *Divi Potes*.

wives and daughters into captivity. This prince is nearly allied to Mithridates; he is his son-in-law. Do you think he will disregard him, when he comes as a suppliant, and not take up arms in his cause? Why will you then be in such haste to drive Mithridates out of his dominions, and risk the bringing Tigranes upon us, who has long wanted a pretence for it? And surely he cannot find a more specious one than that of succouring a father-in-law, and a king reduced to such extreme necessity. What need is there then for us to ripen this affair, and to teach Mithridates what he may not know, who are the confederates he is to seek against us, or to drive him, against his inclination and his notions of honour, into the arms of Tigranes? Is it not better to give him time to make preparations, and regain strength in his own territories, that we may have to meet the Colchians, the Tibarenians, and Cappadocians, whom we have often beaten, rather than the unknown forces of the Medes and the Armenians?"

Agreeably to these sentiments, Lucullus spent a great deal of time before Amisus, proceeding very slowly in the siege. After the winter was past, he left that charge to Muræna, and marched against Mithridates, who was encamped on the plains of the Cabiri, with a resolution to wait for the Romans there. His army consisted of forty thousand foot and four thousand horse, which he had lately collected; and in these he placed the greatest confidence. Nay, he passed the river Lycus, and gave the Romans the challenge to meet him in the field. In consequence of this, the cavalry engaged, and the Romans were put to the rout. Pomponius, a man of some dignity, was wounded and taken. Though much indisposed with his wounds, he was brought before Mithridates, who asked him, "Whether, if he saved his life, he would become his friend?" "On condition you will be reconciled to the Romans," said he, "I will; but if not, I must remain your enemy." The king, struck with admiration of his patriotism, did him no injury.

Lucullus was apprehensive of further danger on the plain, on account of the enemy's superiority in horse, and yet he was loath to take to the mountains, which were at a considerable distance, as well as woody and difficult of ascent. While he was in this perplexity, some Greeks happened to be taken, who had hid themselves in a cave. Artemidorus, the eldest of them, undertook to conduct him to a post where he might encamp in the utmost security, and where there stood a castle which commanded the plain of the Cabiri. Lucullus gave credit to his report, and began his march in the night, after he had caused a number of fires to be lighted in his old camp. Having got safely through the narrow passes, he gained the heights, and in

the morning appeared above the enemy's heads, in a situation where he might fight with advantage, when he chose it, and might not be compelled to it, if he had a mind to sit still.

At present, neither Lucullus nor Mithridates was inclined to risk a battle: but some of the king's soldiers happening to pursue a deer, a party of Romans went out to intercept them. This brought on a sharp skirmish, numbers continually coming up on each side. At length the king's troops had the advantage.

The Romans beholding from the camp the flight of their fellow-soldiers, were greatly disturbed, and ran to Lucullus to entreat him to lead them out, and give the signal for battle. But he, willing to show them of how much importance in all dangerous conflicts the presence of an able general is, ordered them to stand still; and descending into the plain himself, seized the foremost of the fugitives, and commanded them to face about. They obeyed, and the rest rallying with them, they easily put the enemy to flight, and pursued them to their intrenchments. Lucullus, at his return, inflicted on the fugitives the usual punishment. He made them strip to their vests, take off their girdles, and then dig a trench twelve feet long: the rest of the troops all the while standing and looking on.

In the army of Mithridates there was a Dardarian grandee named Olthacus. The Dardarians are some of those barbarous people who live near the lake Mæotis. Olthacus was a man fit for every warlike attempt that required strength and courage, and in council and contrivance inferior to none. Besides these accomplishments, he was affable, easy, and agreeable in the commerce of the world. He was always involved in some dispute, or jealousy at least, of the other great men of his country, who, like him, aimed at the chief authority in it: and to bring Mithridates into his interest, he undertook the daring enterprise of killing Lucullus. Mithridates commended his design, and publicly gave him some affronts, to afford him a pretence for resentment. Olthacus laid hold of it, and rode off to Lucullus, who received him with pleasure; for his reputation was well known in the camp; and, upon trial, the Roman general found his presence of mind, and his address so extraordinary, that he took him to his table and his council-board.

When the Dardarian thought he had found his opportunity, he ordered his servants to have his horse ready without the camp. It was now mid-day, and the soldiers were sitting in the sun, or otherwise reposing themselves, when he went to the general's pavilion, expecting that none would pretend to hinder the admission of a man who was intimate with Lucullus, and who said he had business of importance to communicate: and he had certainly entered, if

sleep, which has been the ruin of many other generals, had not saved Lucullus. Menedemus, one of his chamberlains, was then in waiting, and he told Olthacus, "This was not a proper time to see Lucullus, because, after long watching and fatigue, he was now taking some rest." Olthacus did not take this denial, but said, "I must enter, whether you will or not, for I have great and necessary business to lay before him." Menedemus, incensed at his insolence, answered, "Nothing is more necessary than the preservation of Lucullus," and thrust him back with both hands. Olthacus, fearing his design was discovered, withdrew privately from the camp, took horse, and returned to Mithridates without effecting any thing. Thus the crisis, in other matters as well as in medicine, either saves or destroys.

After this, Sornatius was sent out with ten cohorts to escort a convoy. Mithridates detached against him one of his officers named Menander. An engagement ensued, and the barbarians were routed with great loss. Another time Lucullus despatched Adrian with a considerable corps to protect the party employed in collecting provisions and supplying his camp. Mithridates did not let him pass unnoticed, but sent Menemachus and Myron against them, with a strong body of cavalry, and another of infantry. All these combatants, except two, the Romans put to the sword. Mithridates dissembled his loss, pretending it was small, and entirely owing to the misconduct of the commanding-officers. But when Adrian passed by his camp in great pomp, with many waggons loaded with provisions and rich spoils in his train, the king's spirits began to droop, and the most distressing terror fell upon his army. They determined, therefore, to quit that post.

The nobility about the king began to send off their baggage with all the privacy they could, but would not suffer others to do the same. The soldiers, finding themselves jostled and thrust back in the gateways, were so much provoked at that treatment, that they turned upon them, fell to plundering the baggage, and killed several of them. Dorylaus, one of the generals, lost his life for nothing but a purple robe which he had on. Hermæus, a priest, was trodden under foot at the gate. Mithridates himself, without any attendant or groom to assist him, got out of the camp amidst the crowd. Of all his royal stud there was not one horse left him; but at last Ptolemy the eunuch, seeing him carried along with the torrent, and happening to be on horse-back, dismounted and gave him his. The Romans pressed hard upon him, and indeed came up time enough to have taken him. He was in fact almost in their hands; but their avarice saved him. The prey, which had been pursued

through numberless conflicts and dangers, escaped, and the victorious Lucullus was robbed of the reward of his toils. The horse which the king rode was almost overtaken, when a mule loaded with gold came between him and his pursuers, either by accident, or by the king's contrivance. The soldiers immediately began to rifle the load, and came to blows about the contents, which gave Mithridates time to get off. Nor was this the only disadvantage Lucullus experienced from their avarice. Callistratus, the king's secretary, was taken, and the Roman general had ordered him to be brought before him; but those who had the charge of it, perceiving he had five hundred crowns in his girdle, despatched him for the money. Yet to such men as these he gave up the plunder of the enemy's camp.

After this he took Cabira, and many other places of strength, in which he found much treasure. He likewise found in their prisons many Greeks, and several of the king's own relations confined; and as they had long thought themselves in the most desperate circumstances, the liberty which they gained, by the favour of Lucullus, appeared to them not so much a deliverance as a resurrection and new life. One of the king's sisters, named Nyssa, very happily for her, was of the number. The other sisters and wives of Mithridates, who seemed placed more remote from danger, and at a distance from war, all perished miserably: he sent the eunuch Bacchides to Phernacia, with orders to see them put to death.

Among the rest were two of his sisters, Roxana and Statira, who were about the age of forty, and still virgins; and two of his wives, both Ionians, Bernice of Chios, and Monime of Miletus. The latter was much celebrated among the Greeks. Though the king had tried every expedient to bring her to listen to a lawless passion, and made her a present of fifteen thousand crowns at one time, she rejected all his solicitations till he agreed to marriage, sent her a diadem, and declared her queen. Before the last sad message, she had passed her time very unhappily, and looked with grief and indignation on that beauty which, instead of a husband, had procured her an imperious master, and, instead of the domestic comforts of marriage, a guard of barbarians. Banished far from Greece, she had lost the real blessings of life, and, where she hoped for happiness, found nothing but a dream.

When Bacchides came, and informed those princesses they must die, but that they were at liberty to choose the death most easy and agreeable to them, Monime snatched the diadem from her head, applied it to her neck, that it might do the fatal office. But it broke, and the princess said, "O cursed band! wouldst thou not at least

serve me on this occasion?" Then spitting upon it, she threw it from her, and stretched out her neck to Bacchides.

Bernice took poison; and as her mother, who was present, begged a share of it, she granted her request. They both drank of it, and its force operated sufficiently upon the weaker body; but Bernice, not having taken a proper quantity, was long of dying.—Bacchides therefore strangled her. Roxana, one of the unmarried sisters, after having vented the most bitter imprecations and reproaches against Mithridates, took poison. Statira, however, died without one unkind or ungenerous word. She rather commended her brother, when he must have his anxieties about his own life, for not forgetting them, but providing that they might die free and undishonoured. These events were very disagreeable to the native goodness and humanity of Lucullus.

He continued his pursuit of Mithridates as far as Talaura; where having learned that he was fled four days before into Armenia to Tigranes, he turned back again. He subdued, however, the Chaldæans and Tibarenians, and reduced the Less Armenia, with the towns and castles. Then he sent Appius to Tigranes to demand Mithridates; and in the mean time returned to Amisus, which his troops were still besieging. The length of the siege was owing to Callimachus, who commanded in the town, and was an able engineer, skilled in every art of attack and defence. By this he gave the Romans much trouble, for which he suffered afterwards. Lucullus availed himself of a stratagem, against which he had not guarded. He made a sudden assault at the time when Callimachus used to draw off his men for refreshment. Thus he made himself master of some part of the wall; upon which, Callimachus, either envying the Romans the plunder of the place, or with a view to facilitate his own escape, set fire to the town, and quitted it; for no one paid any attention to those who fled by sea. The flames spread with great rapidity around the walls, and the soldiers prepared themselves to pillage the houses. Lucullus, in commiseration of a fine city thus sinking into ruin, endeavoured to assist it from without, and ordered his troops to extinguish the fire. But they paid no regard to him; they went on collecting the spoils, and clashing their arms, till he was forced to give up the plunder to them, in hopes of saving the city from the flames. It happened, however, quite otherwise. In rummaging every corner with torches in their hands, they set fire to many of the houses themselves. So that when Lucullus entered the town next morning, he said to his friends, with tears in his eyes, "I have often admired the good fortune of Sylla, but never so much as I do this day. He desired to save Athens, and succeeded. I wished to imitate

him on this occasion; but, instead of that, the gods have classed me with Mummius*."

Nevertheless, he endeavoured to restore the place, as far as its unhappy circumstances would permit. A shower, which providentially fell about the time it was taken, extinguished the fire, and saved many of the buildings; and, during his stay, he rebuilt most of those that were destroyed. Such of the inhabitants as had fled he received with pleasure, and added to them a draught of other Greeks, who were willing to settle there. At the same time he gave them a territory of a hundred and twenty furlongs.

The city was a colony of Athenians, planted here at a time when their power was at the height; and they were masters of the sea. Hence it was, that those who fled from the tyranny of Aristion retired to Amisus, and were admitted to the privilege of citizens; fortunately enough gaining abroad what they lost at home. The remainder of them Lucullus now clothed in an honourable manner, gave each two hundred drachmas, and sent them back into their own country. Tyrannio, the grammarian, was of the number. Muræna begged him of Lucullus, and afterwards enfranchised him; in which he acted ungenerously by his superior officers present. Lucullus would not have been willing that a man so honoured for his learning should be first considered as a slave, and then set free. The real liberty he was born to must be taken away before he could have this seeming freedom. But this was not the only instance in which Muræna acted with less generosity than became an officer of his rank.

Lucullus then turned towards the cities of Asia, that he might bestow the time which was not employed in war on the promotion of law and justice. These had long lost their influence in that province, which was overwhelmed with unspeakable misfortunes. It was desolated and enslaved by the farmers of the revenue, and by usurers. The poor inhabitants were forced to sell the most beautiful of their sons and daughters, the ornaments and offerings in their temples, their paintings, and the statues of their gods. The last resource was to serve their creditors as slaves. Their sufferings prior to this were more cruel and insupportable; prisons, racks, tortures, exposures to the burning sun in summer, and in winter to the extremity of cold, amidst ice or mire; insomuch that servitude seemed a happy deliverance, and a scene of peace. Lucullus, finding the cities in such dreadful distress, soon rescued the oppressed from all their burdens.

In the first place, he ordered the creditors not to take above one

* The destroyer of Corinth.

in the hundred for a month's interest*: in the next place, he abolished all interest that exceeded the principal: the third and most important regulation was, that the creditor should not take above a fourth part of the debtor's income. And if any one took interest upon interest, he was to lose all. By these means, in less than four years, all the debts were paid, and the estates restored free to the proprietors. The public fine which Sylla had laid upon Asia was twenty thousand talents. It had been paid twice; and yet the merciless collectors, by usury upon usury, now brought it to an hundred and twenty thousand talents.

These men, pretending they had been unjustly treated, raised a clamour in Rome against Lucullus, and hired a number of popular orators to speak against him.—They had, indeed, a considerable interest, because many persons who had a share in the administration were their debtors. Lucullus, on the other hand, was beloved not only by the nations which had experienced his good offices; the hearts of the other provinces were his, and they longed for a governor who had made such numbers happy.

Appius Clodius, who was sent ambassador to Tigranes by Lucullus, and who was his wife's brother, at first fell into the hands of guides that were subjects to Mithridates. These men made him take an unnecessary circuit of many days journey in the upper countries; but at last an enfranchised servant of his, a Syrian by nation, discovered to him the imposition, and showed him the right road. He then bade adieu to his barbarian guides, and in a few days passed the Euprates, and reached Antioch of Daphne†.

There he had orders to wait for Tigranes, who was then employed in reducing some cities of Phœnicia; and he found means to bring over to the Roman interest many princes who submitted to the Armenian out of pure necessity. Among these was Zarbienus, king of Gordyene. A number of the cities too, which Tigranes had conquered, privately sent deputies to Clodius; and he promised them all the succour Lucullus could give, but desired they would make no immediate resistance. The Armenian government was, indeed, an insupportable burden to the Greeks; particularly, the king's pride, through a long course of prosperity, was become so enormous, that

* This was the legal interest among the Romans. Whence we may learn the comparative scarcity of money in those times.

† Among several cities of that name, this was the principal. It was called, however, by way of distinction, the Antioch of Daphne. Daphne was a beautiful village, about forty furlongs from it, consecrated to the nymph of that name, and adorned with groves of a large extent, several of them probably of laurel; in the midst of which stood the temple of Apollo and Diana. The grove and temple were a sanctuary.

he thought whatever is great and admirable in the eyes of the world was not only in his power, but even made for him. For, though his prospects at first were small and contemptible, he had subdued many nations, and humbled the Parthian power more than any prince before him. He had colonized Mesopotamia with Greeks, whom he draughted in great numbers out of Cilicia and Cappadocia. He had drawn the *scenite** Arabians from their wandering way of life, and placed them nearer to Armenia, that he might avail himself of their mercantile abilities. He had many kings at his court in the capacity of servants, and four in particular as mace-bearers or footmen, who, whenever he rode on horseback, ran before in short jerkins, and, when he sat to give audience, stood by with their hands clasped together; which last circumstance seems a mark of the lowest slavery, a token that they had not only resigned their liberty, but that they were prepared rather to suffer than to act.

Appius, not in the least disconcerted at all this pomp, plainly set forth his commission at his first audience, "That he was come to demand Mithridates, whom Lucullus claimed for his triumph; otherwise he must declare war against Tigranes." Whatever efforts that prince made to receive the message with an easy countenance and kind of a smile, it was visible to all that he was affected at the young man's bold address. This was indeed the first free speech he had heard for five-and-twenty years, for so long he had been a king, or rather a tyrant. However, the answer he gave Appius was, "That he would not deliver up Mithridates; and if the Romans began the war, he was able to defend himself." He was displeased with Lucullus, for giving him, in his letter, barely the title of king, and not that of king of kings; and therefore, in his answer, he would not address him as *Imperator*. This did not hinder him from sending magnificent presents to Appius; and, when he found he did not accept them, he sent more. At last Appius, that he might not seem to reject them out of any particular pique, took a cup, and sent back all the rest. Then he returned with the utmost expedition to his general.

Before this, Tigranes had not deigned to admit Mithridates into his presence, nor to speak to a prince who was so nearly allied to him, and who had lately lost so great a kingdom. He had sent him in a contemptuous manner to remote marshes and a sickly air, where he was kept like a prisoner. But now he called him to court with great marks of honour and regard. In a private conference, they exculpated themselves at the expense of their friends. Metrodorus, the Scepsian, was of the number; an able speaker, and a man of extensive erudition, who had been in such high favour, that he was

* Probably so called from their living in tents.

styled the king's father. It seems, when he went ambassador from Mithridates to the Armenian court, to beg assistance against the Romans, Tigranes said, "What would you, Metrodorus, advise me to in this case?" Whether it was that he had the interest of Tigranes in view, or whether he wanted to see Mithridates absolutely ruined, he answered, "As an ambassador, I should exhort you to it; but, as your counsellor, I should advise you against it." Tigranes discovered this to Mithridates, not imagining he would resent it in the manner he did. The unfortunate prince immediately put Metrodorus to death; and Tigranes greatly repented the step he had taken, though he was not absolutely the cause of that minister's death, but only added stings to the hatred Mithridates had long entertained for him. This appeared when his private memorandums were taken, in which Metrodorus was found among those marked out for the axe. Tigranes buried him honourably, and spared no expense in his funeral, though he had been the cause of his death.

Amphicrates, the orator, likewise died at that court; if we may be allowed to record his name for the sake of Athens. He is said to have been banished his country, and to have retired to Seleucia upon the Tigris, where the inhabitants desired him to open a school of rhetoric, but he answered in the most contemptuous manner, and with all the vanity of a sophist, "That a plate could not contain a dolphin." From thence he went to the court of Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates, and wife of Tigranes, where he soon made himself so obnoxious, that he was forbidden all intercourse with the Greeks; upon which he starved himself to death. Cleopatra bestowed upon *him*, too, a magnificent funeral, and his tomb is near a place called Sapha.

Lucullus, having established peace and good laws in Asia, did not neglect what might be conducive to elegance and pleasure; but, during his stay at Ephesus, entertained the Grecian cities with shows, triumphal feasts, and trials of skill between wrestlers and gladiators. The cities, in return, instituted a feast to his honour, which they called *Lucullia;* and the real affection that inspired them with the thought was more agreeable than the honour itself.

When Appius was returned, and had acquainted him that it was necessary to go to war with Tigranes, he went back to Pontus, and put himself at the head of his troops. His first operation was to lay siege to Sinope, or rather to a corps of Cilicians who had thrown themselves into that town on the part of Mithridates. These, on the approach of Lucullus, put a great number of the inhabitants to the sword, and after setting fire to the place, endeavoured to escape in the night. But Lucullus, discovering their intention, entered the

town, and having killed eight thousand of them who were left behind, restored their effects to the old inhabitants, and exerted himself greatly in saving the city from the flames. His particular inducement was the following dream: he dreamed that a person stood by him, and said, "Go forward, Lucullus; for Autolycus is coming to meet you." When he awoke, he could form no conjecture about the signification of the dream. However, he took the city the same day, and, in pursuing the Cilicians to their ships, he saw a statue lying on the shore, which they had not been able to get on board. The work was one of the master-pieces of Sthenis; and he was told that it was the statue of Autolycus, the founder of Sinope. This Autolycus is said to have been the son of Deimachus, and one of those Thessalians who assisted Hercules in the war against the Amazons*. In his voyage back, along with Demoleon and Phlogius, his ship struck on a rock of the Chersonesus called Pedalion, and he lost it. He and his friends, however, saved their lives and their arms, and went to Sinope, which they took from the Syrians. The Syrians, who then held it, we are told, were so called, because they were the descendants of Syrus, the son of Apollo and Sinope the daughter of Asopus. When Lucullus heard this, he recollected the observation of Sylla in his Commentaries, "That nothing more deserves our belief and attention than what is signified to us in dreams."

After news was brought that Mithridates and Tigranes were on the point of entering Lycaonia and Cilica with all their forces, in order to seize Asia before him, he could not help thinking it strange that the Armenian did not make use of Mithridates when in his glory, nor join the armies of Pontus while they were in their full strength, but suffered them to be broken and destroyed; and now at last, with cold hopes of success, began the war or rather threw himself down headlong with those who could stand no longer.

Amidst these transactions, Machares, the son of Mithridates, who was master of the Bosphorus, sent Lucullus a coronet of gold of a thousand crowns value, and begged to be numbered among the friends and allies of Rome. Lucullus, now concluding that the first war was finished, left Sornatius with a corps of six thousand men, to settle the affairs of that province, and with twelve thousand foot, and less than three thousand horse, marched to meet another war. It seemed amazing temerity to go with a handful of men against so many warlike nations, so many myriads of cavalry, and such a vast country, intersected with deep rivers, and barricaded with mountains for ever

* Strabo tells us, Autolycus was one of the Argonauts, who, after his voyage to Colchis, settled at Sinope, and had divine honours paid him after his death.—*Strab.* lib. xii.

covered with snow. Of course his soldiers, who were not otherwise under the best discipline, now followed with great reluctance, and were ready to mutiny. On the other hand, the popular orators clamoured against him in Rome, representing that he levied war after war; not that the public utility required it, but that he might always keep the command and continue in arms, and that he might accumulate riches at the risk of the commonwealth. These at last succeeded in their design, which was to recal Lucullus.

At present he reached the Euphrates by long marches. He found it swoln and overflowing by reason of the late rains, and was apprehensive he should find much delay and difficulty in collecting boats, and making a bridge of them. But in the evening the flood began to subside, and lessen in such a manner in the night, that next morning the river appeared much within the channel. The people of the country, seeing little islands in its bed, which had seldom been visible, and the stream breaking gently about them, considered Lucullus as something more than mortal; for they saw the great river put on a mild and obliging air to him, and afford him a quick and easy passage.

He availed himself of the opportunity, and passed it with his army. An auspicious omen appeared immediately after. A number of heifers, sacred to the Persian Diana, the goddess whom the inhabitants of those parts particularly worship, pastured on the other side. These heifers are used only in the way of sacrifice; at other times they range at large, marked with the figure of a torch, as a token of their designation; and it was difficult to take them when they are wanted. But now the army had no sooner crossed the river, than one of them went and stood by a rock which is deemed sacred to the goddess, and hanging down her head in the manner of those that are bound, offered herself to Lucullus as a victim. He sacrificed also a bull to the Euphrates, on account of his safe passage.

He stayed there that whole day to refresh his army. The next day he marched through Sophene, without doing the least injury to those who submitted and received his troops in a proper manner. Nay, when his men wanted to stop and take a fort that was supposed to be full of treasure, he pointed to Mount Taurus, which appeared at a distance, and said, "Yonder is the fort you are to take; as for these things, they will of course belong to the conqueror." Then, pushing his march, he crossed the Tigris, and entered Armenia.

As Tigranes ordered the first man who brought him an account of the enemy's arrival, to lose his head for his reward, no one afterwards presumed to mention it. He remained in ignorance, though the hostile fire already touched him, and with pleasure heard his flatter-

ers say, "Lucullus would be a great general, if he waited for Tigranes at Ephesus, and did not quit Asia at the sight of his vast armies." Thus it is not every man that can bear much wine, nor can an ordinary mind bear great prosperity without staggering. The first of his friends who ventured to tell him the truth was Mithrobarzanes, and he was but ill rewarded for the liberty he had taken. He was sent against Lucullus with three thousand horse, and a more respectable body of foot with orders to take the Roman general alive, but to tread the rest under his feet.

Part of the Roman forces were pitching their tents, and the rest were upon the march, when their scouts brought intelligence that the barbarians were at hand. He had, therefore, his apprehensions, that if they attacked him before his troops were all assembled and formed, they might be put in disorder. The measure he took was to stay and intrench himself: mean time he sent his lieutenant Sextilius with sixteen hundred horse, and not many more infantry, including both the light and the heavy-armed, with orders, when he approached the enemy, to stop and amuse them, till he should be informed that the intrenchments were finished.

Sextilius was willing to obey his orders, but Mithrobarzanes came upon him so boldly, that he was forced to fight. Mithrobarzanes behaved with great bravery, but fell in the action.—Then his troops took to flight, and were most of them cut in pieces.

After this, Tigranes left Tigranocerta, the great city which he had built, and retired to Mount Taurus, where he intended to collect all his forces. But Lucullus, not giving him much time for preparation, sent Muræna to harass and cut off the parties on one side, as fast as they came up; on the other side, Sextilius advanced against a large corps of Arabians, which was going to join the king. Sextilius came upon the Arabians as they were encamping, and killed the greatest part of them. Muræna, following the steps of Tigranes, took his opportunity to attack him, as he was leading a great army along a rugged and narrow defile. The king himself fled, abandoning all his baggage. Many of the Armenians were put to the sword, and greater numbers made prisoners.

Lucullus, after this success, marched against Tigranocerta, and invested it with his army. There were in that city many Greeks who had been transplanted out of Cilicia, and many barbarians whose fortunes had been no better than that of the Greeks, Adiabenians, Assyrians, Gordyenians, and Cappadocians, whose cities Tigranes had demolished, and then removed the inhabitants, and compelled them to settle in that he had built. The place was full of treasure and rich ornaments; every private person, as well as grandee, to make

their court to the king, striving which should contribute most to its embellishment. For this reason Lucullus carried on the siege with great vigour, in the opinion that Tigranes would, contrary to his better judgment, be provoked to give him battle. And he was not mistaken. Mithridates, by messengers and letters, dissuaded the king much from hazarding a battle, and advised him only to cut off the Roman convoys with his cavalry. Taxiles too, who came on the part of Mithridates to co-operate with Tigranes, entreated him to avoid meeting the Roman arms, which he assured him were invincible.

At first the king heard him with patience. But when the Armenians and Gordyenians arrived with all their forces; when the kings of the Medes and Adiabenians had brought in their armies; when numbers of Arabians came from the coasts of the Babylonian sea*, Albanians from the Caspian, and Iberians from the nighbourhood of the Albanians; besides a considerable body, gained by presents and persuasion, from those nations about the Araxes that live without regal government; then nothing was expressed at the king's table or council-board, but sanguine hopes and barbarian menaces. Taxiles was in danger of his life for attempting to oppose the resolution to give battle, and Mithridates himself was accused of envying the glorious success that would attend his son-in-law.

Tigranes, therefore, would not wait for him, lest he should share with him the honour of the victory, but advanced immediately with all his forces; and is said to have expressed to his friends some uneasiness, "That he should have to do only with Lucullus, and not try his strength at once with all the generals of Rome." Indeed, these boasts of the king do not appear entirely frantic and destitute of reason, while he was surveying so many nations and princes under his standard, such astonishing numbers of heavy-armed infantry, and so many myriads of cavalry. He had twenty thousand archers and slingers, and fifty-five thousand horse, of which seventeen thousand were clad in steel, according to the account Lucullus sent to the senate. His infantry, divided into companies and battalions, consisted of a hundred and fifty thousand men; and there were thirty-five thousand pioneers, and other labourers, to make good the roads, to prepare bridges, to cleanse the course of rivers, to provide wood, and to answer all the occasions of the army. These were drawn up behind, to give it a greater appearance of strength and numbers.

When he had passed Mount Taurus, and spread his troops upon the plain, he could see the Roman army besieging Tigranocerta. The mixed multitude of barbarians in the city likewise saw him,

* The Persian gulf.

and in a menacing manner pointed to their king's armies from the walls.

Lucullus, before the battle, held a council of war. Some advised him to quit the siege, and meet Tigranes with all his forces; others were of opinion, that he should continue the siege, and not leave so many enemies behind him. He told them, that neither, separately, gave good council, but both together did. He therefore divided his forces, and left Muræna before the place with six thousand men; while he, with the rest of the infantry, consisting of twenty-four cohorts, which contained not more than ten thousand combatants, with all his cavalry, and about a thousand slingers and archers, marched against Tigranes.

He encamped on a large plain with a river before him, where his army, appearing no more than a handful, afforded much matter of mirth to the flatterers of the king. Some ridiculed the diminutive appearance; others, by way of jest, cast lots for the spoil. And there was not one of the generals and princes who did not come and desire to be employed alone upon that service, while Tigranes needed only to sit still and look on. The king, too, thinking he must show himself facetious on the occasion, made use of that celebrated expression, "That if they came as ambassadors, there were too many of them; if as soldiers, too few." Thus they passed the first day in raillery.

Next morning, at break of day, Lucullus drew out his army. The camp of the barbarians was on the east side of the river; but the river, where it is most formidable, makes a bend to the west. As Lucullus marched hastily down to that quarter, Tigranes thought he was retreating. Upon this he called to Taxiles, and said with a scornful smile, "Seest thou not these invincible Roman legions taking to flight?" Taxiles answered, "I wish from my soul, my lord, that your good genius may work a miracle in your favour, but these legions do not use their best accoutrements in a mere march. They do not wear their polished shields, nor take their bright helmets out of their cases, as you see they have now done. All this splendid appearance indicates their intention to fight, and to advance against their enemies as fast as possible."

While Taxiles was yet speaking, they saw the eagle of the foremost legion make a motion to the right by order of Lucullus, and the cohorts proceed in good order to pass the river.

Then Tigranes, with much difficulty, awaked from his intoxication, and exclaimed two or three times, "Are these men coming against us?" After this he drew out his forces in a hasty and disorderly

manner, taking himself the command of the main body, and giving the left wing to the king of the Adiabenians, and the right to the king of the Medes. Before this right wing were placed most of the cavalry that were armed in steel.

As Lucullus was going to pass the river, some of his officers admonished him to beware of that day, which had been an inauspicious, or (as they call it) a black one to the Romans; for on that day Cæpio's army was defeated by the Cimbri. Lucullus returned that memorable answer, "I will make this day an auspicious one for Rome." It was the sixth of October.

Having thus spoken, and withal exhorted his men to exert themselves, he advanced at the head of them against the enemy. He was armed with a breast-plate of steel, formed in scales, which cast a surprising lustre; and the robe he wore over it was adorned with fringe. He drew his sword immediately, to show his troops the necessity of coming hand to hand with an enemy who were accustomed to fight at a distance; and by the vigour of their charge not to leave them room to exercise their missive weapons. Observing that the enemy's heavy-armed cavalry, upon which they placed their dependence, was covered by a hill that was plain and even at the top, and which, with an extent of only four furlongs, was not very difficult to ascend, he despatched his Thracian and Gaulish horse with orders to take them in flank, and to strike at nothing but the shafts of their pikes. Their whole strength, indeed, consists in the pike, and they have no other weapon, either offensive or defensive, that they can use, by reason of their heavy and unwieldy armour, in which they are as it were immured.

Meanwhile he began to climb the hill with two companies of infantry, and the soldiers followed him with great readiness, when they saw him, incumbered as he was with his armour, the first to labour on foot up the ascent. When he had reached the summit, he stood on the most conspicuous part of it, and cried out, "The victory is ours, my fellow-soldiers, the victory is ours!" At the same time he advanced against the heavy-armed cavalry, and ordered his men not to make any use of their javelins, but to come to close action, and to aim their blows at their enemies' legs and thighs, in which parts alone they were not armed. There was no need, however, to put this in execution; for, instead of standing to receive the Romans, they set up a cry of fear, and most despicably fled without striking a stroke. In their flight, they and their horses, heavy with armour, ran back upon their own infantry, and put them in confusion; insomuch, that all those myriads were routed without standing to receive one wound,

or spilling one drop of blood. Multitudes, however, were slain in their flight, or rather in their attempt to fly; their ranks became so thick and deep, that they entangled and impeded each other.

Tigranes rode off, one of the first, with a few attendants; and seeing his son taking his share in his misfortune, he took the diadem from his head, gave it him with tears, and desired him to save himself in the best manner he could by taking some other road. The young prince did not venture to wear it, but put it in the hands of one of his most faithful servants, who happened afterwards to be taken and brought to Lucullus: by this means the royal diadem of Tigranes added to the honours of the spoil. It is said that of the foot there fell above a hundred thousand, and of the horse very few escaped; whereas the Romans had but five killed, and a hundred wounded. Antiochus the philosopher*, in his Treatise concerning the gods, speaking of this action, says, the sun never beheld such another. Strabo†, another philosopher, in his Historical Commentaries, informs us that the Romans were ashamed, and ridiculed each other, for having employed weapons against such vile slaves. And Livy tells us, the Romans, with such inferior numbers, never engaged such a multitude as this. The victors did not, indeed, make up the twentieth part of the vanquished. The most able and experienced commanders among the Romans paid the highest compliments to the generalship of Lucullus, principally because he had defeated two of the greatest and most powerful kings in the world by methods entirely different; the one by an expiditious, and the other by a slow process. He ruined Mithridates, when in the height of his power, by protracting the war, and Tigranes, by the celerity of his movements. Indeed, among all the generals in the world, there have been very few instances of any one's availing himself of delay for execution, or of expedition for security.

Hence it was that Mithridates made no haste to come to action, or to join Tigranes; imagining that Lucullus would proceed with his usual caution and slowness. But as soon as he met a few Armenians on the road with the greatest marks of consternation upon them, he formed some conjecture of what had happened; and when many more came up naked and wounded, he was too well assured of the loss, and inquired for Tigranes. Though he found him in the most destitute and deplorable condition, he did not offer him the least insult. Instead of that, he dismounted, and bewailed with him their common misfortunes; gave him his own royal equipage, and held up to him a prospect of better success. They began to levy other forces.

* Antiochus of Escalon. Cicero was his disciple.

† Strabo, the geographer and historian, was also a philosopher of the Stoic form.

In Tigranocerta the Greeks had mutinied against the barbarians, and wanted to deliver up the city to Lucullus. Accordingly he gave the assault, and took it. After he had secured the royal treasures, he gave up the plunder of the town to his soldiers, and they found there, besides other rich booty, eight thousand talents in coined money. Lucullus added eight hundred drachmas to each man's share.

Being informed that there were found in the town a number of such artists as are requisite in theatrical exhibitions, whom Tigranes had collected from all parts, for opening the theatre he had built, he made use of them in the games and other public diversions in honour of his victory.

He sent back the Greeks to their own countries, and furnished them with necessaries for that purpose. He likewise permitted the barbarians, who had been compelled to settle there, to return to their respective abodes. Thus it happened, that, by the dispersion of the people of one city, many cities recovered their former inhabitants. For which reason Lucullus was reverenced by them as a patron and founder. He succeeded also in his other undertakings agreeably to his merit; being more desirous of the praise of justice and humanity than of that which arises from military achievements: for in those the army claims no small part, and fortune a greater; whereas the others are proofs of a gentle disposition and subdued mind, and by them Lucullus brought the barbarians to submit without the sword. The kings of the Arabs came over to him, and put their possessions in his power; the whole nation of Sophene followed their example; and the Gordyenians were so well inclined to serve him, that they were willing to quit their habitations, and follow him with their wives and children. The cause was this:—

Zarbienus, king of Gordyene, unable, as has been said, to support the tyranny of Tigranes, applied privately through Appius to Lucullus, and desired to be admitted as an ally. This application being discovered, he was put to death, with his wife and children, before the Romans entered Armenia. Lucullus, however, did not forget it, but, as he passed through Gordyene, took care that Zarbienus should have a magnificent funeral, and adorned the pile with gold stuffs and royal vestments found among the spoils of Tigranes. The Roman general himself set fire to it, and, together with the friends and relations of the deceased, offered the accustomed libations, declaring him his friend, and an ally of the Roman people. He caused a monument, too, to be erected to his memory, at a considerable expense: for there was found in the treasury of that prince a great quantity of gold and silver; there were found also in

his storehouses three millions of medimni of wheat. This was a sufficient provision for the soldiers; and Lucullus was much admired for making the war maintain itself, and carrying it on without taking one drachma out of the public treasury.

About this time there came an embassy from the king of Parthia to solicit his friendship and alliance. Lucullus received the proposal with pleasure, and sent ambassadors in his turn; who, when they were at that prince's court, discovered that he was unresolved what part to act, and that he was privately treating with Tigranes for Mesopotamia, as a reward for the succours with which he should furnish him. As soon as Lucullus was sensible of this, he determined to let Tigranes and Mithridates alone, as adversaries already tired out, and to try his strength with the Parthian, by entering his territories. He thought it would be glorious, if, in one expedition, during the tide of good fortune, like an able wrestler, he would throw three princes successively, and traverse the dominions of three of the most powerful kings under the sun, perpetually victorious.

For this reason, he sent orders to Sornatius and his officers in Pontus to bring their forces to him, as he intended to begin his march for Parthia from Gordyene. These officers had already found their soldiers refractory and obstinate, but now they saw them absolutely mutinous, and not to be wrought upon by any method of persuasion or of force. On the contrary, they loudly declared they would not even stay there, but would go and leave Pontus itself unguarded. When an account of this behaviour was brought to Lucullus, it corrupted the troops he had with him; and they were very ready to receive these impressions, loaded as they were with wealth, enervated with luxury, and panting after repose. Upon hearing, therefore, of the bold terms in which the others had expressed themselves, they said they acted like men, and set an example worthy of imitation: "And surely," continued they, "our services entitle us to a discharge, that we may return to our own country, and enjoy ourselves in security and quiet."

These speeches, and worse than these, coming to the ears of Lucullus, he gave up all thoughts of his Parthian expedition, and marched once more against Tigranes. It was now the height of summer, and yet, when he had gained the summit of Mount Taurus, he saw with regret the corn only green: so backward are the seasons in those parts, by reason of the cold that prevails there*. He descended, however, into the plain, and beat the Armenians, who ventured to face him, in two or three skirmishes. Then he

* This particular is confirmed by modern travellers. They tell us the snow lies there till August.

plundered the villages at pleasure, and, by taking the convoys designed for Tigranes, brought that want upon the enemy which he had dreaded himself.

He omitted no measure which might bring them to a decisive battle: he drew a line of circumvallation about their camp; he laid waste their country before their eyes; but they had been too often defeated to think of risking an engagement. He therefore marched against Artaxata, the capital of Tigranes, where he had left his wives and children, concluding he would not suffer it to be taken without attempting its relief.

It is said that Hannibal the Carthaginian, after Antiochus was subdued by the Romans, addressed himself to Artaxas king of Armenia. While he was at that prince's court, besides instructing him in other important matters, he pointed out to him a place which, though it then lay neglected, afforded the happiest situation imaginable for a city. He gave him the plan of one, and exhorted him to put it in execution. The king, charmed with the motion, desired him to take the direction of the work; and in a short time there was seen a beautiful and large city, which bore that prince's name, and was declared the metropolis of Armenia.

When Lucullus advanced to lay siege to this place, the patience of Tigranes failed him. He marched in quest of the Romans, and the fourth day encamped over against them, being separated from them only by the river Arsanias, which they must necessarily pass in their march to Artaxata. Lucullus having sacrificed to the gods, in full persuasion that the victory was his own, passed over in order of battle, with twelve cohorts in front. The rest were placed in the rear, to prevent their being surrounded by the enemy; for their motions were watched by a large and select body of cavalry, covered by some flying squadrons of Mardian archers and Iberian spearmen, in whose courage and skill, Tigranes, of all his foreign troops, placed the highest confidence. Their behaviour, however, did not distinguish them. They exchanged a few blows with the Roman horse, but did not wait the charge of the infantry. They dispersed and fled, and the Roman cavalry pursued them in the different routes they had taken.

Tigranes, now seeing his advantage, advanced with his own cavalry. Lucullus was a little intimidated at their numbers and the splendour of their appearance. He therefore called his cavalry off from the pursuit, and in the mean time was the foremost to advance against the nobility*, who, with the flower of the army, were about

* In the original it is *Satrapenon;* by which, in all probability, is meant the king's body-guard, consisting chiefly of the nobility. According to Livy, no less than sixty

the king's person. But they fled at the sight of him, without striking a blow. Of the three king's that were then in the action, the flight of Mithridates seems to have been the most disgraceful, for he did not stand the very shouts of the Romans. The pursuit continued the whole night, until, wearied with the carnage, and satisfied with the prisoners and the booty they made, the Romans drew off. Livy tells us, that in the former battle there were greater numbers killed and taken prisoners; but in this, persons of higher quality.

Lucullus, elevated with his success, resolved to penetrate the upper country, and to finish the destruction of this barbarian prince. It was now the autumnal equinox, and he met with storms he did not expect. The snow fell almost constantly; and, when the sky was clear, the frost was so intense, that, by reason of the extreme cold, the horses could hardly drink of the rivers; nor could they pass them but with the utmost difficulty, because the ice broke, and cut the sinews of their legs. Besides, the greatest part of their march was through close and woody roads, where the troops were daily wet with the snow that lodged upon the trees; and they had only damp places wherein to pass the night.

They had not, therefore, followed Lucullus many days, before they began to be refractory. At first they had recourse to entreaties, and sent their tribunes to intercede for them. Afterwards they met in a more tumultuous manner, and their murmurs were heard all over the camp by night; and this, perhaps, is the surest token of a mutiny. Lucullus tried what every milder measure could do: he exhorted them only to compose themselves a little longer, until they destroyed the Armenian Carthage, built by Hannibal, the greatest enemy to the Roman name. But, finding his eloquence ineffectual, he marched back, and passed the ridge of Mount Taurus another way. He came down into Mygdonia, an open and fertile country, where stands a great and populous city, which the barbarians called Nisibis, and the Greeks Antioch of Mygdonia*. Gouras, brother to Tigranes, had the title of governor, on account of his dignity; but the commander, in fact, was Callimachus, who, by his great abilities as an engineer, had given Lucullus so much trouble at Amisus.

Lucullus, having invested the place, availed himself of all the arts that are used in a siege, and pressed on with so much vigour,

of Tigranes's friends and great officers walked in the procession of Lucullus's triumph. Nor is it to be wondered at that he had a guard of his own nobility, when he had conquered princes for his menial servants.

* It was called Antioch, because, in its delicious walks and pleasing situation, it resembled the Antioch of Daphne.

that he carried it sword in hand. Gouras surrendered himself, and he treated him with great humanity. He would not, however, listen to Callimachus, though he offered to discover to him a vast quantity of hidden treasure, but put him in fetters, in order that he might suffer capital punishment for setting fire to the city of Amisus, and by that means depriving him of the honour of showing his clemency to the Greeks.

Hitherto, one might say, fortune had followed Lucullus, and fought for him. But from this time the gales of her favour fell; he could do nothing but with infinite difficulty, and struck upon every rock in his way. He behaved, indeed, with all the valour and persevering spirit of a good general, but his actions had no longer their wonted glory and favourable acceptance with the world. Nay, tossed as he was on the waves of fruitless contention, he was in danger of losing the glory he had already acquired. For great part of his misfortunes he might blame himself; because, in the first place, he would never study to oblige the common soldiers, but looked upon every compliance with their inclinations as the source of his disgrace and the destruction of his authority. What was of still greater consequence, he could not behave in an easy affable manner to those who were upon a footing with him in point of rank and birth, but treated them with haughtiness, and considered himself as greatly their superior. These blemishes Lucullus had amidst many perfections. He was tall, well-made, graceful, eloquent, and had abilities for the administration as well as for the field.

Sallust tells us, the soldiers were ill-affected to him from the beginning of the war, because he made them keep the field two winters successively, the one before Cyzicum, and the other before Amisus. The rest of the winters were very disagreeable to them; they either passed them in hostilities against some enemy, or, if they happened to be among friends, they were obliged to live in tents: for Lucullus never once suffered his troops to enter any Grecian city, or any other in alliance with Rome.

While the soldiers were of themselves thus ill-disposed, they were made still more mutinous by the demagogues at home, who, through envy to Lucullus, accused him of protracting the war from a love of command and of the riches it procured him. He had almost the entire direction (they said) of Cilicia, Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, Armenia, and all the provinces as far as the Phasis; and now he was pillaging the royal palaces of Tigranes, as if he had been sent to strip, not to subdue kings. So Lucius Quintius, one of the tribunes, is said to have expressed himself; the same who was principally concerned in procuring a decree that Lucullus should

have a successor sent him, and that most of his troops should have their discharge.

To these misfortunes was added another, which absolutely ruined the affairs of Lucullus. Publius Clodius, a man of the utmost insolence and effrontery, was brother to his wife, who was so abandoned a woman, that it was believed she had a criminal commerce with him. He now bore arms under Lucullus, and imagined he had not the post he deserved; for he wanted the first: and, on account of his disorderly life, many were put before him. Finding this, he practised with the Fimbrian troops, and endeavoured to set them against Lucullus, by flattering speeches and insinuations, to which they were neither unaccustomed, nor unwilling to attend: for these were the men whom Fimbria had formerly persuaded to kill the consul Flaccus, and to appoint him their general. Still retaining such inclinations, they received Clodius with pleasure, and called him the soldier's friend. He did, indeed, pretend to be concerned at their sufferings, and used to say—"Shall there no period be put to their wars and toils? shall they go on fighting one nation after another, and wear out their lives in wandering over the world? And what is the reward of so many laborious expeditions? What, but to guard the waggons and camels of Lucullus, loaded with cups of gold and precious stones! whereas Pompey's soldiers, already discharged, sit down with their wives and children upon fertile estates, and in agreeable towns; not for having driven Mithridates and Tigranes into inaccessible deserts, and destroying the royal cities in Asia, but for fighting with fugitives in Spain, and slaves in Italy. If we must for ever have our swords in our hands, let us reserve all our hearts, and what remains of our limbs, for a general who thinks the wealth of his men his greatest ornament."

These complaints against Lucullus corrupted his soldiers in such a manner, that they would neither follow him against Tigranes, nor yet against Mithridates, who from Armenia had thrown himself into Pontus, and was beginning to recover his authority there.—They pretended it was impracticable to march in the winter, and therefore loitered in Gordyene, expecting Pompey or some other general would come as successor to Lucullus. But when intelligence was brought that Mithridates had defeated Fabius, and was marching against Sornatius and Triarius, they were ashamed of their inaction, and told Lucullus he might lead them wherever he pleased.

Triarius, being informed of the approach of Lucullus, was ambitious, before he arrived, to seize the victory, which he thought perfectly secure; in consequence of which he hazarded and lost a great battle. It is said that about seven thousand Romans were killed, a-

mong whom were a hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes. Mithridates likewise took their camp. Lucullus arrived a few days after, fortunately enough for Triarius, whom he concealed from the soldiers, who wanted to wreak their vengeance upon him.

As Mithridates avoided an action with Lucullus, and chose to wai for Tigranes, who was coming with a great army, Lucullus, in or der to prevent their junction, determined to go in quest of Tigrane once more. But, as he was upon his march, the Fimbrians mutinie and deserted his standard, alleging that they were discharged by a express decree, and no longer obliged to serve under Lucullus, whe those provinces were consigned to another. Lucullus, on this oc casion, submitted to many things beneath his dignity. He applie to the private men one by one, going round to their tents with supplicating aspect, and with tears in his eyes; nay, he condescende to take some of them by the hand. But they rejected all his ad vances, and, throwing down their empty purses before him, bad him go and fight the enemy himself, since he was the only perso that knew how to make his advantage of it.

However, as the other soldiers interposed, the Fimbrians wer prevailed upon to stay all the summer, on condition that if no enem faced them in the field during that time, they should be at liber to retire.—Lucullus was obliged either to accept this proposal or t abandon the country, or to leave it an easy prey to the barbarians He kept the troops together, therefore, without pretending to exer cise any act of power upon them, or to lead them out to battle thinking it all he could expect, if they would but remain upon th spot. At the same time he looked on, while Tigranes was ravaging Cappadocia, and Mithridates was growing strong and insolent again though he had acquainted the senate by letter that he was absolutel conquered, and deputies were come to settle the affairs of Pontus as a province entirely reduced. These deputies, on their arrival found that he was not even master of himself, but exposed to ever instance of insult and contempt from his own soldiers. Nay, the treated their general with such wanton mockery, as, when the sum mer was past, to arm and challenge the enemy, who were now re tiring into quarters. They shouted as in the charge, made passes i the air, and then left the camp, calling Lucullus to witness tha they had stayed the time they promised him.

Pompey wrote to the other legions to attend him. For, throug his interest with the people, and the flattering insinuations of th orators, he was already appointed general against Mithridates an Tigranes. To the senate, indeed, and all the best of the Romans Lucullus appeared to have very hard treatment, since a person wa

sent to succeed him, not so much in the war as in his triumph; and he was robbed rather of the prize of honour than of the command. Those that were on the spot found the matter still more invidious.—Lucullus had no longer the power either of rewarding or punishing. Pompey suffered no man to wait upon him about any business whatever, or to pay any regard to the regulations he had made in concurrence with the ten commissioners. He forbade it by express and public orders; and his influence was great, on account of his coming with a more respectable army.

Yet their friends thought it proper that they should come to an interview, and accordingly they did so in a village of Galatia. They addressed each other with much politeness, and with mutual compliments on their great success. Lucullus was the older man, but Pompey had superior dignity, for he had commanded in more wars, and had been honoured with two triumphs. Each had the *fasces* carried before him, adorned with laurel on account of their respective victories: but as Pompey had travelled a long way through dry and parched countries, the laurels about his *fasces* were withered. The lictors that preceded Lucullus, observing this, freely gave them a sufficient quantity of their fresh and green ones, which Pompey's friends considered as an auspicious circumstance. And, in fact, the great actions of Lucullus did cast a lustre over this expedition of Pompey.

This interview, however, had no good effect: they parted with greater rancour in their hearts than they entertained at their meeting. Pompey annulled the acts of Lucullus; and taking the rest of his troops from him, left him only sixteen hundred men for his triumph; and even these followed him with reluctance. So ill qualified or so unfortunate was Lucullus, with respect to the first and greatest requisite in a general gaining the hearts of his soldiers. Had this been added to his many other great and admirable talents, his courage, his vigilance, his prudence, and justice, the Roman empire would not have been terminated, on the side of Asia, by the Euphrates, but by the Hyrcanian sea and the extremities of the earth. For Tigranes had already conquered the other nations; and the power of the Parthians was neither so great nor so united in itself, during this expedition of Lucullus, as it was afterwards in the time of Crassus. On the contrary, they were weakened by intestine wars and by hostilities with their neighbours, insomuch that they were not able to repel the insults of the Armenians. In my opinion, indeed, the advantages which his country reaped from Lucullus were not equivalent to the calamities which he occasioned others to bring upon it. The trophies of Armenia, just in the neighbourhood of

Parthia; the palms of Tigranocerta and Nisibis, with all their vast wealth carried in triumph to Rome; and the captive diadem of Tigranes adorning the show, drew Crassus into Asia, as if its barbarous inhabitants had been a sure and easy prey. However, when he met the Parthian arrows, he soon found that the success of Lucullus was owing to his own courage and capacity, and not to the folly and effeminacy of the enemy.

Upon his return to Rome, Lucullus found his brother Marcus impeached by Memmius for the practices he had been guilty of during his quæstorship, by order of Sylla. And when Marcus was acquitted, Memmius turned against Lucullus himself, alleging that he had converted a great deal of the booty to his own private use, and had wilfully protracted the war. By these means he endeavoured to exasperate the people against him, and to prevail with them to refuse him his triumph. Lucullus was in great danger of losing it; but at this crisis the first and greatest men in Rome mixed with the tribes, and, after much canvassing, and the most engaging application, with great difficulty procured him the triumph.

Its glory did not consist, like that of others, in the length of the procession, or in the astonishing pomp and quantity of spoils, but in exhibiting the enemy's arms, the engines and other warlike equipage of the kings. With these he had adorned the Circus Flaminius, and they made a very agreeable and respectable show. In the procession there were a few of the heavy-armed cavalry, and ten chariots armed with scythes.—These were followed by sixty grandees, either friends or lieutenants of the kings. After them were drawn a hundred and ten galleys with brazen beaks. The next objects were a statue of Mithridates in massy gold, full six feet high, and his shield set with precious stones. Then came up twenty exhibitions of silver vessels, and two-and-thirty more of gold cups, arms, and gold coin. All these things were borne by men. These were followed by eight mules, which carried beds of gold, and fifty-six more loaded with silver bullion. After these came a hundred and seven other mules, bearing silver coin to the amount of near two million seven hundred thousand drachmas. The procession was closed with the registers of the money with which he had furnished Pompey for the war with the pirates, what he had remitted the quæstors for the public treasury, and the distributions he had made among the soldiers, at the rate of nine hundred and fifty drachmas each man. The triumph concluded with a magnificent entertainment provided for the whole city and the adjacent villages.

He now divorced Clodia for her infamous intrigues, and married Servilia the sister of Cato; but this second match was not more for-

tunate than the first. Servilia wanted no stain which Clodia had, except that of a commerce with her brothers. In other respects she was equally profligate and abominable. He forced himself, however, to endure her a long time out of reverence to Cato, but at last repudiated her also.

The senate had conceived great hopes of Lucullus, that he would prove a counterpoise to the tyranny of Pompey, and a protector of the whole patrician order; the rather because he had acquired so much honour and authority by his great actions. He gave up the cause, however, and quitted all pretensions to the administration: whether it was that he saw the constitution in too sickly and declining a condition to be corrected, or whether, as others will have it, that being satiated with public honours, and having gone through many labours and conflicts, which had not the most fortunate issue, he chose to retire to a life of ease and indulgence. And they commend this change in his conduct, as much better than the distempered measures of Marius, who, after his victories over the Cimbri and all his glorious achievements, was not content with the admiration of his countrymen, but, from an insatiable thirst of power, contended, in the decline of life, with the ambition of young men, falling into dreadful crimes, and into sufferings still more dreadful. "How much happier," said they, "would it have been for Cicero, if he had retired after the affair of Cataline; and for Scipio, if he had furled his sails when he had added Numantia to Carthage. For there is a period when we should bid adieu to political contests; these, as well as those of wrestlers, being absurd, when the strength and vigour of life is gone."

On the other hand, Crassus and Pompey ridiculed Lucullus for giving into a life of pleasure and expense; thinking it full as unseasonable at his time of life to plunge into luxury, as to direct the administration, or lead armies into the field. Indeed, the life of Lucullus does look like the ancient comedy*, where first we see great actions, both political and military, and afterwards feasts, debauches, (I had almost said masquerades) races by torch-light, and every kind of frivolous amusement. For, among frivolous amusements, I cannot but reckon his sumptuous villas, walks, and baths, and still more so, the paintings, statues, and other works of art, which he collected at an immense expense; idly squandering away upon them the vast fortune which he had amassed in the wars†: insomuch, that even

* The ancient satirical or comic pieces were partly tragical, and partly comic. The Cyclops of Euripides is the only piece of that kind which is extant.

† Plutarch's philosophy seems a little too severe on this occasion; for it is not easy to see how public fortunes of this kind can be more properly laid out than in the encou-

now, when luxury has made so much greater advances, the gardens of Lucullus are numbered with those of kings, and the most magnificent even of those. When Tubero, the Stoic, beheld his works on the sea-coast near Naples, the hills he had excavated for vaults and cellars, the reservoirs he had formed about his houses to receive the sea for the feeding of his fish, and his edifices in the sea itself, the philosopher called him Xerxes in a gown*. Besides these, he had the most superb pleasure-houses in the country near Tusculum, adorned with grand galleries and open saloons, as well for the prospect as for walks. Pompey, on a visit there, blamed Lucullus for having made the villa commodious only for the summer, and absolutely uninhabitable in the winter. Lucullus answered with a smile, "What then, do you think I have not so much sense as the cranes and storks, which change their habitations with the seasons?"

A prætor, who wanted to exhibit magnificent games, applied to Lucullus for some purple robes for the chorus in his tragedy; and he told him he would inquire whether he could furnish him or not. Next day he asked him how many he wanted. The prætor answered, "A hundred would be sufficient:" Upon which Lucullus said, "He might have twice that number, if he pleased." The poet Horace makes this remark on the occasion:

> Poor is the house, where plenty has not stores
> That miss the master's eye.....

His daily repasts were like those of a man suddenly grown rich; pompous not only in the beds, which were covered with purple carpets; the side-boards of plate set with precious stones, and all the entertainment which musicians and comedians could furnish; but in the vast variety and exquisite dressing of the provisions. These things excited the admiration of men of unenlarged minds. Pompey, therefore, was highly applauded for the answer he gave his physician in a fit of sickness. The physician had ordered him to eat a thrush†, and his servants told him, "That, as it was summer, there were no thrushes to be found, except in the menageries of Lucullus." But he would not suffer them to apply for them there; and said to his

ragement of the arts. It is to be observed, however, that the immense wealth Lucullus reserved to himself in his Asiatic expedition, in some measure, justifies the complaints of his army on that subject.

* This refers to the hills Lucullus bored for the completion of his vaults, or for the admission of water. Xerxes had bored through Mount Athos, and made a passage under it for his ships.

† The Greek *kichle*, also signifies a sea-fish, as appears from Aristotle and Athenæus; and it is not easy to say which is here meant; for Lucullus was no less curious in his fish-ponds than in his aviaries; and, by admitting salt-water into them, could be supplied with every species through every season.

physician, "Must Pompey then have died, if Lucullus had not been an epicure?" At the same time he bade them provide him something which was to be had without difficulty.

Cato, though he was a friend as well as relation to Lucullus, was so much displeased with the luxury in which he lived, that when a young man made a long and unseasonable speech in the house about frugality and temperance, Cato rose up and said, "Will you never have done? Do you, who have the wealth of Crassus, and live like Lucullus, pretend to speak like Cato!" But some, though they allow that there was such a rebuke, say it came from another person.

That Lucullus was not only delighted with this way of living, but even piqued himself upon it, appears from several of his remarkable sayings. He entertained for a considerable time some Greeks who had travelled to Rome, till, remembering the simplicity of diet in their own country, they were ashamed to wait on him any longer, and desired to be excused, on account of the daily expense they brought upon him. He smiled, and said, "It is true, my Grecian friends, some part of this provision is for you, but the greatest part is for Lucullus." Another time, when he happened to sup alone, and saw but one table and a very moderate provision, he called the servant who had the care of these matters, and expressed his dissatisfaction. The servant said, he thought, as nobody was invited, his master would not want an expensive supper. "What!" said he, "didst thou not know that this evening Lucullus sups with Lucullus?" As this was the subject of much conversation in Rome, Cicero and Pompey addressed him one day in the *forum*, when he appeared to be perfectly disengaged. Cicero was one of his most intimate friends, and though he had some difference with Pompey about the command of the army, yet they used to see each other, and converse freely and familiarly.—Cicero, after the common salutations, asked him, "Whether he was at leisure to see company?" He answered, "Nothing could be more agreeable," and pressed them to come to his house. "Then we will wait on you," said Cicero, "this evening, on condition you give us nothing but what is provided for yourself." Lucullus made some difficulty of accepting the condition, and desired them to put off their favour till another day. But they insisted it should be that very evening, and would not suffer him to speak to his servants, lest he should order some addition to the supper; only, at his request, they allowed him to tell one of them, in their presence, "He should sup that evening in the Apollo;" which was the name of one of his most magnificent rooms. The persons invited had no notion of his stratagem; but, it seems each of his dining-rooms had

its particular allowance for provisions, and service of plate, as well as other furniture; so that the servants, hearing what room he would sup in, knew very well what expense they were to go to, and what side-board and carpets they were to use. The stated charge of an entertainment in the Apollo was fifty thousand drachmas, and the whole sum was laid out that evening. Pompey, of course, when he saw so vast and expensive a provision, was surprised at the expedition with which it was prepared. In this respect Lucullus used his riches with all the disregard one might expect to be shown to so many captives and barbarians.

But the great expense he incurred in collecting books deserves a serious approbation. The number of volumes was great, and they were written in elegant hands; yet the use he made of them was more honourable than the acquisition. His libraries were open to all; the Greeks repaired at pleasure to the galleries and porticoes, as to the retreat of the muses, and there spent whole days in conversation on matters of learning; delighted to retire to such a scene from business and from care. Lucullus himself often joined these learned men in their walks, and conferred with them; and when he was applied to about the affairs of their country, he gave them his assistance and advice. So that his house was in fact an assylum and senate-house to all the Greeks that visited Rome.

He had a veneration for philosophy in general, and there was no sect which he absolutely rejected. But his principal and original attachment was to the Academy; not that which is called the New, though that flourished and was supported by Philo, who walked in the steps of Carneades; but the Old Academy, whose doctrines were then taught by Antiochus of Ascalon, a man of the most persuasive powers. Lucullus sought his friendship with great avidity; and having prevailed with him to give him his company, set him to oppose the disciples of Philo. Cicero was of the number, and wrote an ingenious book against the old academy, in which he makes Lucullus defend the principal doctrine in dispute, namely, that there is such a thing as certain knowledge, and himself maintains the contrary. The book is entitled LUCULLUS. They were, indeed, as we have observed, sincere friends, and acted upon the same principle in the administration; for Lucullus had not entirely abandoned the concerns of government; he only gave up the point as to the first influence and direction. The contest for that, he saw, might be attended not only with danger but disgrace, and therefore he soon left it to Crassus and Cato. When he had refused to take the lead, those who looked upon the power of Pompey with a suspicious eye, pitched upon Crassus and Cato to support the patrician interests.—Lucullus,

notwithstanding, gave his attendance in the *forum*, when the business of his friends required it; and he did the same in the senate-house, when there was any ambitious design of Pompey to combat. He got Pompey's orders annulled, which he had made after the conquest of the two kings; and, with the assistance of Cato, threw out his bill for a distribution of lands among his veterans *.

This threw Pompey into the arms of Crassus and Cæsar; or rather, he conspired with them against the commonwealth: and having filled the city with soldiers, drove Cato and Lucullus out of the *forum*, and got his acts established by force.

As these proceedings were highly resented by all who had the interest of their country at heart, Pompey's party instructed one Vectius to act a part, and gave it out that they had detected him in a design against Pompey's life. When Vectius was examined in the senate, he said, it was at the instigation of others; but, in the assembly of the people, he affirmed Lucullus was the man who put him upon it. No one gave credit to the assertion; and, in a few days after, it was very evident that the wretch was suborned to accuse an innocent man, when his dead body was thrown out of the prison. Pompey's party said he had laid violent hands upon himself: but the marks of the cord that had strangled him, and of the blows he had received, showed plainly that he was killed by the persons who suborned him.

This event made Lucullus still more unwilling to interfere in the concerns of government; and when Cicero was banished, and Cato sent to Cyprus, he quitted them entirely. It is said, that his understanding gradually failed, and that before his death it was absolutely gone. Cornelius Nepos, indeed, asserts, that this failure of his intellects was not owing to sickness or old age, but to a potion given him by an enfranchised slave of his, named Callisthenes. Nor did Callisthenes give it him as a poison, but as a love potion. However, instead of conciliating his master's regards to him, it deprived him of his senses; so that, during the last years of his life, his brother had the care of his estate.

Nevertheless, when he died, he was as much regretted by the people as if he had departed in that height of glory to which his merit in war and in the administration had raised him. They crowded to the procession; and the body being carried into the *forum* by some young men of the first quality, they insisted it should be buried in

* Plutarch says simply *nemesin tina*, a certain distribution. Amiot and Dacier say it was of money. But we agree with the Latin and former English translator, that it was of lands. Indeed, this appears to have been the case, from the ancient historians; who inform us, that it was in the same bill that Pompey moved to have all his acts in the East confirmed, and a distribution of lands made among his veterans.

the *Campus Martius*, as that of Sylla had been. As this was a motion entirely unexpected, and the preparations for the funeral there could not easily be made, his brother, with much entreaty, prevailed with them to have the obsequies performed on the Tusculan estate, where every thing was provided for that purpose. Nor did he long survive him. As he had followed him close in the course of years and honours, so he was not far behind him in his journey to the grave; to which he bore the character of the best and most affectionate of brothers.

CIMON AND LUCULLUS COMPARED.

WE cannot but think the exit of Lucullus happy, as he did not live to see that change in the constitution which fate was preparing for his country in the civil wars. Though the commonwealth was in a sickly state, yet he left it free. In this respect the case of Cimon was particularly similar: for he died while Greece was at the height of her prosperity, and before she was involved in those troubles which proved so fatal to her. It is true, there is this difference, Cimon died in his camp, in the office of general; not like a man who, fatigued with war, and avoiding its conflicts, sought the reward of his military labours, and of the laurels he had won, in the delicacies of the table, and the joys of wine. In this view Plato was right in his censure of the followers of Orpheus, who had placed the rewards of futurity provided for the good in everlasting intoxication. No doubt, ease, tranquillity, literary researches, and the pleasures of contemplation, furnish the most suitable retreat for a man in years, who has bid adieu to military and political pursuits. But to propose pleasure as the end of great achievements, and, after long expeditions and commands, to lead up the dance of Venus, and riot in her smiles, was so far from being worthy of the famed academy, and a follower of the sage Xenocrates, that it rather became a disciple of Epicurus. This is the more surprising, because Cimon seems to have spent his youth in luxury and dissipation, and Lucullus in letters and sobriety. It is certainly another thing, notwithstanding, to change for the better; and happier is the nature in which vices gradually die, and virtue flourishes.

They were equally wealthy, but did not apply their riches to the same purposes. For we cannot compare the palace at Naples, and the Belvideres amidst the water, which Lucullus erected with the

barbarian spoils, to the south wall of the citadel which Cimon built with the treasure he had brought from the wars. Nor can the sumptuous table of Lucullus, which savoured too much of eastern magnificence, be put in competition with the open and benevolent table of Cimon. The one, at a moderate charge, daily nourished great numbers of poor; the other, at a vast expense, pleased the appetites of a few of the rich and the voluptuous. Perhaps, indeed, some allowance must be made for the difference of the time. We know not whether Cimon, if he had lived to be old, and retired from the concerns of war and of the state, might not have given into a more pompous and luxurious way of living; for he naturally loved wine and company, was a promoter of public feasts and games, and remarkable, as we have observed, for his inclination for the sex. But glorious enterprises and great actions, being attended with pleasures of another kind, leave no leisure for inferior gratifications: nay, they banish them from the thoughts of persons of great abilities for the field and the cabinet. And if Lucullus had finished his days in high commands, and amidst the conflicts of war, I am persuaded the most envious cavalier could have found nothing to reproach him with. So much with respect to their way of living.

As to their military character, it is certain they were able commanders both at sea and land. But as the champions, who in one day gain the garland, not only in wrestling, but in the *Pancration**, are not simply called victors, but, by the custom of the games, *the flowers of the victory;* so Cimon, having crowned Greece with two victories gained in one day, the one at land, the other a naval one, deserves some preference in the list of generals.

Lucullus was indebted to his country for his power, and Cimon promoted the power of his country. The one found Rome commanding the allies, and under her auspices extended her conquests; the other found Athens obeying instead of commanding, and yet gained her the chief authority among her allies, as well as conquered her enemies. The Persians he defeated, and drove them out of the sea, and he persuaded the Lacedæmonians voluntarily to surrender the command.

If it be the greatest work of a general to bring his men to obey him from a principle of affection, we shall find Lucullus greatly deficient in this respect. He was despised by his own troops, whereas Cimon commanded the veneration not only of his own soldiers, but of all the allies. The former was deserted by his own, and the latter was courted by strangers. The one set out with a fine army, and returned alone, abandoned by that army; the other went out with

* The Pancration consisted of boxing and wrestling together.

troops subject to the orders they should receive from another general, and at his return they were at the head of the whole league. Thus he gained three of the most difficult points imaginable, peace with the enemy, the lead among the allies, and a good understanding with Sparta.

They both attempted to conquer great kingdoms, and to subdue all Asia, but their purposes were unsuccessful. Cimon's course was stopped by fortune; he died with his commission in his hand, and in the height of his prosperity. Lucullus, on the other hand, cannot possibly be excused as to the loss of his authority, since he must either have been ignorant of the grievances of his army, which ended in so incurable an aversion, or unwilling to redress them.

This he has in common with Cimon, that he was impeached by his countrymen. The Athenians, it is true, went further; they banished Cimon by the ostracism, that they might not, as Plato expresses it, hear his voice for ten years. Indeed, the proceedings of the aristocratical party are seldom acceptable to the people; for, while they are obliged to use some violence for the correction of what is amiss, their measures resemble the bandages of surgeons, which are uneasy at the same time that they reduce the dislocation. But in this respect, perhaps, we may exculpate both the one and the other.

Lucullus carried his arms much the farthest. He was the first who led a Roman army over Mount Taurus, and passed the Tigris. He took and burnt the royal cities of Asia, Tigranocerta, Cabira, Sinope, Nisibis, in the sight of their respective kings. On the north he penetrated as far as the Phasis, on the east to Media, and on the south to the Red sea, by the favour and assistance of the princes of Arabia. He overthrew the armies of the two great kings, and would certainly have taken them, had they not fled, like savages, into distant solitudes and inaccessible woods. A certain proof of the advantage Lucullus has in this respect is, that the Persians, as if they had suffered nothing from Cimon, soon made head against the Greeks, and cut in pieces a great army of theirs in Egypt; whereas Tigranes and Mithridates could effect nothing after the blow they had received from Lucullus. Mithridates, enfeebled by the conflicts he had undergone, did not once venture to face Pompey in the field; instead of that, he fled to the Bosphorus, and there put a period to his life. As for Tigranes, he delivered himself naked and unarmed to Pompey, took his diadem from his head, and laid it at his feet; in which he complimented Pompey, not with what was his own, but with what belonged to the laurels of Lucullus. The poor prince, by the joy with which he received the ensigns of royalty

again, confessed that he had absolutely lost them. However, he must be deemed the greater general, as well as the greater champion, who delivers his adversary, weak and breathless, to the next combatant.

Besides, Cimon found the king of Persia extremely weakened, and the pride of his people humbled, by the losses and defeats they had experienced from Themistocles, Pausanias, and Leotychidas; and their hands could not make much resistance, when their hearts were gone. But Lucullus met Tigranes fresh and unfoiled, elated and exulting in the battles he had fought, and the victories he had won*. Nor is the number of the enemy's troops which Cimon defeated, in the least to be compared to those who gave battle to Lucullus.

In short, when we weigh all the advantages of each of these great men, it is hard to say to which side the balance inclines. Heaven appears to have favoured both; directing the one to what he should do, and warning the other what he should avoid: so that the gods bore witness of their virtue, and regarded them as persons in whom there was something divine.

NICIAS.

WE have pitched upon Crassus as a proper person to be put in parallel with Nicias; and the misfortunes which befel the one in Parthia, with those which overtook the other in Sicily. But we have an apology to make to the reader on another account. As we are now undertaking a history, where Thucydides, in the pathetic, has even outdone himself, and in energy and variety of composition is perfectly inimitable, we hope no one will suspect we have the ambition of Timæus, who flattered himself he could exceed the power of Thucydides, and make Philistus † pass for an inelegant and ordinary writer. Under the influence of that deception, Timæus plunges

* M. Dacier thinks, that if, besides the other advantages just mentioned, the advantage be also allowed Lucullus in respect of the number of barbarians he had defeated, the balance must clearly incline to his side.

But, while he says this, he seems to have forgot the preference his author had given Cimon, in respect to his continuing his labours for his country to the last hour of his life; the more excellent use and application of riches; his knowing how to gain and keep the hearts of his soldiers; and his gaining important victories on two different elements in one day.

† Philistus was so able a writer, that Cicero calls him the younger Thucydides.

into the midst of the battles both at sea and land, and speeches in which those historians shine the most. However, he soon appears,

Not like a footman by the Lydian car,

as Pindar expresses it, but a shallow puerile writer*, or, to use the words of the poet Diphilus,

.....A heavy animal
Cas'd in Sicilian lard.....

Sometimes he falls into the dreams of Xenarchus†: as where he says, "He could not but consider it as a bad omen for the Athenians, that they had a general with a name derived from victory‡, who disapproved the expedition." As also, "That by the mutilation of the Hermæ, the gods presignified that they should suffer most in the Syracusan war from Hermocrates the son of Hermon§." And again, "It is probable that Hercules assisted the Syracusans, because Proserpine delivered up Cerberus to him; and that he was offended at the Athenians for supporting the Ægesteans, who were descended from the Trojans his mortal enemies, whose city he had sacked in revenge for the injuries he had received from Laomedon." He made these fine observations with the same discernment which put him upon the finding fault with the language of Philistus, and censuring the writings of Plato and Aristotle.

For my part, I cannot but think, all emulation and jealousy about expression betrays a littleness of mind, and is the characteristic of a sophist; and when that spirit of contest attempts things inimitable, it is perfectly absurd. Since, therefore, it is impossible to pass over in silence those actions of Nicias which Thucydides and Philistus have recorded, especially such as indicate his manners and disposition, which often lay concealed under the weight of his misfortunes; we shall give an abstract from them of what appears most necessary, lest we should be accused of negligence or indolence. As for other matters not generally known, which are found scattered in historians, or in ancient inscriptions and decrees, we shall collect them with care; not to gratify a useless curiosity, but

* Timæus might have his vanity, and, if he hoped to excel Thucydides, he certainly had. Yet Cicero and Diodorus speak of him as a very able historian. Longinus reconciles the censure and the praise. He says, sometimes you find him in the grand and sublime. But, blind to his own defects, he is much inclined to censure others, and is so fond of thinking out of the common road, that he often sinks into the utmost puerility.

† Xenarchus, the Peripatetic, was master to Strabo; and Xenarchus, the comic poet, was author of several pieces of humour: but we know no historian of that name.

‡ That is, Nicias. *Nice* signifies *victory*.

§ Longinus quotes this passage as an example of the frigid style, and of those puerilities he had condemned in Timæus.

by drawing from them the true lines of this general's character, to serve the purposes of real instruction.

The first thing I shall mention relating to him is the observation of Aristotle, that three of the most worthy men in Athens, who had a paternal regard and friendship for the people, were, Nicias the son of Niceratus, Thucydides the son of Milesias, and Theramenes the son of Agnon. The last, indeed, was not so remarkable in this respect as the other two; for he had been reproached with his birth, as a stranger come from the isle of Ceos: and from his want of firmness, or rather versatility, in matters of government, he was called *the Buskin**.

Thucydides was the oldest of the three; and when Pericles acted a flattering part to the people, he often opposed him in behalf of the nobility. Though Nicias was much the younger man, he gained some reputation while Pericles lived, insomuch that he was several times his colleague in the war, and often commanded alone. But when Pericles died, he was soon advanced to the head of the administration, particularly by the influence of the rich and great, who hoped he would prove a barrier against the daring insolence of Cleon. He had, however, the good wishes of the people, and they contributed their share to his advancement.

It is true Cleon had considerable interest, which he gained by making his court to the old men, and by his frequent donations to the poor citizens. Yet even many of those whom he studied to oblige, seeing his avarice and effrontery, came over to Nicias; for the gravity of Nicias had nothing austere or morose in it, but was mixed with a reverence for the people, in which fear seemed to be prevalent, and consequently was very agreeable to them. Indeed, he was naturally timid and cold-hearted; but this defect was concealed by the long course of success with which fortune favoured his expeditions; and his timidity in the assemblies of the people, and dread of persons who made a trade of impeachments, was a popular thing. It contributed not a little to gain him the regards of the multitude, who are afraid of those that despise them, and love to promote those that fear them; because, in general, the greatest honour they can hope to obtain is not to be despised by the great.

As Pericles kept the reins of government in his hands by means of real virtue, and by the force of his eloquence, he had no need to hold out false colours, or to use any artifice with the people. Nicias was deficient in those great endowments, but had superior riches; and he applied them to the purposes of popularity. On the other

* The form of the buskin was such that it might be worn indifferently on either leg.

hand, he could not, like Cleon, divert and draw the people by an easy manner and the sallies of buffoonery; and therefore he amused them with the chorusses of tragedy, with gymnastic exercises, and such like exhibitions, which far exceeded, in point of magnificence and elegance, all that went before him, and those of his own times also. Two of his offerings to the gods are to be seen at this day; the one a statue of Pallas, dedicated in the citadel, which has lost part of its gilding; the other a small chapel in the temple of Bacchus, under the tripods, which are commonly offered up by those who gain the prize in tragedy. Indeed, Nicias was already victorious in those exhibitions. It is said, that in a chorus of that kind, one of his slaves appeared in the character of Bacchus. The slave was of an uncommon size and beauty, but had not yet arrived at maturity; and the people were so charmed with him, that they gave him long plaudits. At last Nicias rose up and said, "He should think it an act of impiety to retain a person in servitude who seemed, by the public voice, to be consecrated to a god;" and he enfranchised him upon the spot.

His regulations with respect to Delos are still spoken of as worthy of the deity who presides there. Before his time, the choirs which the cities sent to sing the praises of Apollo* landed in a disorderly manner, because the inhabitants of the island used to run up to the ship, and press them to sing before they were disembarked; so that they were forced to strike up as they were putting on their robes and garlands. But when Nicias had the conduct of this ceremony, known by the name of Theoria, he landed first in the isle of Rhenia with the choir, the victims, and all the other necessary preparations. He had taken care to have a bridge constructed before he left Athens, which should reach from that isle to Delos, and which was magnificently gilded, and adorned with garlands, rich stuffs, and tapestry. In the night he threw his bridge over the channel, which was not large, and at break of day he marched over it at the head of the procession, with his choir richly habited, and singing hymns to the god. After the sacrifices, the games, and banquets, were over, he consecrated a palm-tree of brass to Apollo, and likewise a field which he had purchased for ten thousand drachmas. The Delians were to lay out the income in sacrifices and feasting, and at the same time to pray for Apollo's blessing upon the founder. This is inscribed on a pillar, which he left in Delos as a monument of his

* There was a select band of music annually sent by the principal cities of Greece. the procession was called Theoria, and it was looked upon as an honourable commission to have the management of it.

benefaction. As for the palm-tree, it was broken by the winds, and the fragment falling upon a great statue* which the people of Naxos had set up, demolished it.

It is obvious that most of these things were done for ostentation, and with a view to popularity. Nevertheless, we may collect, from the rest of his life and conduct, that religion had the principal share in these dedications, and that popularity was but a secondary motive; for he certainly was remarkable for his fear of the gods, and, as Thucydides observes, he was pious to a degree of superstition†. It is related in the dialogues of Pasiphon, that he sacrificed every day, and that he had a diviner in his house, who, in appearance, inquired the success of the public affairs, but in reality was much oftener consulted about his own; particularly as to the success of his silver mines in the borough of Laurium, which in general afforded a large revenue, but were not worked without danger. He maintained there a multitude of slaves; and the greatest part of his fortune consisted in silver; so that he had many retainers, who asked favours, and were not sent away empty; for he gave not only to those who deserved his bounty, but to such as might be able to do him harm; and bad men found resources in his fears, as well as good men in his liberality. The comic poets bear witness to what I have advanced. Teleclides introduces a trading informer speaking thus:—"Charicles would not give one *mina* to prevent my declaring that he was the first fruits of his mother's amours; but Nicias, the son of Niceratus, gave me four; why he did it, I shall not say, though I know it perfectly well; for Nicias is my friend, a very wise man besides, in my opinion." Eupolis, in his *Marcia*, brings another informer upon the stage, who meets with some poor ignorant man, and thus addresses him:—

"*Informer.* How long is it since you saw Nicias?

"*Poor man.* I never saw him before this moment, when he stood in the market-place.

"*Informer.* Take notice, my friends, the man confesses he has seen Nicias. And for what purpose could he see him, but to sell him his vote? Nicias, therefore, is plainly taken in the fact.

"*Poet.* Ah, fools! do you think you can ever persuade the world that so good a man as Nicias was taken in mal-practices?"

Cleon, in Aristophanes, says, in a menacing tone, "I will outbawl the orators, and make Nicias tremble‡." And Phrynicus

* A statue which the Naxians had dedicated to Apollo. The pedestal has been discovered by some modern travellers. † Thucyd. lib. vii.

‡ This is in the Equites of Aristophanes, ver. 357. It is not Cleon, but Agoracritus who speaks.

glances at his excessive timidity, when, speaking of another person, he says, "I know him to be an honest man and a good citizen, one who does not walk the streets with a downcast look like Nicias."

With this fear of informers upon him, he would not sup or converse with any of the citizens, or come into any of those parties which make the time pass so agreeably. When he was archon, he used to stay in court till night, being always the first that came, and the last that went away. When he had no public business upon his hands, he shut himself up at home, and was extremely difficult of access; and if any persons came to the gate, his friends went and begged them to excuse Nicias, because he had some affairs under consideration which were of great importance to the state.

The person who assisted him most in acting this farce, and gaining him the reputation of a man for ever intent upon business, was one Hiero, who was brought up in his house, had a liberal education, and a taste of music given him there. He passed himself for the son of Dionysius, surnamed Chalchus, some of whose poems are still extant, and who, having conducted a colony into Italy, founded the city of Thurii. This Hiero transacted all the private business of Nicias with the diviners; and whenever he came among the people, he used to tell them, "What a laborious and miserable life Nicias led for their sakes. He cannot go to the bath, said he, "or the table, but some affair of state solicits his attention; and he neglects his own concerns to take care of the public. He can scarce find time for repose till the other citizens have had their first sleep. Amidst these cares and labours, his health declines daily, and his temper is so broken, that his friends no longer approach him with pleasure; but he loses them too, after having spent his fortune in your service. Meanwhile other statesmen gain friends, and grow rich in their employments, and are sleek and merry in the steerage of government."

In fact, the life of Nicias was a life of so much care, that he might have justly applied to himself that expression of Agamemnon,

> In vain the glare of pomp proclaims me master,
> I am servant of the people.....

Nicias perceived that the commons availed themselves of the services of those who were distinguished for their eloquence or capacity; but that they were always jealous and on their guard against their great abilities, and that they endeavoured to humble them, and to obstruct their progress in glory. This appeared in the condemnation of Pericles, the banishment of Damon, the suspicions they entertained of Antipho the Rhamnusian, but, above all, in the despair of Paches, who had taken Lesbos, and who, being called

to give an account of his conduct, drew his sword, and killed himself in open court.

Warned by these examples, he endeavoured to avoid such expeditions as he thought long and difficult, and, when he did take the command, he made it his business to proceed upon a sure plan. For this reason he was generally successful; yet he ascribed his success to fortune, and took refuge under the wings of the divinity: contenting himself with a smaller portion of honour, lest envy should rob him of the whole.

The event showed the prudence of his conduct: for though the Athenians received many great blows in those times, none of them could be imputed to Nicias. When they were defeated by the Chalcideans in Thrace, Calliades* and Xenophon had the command; Demosthenes was general when they miscarried in Ætolia; and, when they lost a thousand men at Delium†, they were under the conduct of Hippocrates. As for the plague, it was commonly thought to be occasioned by Pericles, who, to draw the burghers out of the way of the war, shut them up in the city, where they contracted the sickness by the change of situation and diet.

None of these misfortunes were imputed to Nicias: on the contrary, he took Cythera, an island well situated for annoying Laconia, and at that time inhabited by Lacedæmonians. He recovered many places in Thrace which had revolted from the Athenians. He shut up the Megarensians within their walls, and reduced the island of Minoa. From thence he made an excursion soon after, and got possession of the port of Nisæa. He likewise made a descent upon the territories of Corinth, beat the troops of that state in a pitched battle, and killed great numbers of them: Lycophron, their general, was among the slain.

He happened to leave there the bodies of two of his men, who were missed in carrying off the dead. But, as soon as he knew it, he stopped his course, and sent a herald to the enemy to ask leave to take away those bodies. This he did, though there was a law and custom subsisting, by which those who desire a treaty for carrying off the dead give up the victory, and are not at liberty to erect a trophy. And, indeed, those who are so far masters of the field, that the enemy cannot bury their dead without permission, appear to be conquerors, because no man would ask that as a favour which he

* Perhaps we should read Callias. See Menag. on Diog. Laert ii. 45.

† Delium in Bœotia. Delos, the common reading, is undoubtedly wrong. The Athenians had no such loss there. But their defeat at Delium is related at large by Thucydides, l. iv.

could command. Nicias, however, chose rather to lose his laurels than to leave two of his countrymen unburied*.

After he had ravaged the coast of Laconia, and defeated the Lacedæmonians who attempted to oppose him, he took the fortress of Thyræa†, then held by the Æginetæ, made the garrison prisoners, and carried them to Athens. Demosthenes having fortified Pylos‡, the Peloponnesians besieged it both by sea and land. A battle ensued, in which they were worsted, and about four hundred Spartans, threw themselves into the isle of Sphacteria. The taking of them seemed, and indeed was, an important object to the Athenians. But the siege was difficult, because there was no water to be had upon the spot, and it was troublesome and expensive to get convoys thither; in summer they were obliged to take a long circuit, and in winter it was absolutely impracticable. They were much perplexed about the affair, and repented their refusing the terms of peace which the Lacedæmonians had offered by their ambassadors.

It was through Cleon that the embassy did not take effect; he opposed the peace because Nicias was for it. Cleon was his mortal enemy, and, seeing him countenance the Lacedæmonians, persuaded the people to reject their propositions by a formal decree. But when they found that the siege was drawn out to a great length, and that there was almost a famine in their camp, they expressed their resentment against Cleon. Cleon, for his part, laid the blame upon Nicias, alleging that if the enemy escaped, it must be through his slow and timid operations: "Had I been the general," said he, "they could not have held out so long." The Athenians readily answered, "Why do you not go now against these Spartans?" And Nicias rose up and declared, "He would freely give up to him the command in the affair of Pylos; bade him take what forces he pleased; and instead of showing his courage in words, where there was no danger, go and perform some actions worthy the attention of his country."

* The burying of the dead was a duty of great importance in the heathen world. The fable of the ghost of an unburied person not being allowed to pass the Styx is well known. About eight years after the death of Nicias, the Athenians put six of their generals to death, for not interring those soldiers that were slain in the battle of Arginusæ.

† Thyræa was a fort situated between Laconia and the territory of the Argives. It belonged of right to the Lacedæmonians, but they gave it to the Æginetæ, who had been expelled their country.

‡ The Peloponnesians and their allies had entered Attica under the conduct of Agis the son of Archidamus, and ravaged the country. Demosthenes, the Athenian general, made a diversion by seizing and fortifying Pylos. This brought Agis back to the defence of his own country. *Thucyd.* l. iv.

Cleon, disconcerted with the unexpected offer, declined it at first; but when he found the Athenians insisted upon it, and that Nicias took his advantage to raise a clamour against him, his pride was hurt, and he was incensed to such a degree, that he not only undertook the expedition, but declared, "He would, in twenty days, either put the enemy to the sword, or bring them alive to Athens."

The people laughed at his declaration*, instead of giving it any credit. Indeed, they had long been accustomed to divert themselves with the sallies of his vanity. One day, for instance, when a general assembly was to be held, they had sat waiting for him a long time. At last he came, when their patience was almost spent, with a garland on his head, and desired them to adjourn until the day following: "For to-day," says he, "I am not at leisure; I have strangers to entertain, and I have sacrificed to the gods." The Athenians only laughed, and immediately rose up and dismissed the assembly.

Cleon, however, was so much favoured by fortune in this commission, that he acquitted himself better than any one since Demosthenes. He returned within the time he had fixed, after he had made all the Spartans who did not fall in battle deliver up their arms, and brought them prisoners to Athens.

This reflected no small disgrace upon Nicias. It was considered as something worse than throwing away his shield, meanly to quit his command, and to give his enemy an opportunity of distinguishing himself by his abdication. Hence Aristophanes ridicules him in his comedy called *The Birds*. "By heaven, this is no time for us to slumber, or to imitate the lazy operations of Nicias." And in his piece entitled *The Husbandman*, he introduces two Athenians discoursing thus—

"*First Athenian.* I had rather stay at home and till the ground.

"*Second Athenian.* And who hinders thee?

"*First Athenian.* You hinder me. And yet I am willing to pay a thousand drachmas to be excused taking the commission.

"*Second Athenian.* Let us see. Your thousand drachmas, with those of Nicias, will make two thousand. We will excuse you."

Nicias, in this affair, was not only unjust to himself, but to the state. He suffered Cleon by this means to gain such an ascendant as led him to a degree of pride and effrontery that was insupportable. Many evils were thus brought upon the commonwealth, of which Nicias himself had his full share. We cannot but consider it as one great corruption, that Cleon now banished all decorum from the

* The wiser sort hoped either to have the pleasure of seeing the Lacedæmonians brought prisoners to Athens, or else of getting rid of the importunate pretensions of Cleon.

general assembly. It was he who in his speeches first broke out into violent exclamations, threw back his robes, smote upon his thigh, and ran from one end of the *rostrum* to the other. This soon introduced such a licentiousness and disregard to decency among those who directed the affairs of state, that it threw the whole government into confusion.

At this time there sprung up another orator at Athens. This was Alcibiades. He did not prove so totally corrupt as Cleon. As it is said of the land of Egypt, that, on account of its extreme fertility,

> There, plenty sows the fields with herbs salubrious,
> But scatters many a baneful weed between····

So in Alcibiades there were very different qualities, but all in extremes; and these extremes opened a door to many innovations; so that when Nicias got clear of Cleon, he had no time to establish any lasting tranquillity in Athens: but, as soon as he had got things into a safe track, the ambition of Alcibiades came upon him like a torrent, and bore him back into the storms of war.

It happened thus: the persons who most opposed the peace of Greece were Cleon and Brasidas. War helped to hide the vices of the former, and to show the good qualities of the latter. Cleon found opportunity for acts of injustice and oppression, and Brasidas for great and glorious actions. But, after they both fell in the battle near Amphipolis, Nicias applied to the Lacedæmonians on one hand, who had been for some time desirous of peace, and to the Athenians on the other, now no longer so warm in the pursuits of war. In fact, both parties were tired of hostilities, and ready to let their weapons drop out of their hands. Nicias, therefore, used his endeavours to reconcile them, and indeed to deliver all the Greeks from the calamities they had suffered, to bring them to taste the sweets of repose, and to re-establish a long and lasting reign of happiness. He immediately found the rich, the aged, and all that were employed in the culture of the ground, disposed to peace; and by addressing himself to the rest, and expostulating with them respectively, he soon abated their ardour for war.

His next step was to give the Spartans hopes of an accommodation, and to exhort them to propose such measures as might effect it. They readily confided in him, because they knew the goodness of his heart; of which there was a late instance in his humane treatment of their countrymen who were taken prisoners at Pylos, and who found their chains greatly lightened by his good offices.

They had already agreed to a suspension of arms for one year; during which time they often met, and enjoyed again the pleasures of ease and security, the company of strangers as well as nearer

friends, and expressed their mutual wishes for the continuance of a life undisturbed with the horrors of war. It was with great delight they heard the chorus in such a strain as this:

Aranche freely now has leave
Her webs around my spear to weave.

They recollected with pleasure the saying, "That in time of peace men are awaked not by the sound of the trumpet, but the crowing of the cock." They execrated those who said it was decreed by fate that the war should last three times nine years*; and this free intercourse leading them to canvass every point, they at last signed the peace†.

It was now the general opinion that they were at the end of all their troubles. Nothing was talked of but Nicias. He, they said, was a man beloved of the gods, who, in recompence of his piety, had thought proper that the greatest and most desirable of all blessings should bear his name. Is is certain they ascribed the peace to Nicias, as they did the war to Pericles. And, indeed, the one did plunge them, upon slight pretences, into numberless calamities, and the other persuaded them to bury the greatest of injuries in oblivion, and to unite again as friends. It is, therefore, called the *Nicean* peace to this very day.

It was agreed in the articles that both parties should restore the towns and the prisoners they had taken; and it was to be determined by lot which of them should do it first: but, according to Theophrastus, Nicias secured the lot by dint of money, so that the Lacedæmonians were forced to lead the way. As the Corinthians and Bœotians were displeased at these proceedings, and endeavoured, by sowing jealousies between the contracting powers, to renew the war, Nicias persuaded the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to confirm the peace, and to support each other by a league offensive and defensive. This, he expected, would intimidate those who were inclined to fly off.

During these transactions, Alcibiades at first made it his business privately to oppose the peace; for he was naturally disinclined to inaction, and was, moreover, offended at the Lacedæmonians on account of their attachment to Nicias, and their neglect and disregard of him. But when he found this private opposition ineffectual, he

* "I remember," says Thucydides, "that throughout the whole war many maintained it was to last three times nine years. And if we reckon the first ten years of the war, the truce, very short and ill observed, that followed it, the treaties ill executed, and the war that was renewed thereupon, we shall find the oracle fully justified by the event."—*Thucyd.* l. v.

† Peace for fifty years was agreed upon and signed the year following; but it was soon broken again.

took another method. In a little time he saw the Athenians did not look upon the Lacedæmonians with so obliging an eye as before, because they thought themselves injured by the alliance which their new friends had entered into with the Bœotians, and because they had not delivered up Panactus and Amphipolis in the condition they found them. He therefore dwelt upon these points, and endeavoured to inflame the people's resentment. Besides, he persuaded, and at last prevailed upon, the republic of Argos, to send an embassy for the purpose of negociating a treaty with the Athenians.

When the Lacedæmonians had intelligence of this, they sent ambassadors to Athens with full powers to settle all matters in dispute. These plenipotentiaries were introduced to the senate, and their proposals seemed perfectly just and reasonable. Alcibiades upon this, fearing they would gain the people by the same overtures, circumvented them, by perfidious oaths and asseverations, "promising he would secure the success of their commission, if they would not declare that they came with full powers; and assuring them that no other method would be so effectual." They gave credit to his insinuations, and went over from Nicias to him.

Upon introducing them to the people, the first question he asked them was, "Whether they came with full powers?" They denied it, as they were instructed.—Then Alcibiades, beyond all their expectation, changing sides, called the senate to bear witness to their former declarations, and desired the people "Not to give the least credit or attention to such manifest prevaricators, who, upon the same point, asserted one thing one day, and another thing the next." Their confusion was inexpressible, as may well be imagined, and Nicias was struck dumb with grief and astonishment. The people, of course, sent immediately for the deputies of Argos to conclude the treaty with them. But at that very moment, there happened a slight shock of an earthquake, which, favourably for Nicias, broke up the assembly.

Next day they assembled again, and Nicias, by exerting all his powers, with much difficulty prevailed upon them not to put the last hand to the league with Argos; but instead of that, to send him to Sparta*, where, he assured them, all would be well. When he arrived there, he was treated with great respect, as a man of honour, and one who had shown that republic great friendship: however, as the party that had favoured the Bœotians was the strongest, he could effect nothing†. He returned, therefore, not only with disrepute

* There were others joined in commission with him.

† Nicias insisted that the Spartans should renounce their alliance with the Bœotians, because they had not acceded to the peace.

and disgrace, but was apprehensive of worse consequences from the Athenians, who were greatly chagrined and provoked, that, at his persuasion, they had set free so many prisoners, and prisoners of such distinction: for those brought from Pylos were of the first families in Sparta, and had connexions with the greatest personages there. Notwithstanding this, they did not express their resentment in any act of severity; they only elected Alcibiades general, and took the Mantineans and Eleans, who had quitted the Lacedæmonian interest, into league with them, along with the Argives.—They then sent a marauding party to Pylos, from thence to make excursions into Laconia. Thus the war broke out afresh.

As the quarrel between Nicias and Alcibiades rose daily to a greater height, the ostracism was proposed. To this the people have recourse at certain periods, and by it they expel for ten years any one who is suspected for his authority, or envied for his wealth. Both parties were greatly alarmed at the danger, not doubting that it would fall to the lot of one of them. The Athenians detested the life and manners of Alcibiades, and at the same time they dreaded his enterprising spirit, as we have related more at large in his life. As for Nicias, his riches exposed him to envy, and the rather, because there was nothing social or popular in his manner of living; on the contrary, his recluse turn seemed owing to an inclination for oligarchy, and perfectly in a foreign taste. Besides, he had combated their opinions, and, by making them pursue their own interest against their inclination, was of course become obnoxious. In one word, the whole was a dispute between the young who wanted war, and the old who were lovers of peace.—The former endeavoured to make the ostracism fall upon Nicias, and the latter on Alcibiades:

But in seditions bad men rise to honour.

The Athenians being divided into two factions, the subtlest and most profligate of wretches gained ground. Such was Hyperbolus, of the ward of Perithois; a man whose boldness was not owing to any well-grounded influence, but whose influence was owing to his boldness; and who disgraced the city by the credit he had acquired.

This wretch had no apprehensions of banishment by the honourable suffrage of the ostracism, because he knew himself fitter for a gibbet. Hoping, however, that if one of these great men were banished, he should be able to make head against the other, he dissembled not his joy at this spirit of party, but strove to exasperate the people against both. Nicias and Alcibiades, taking notice of his malice, came to a private interview, in which they agreed to unite their interests; and by that means avoided the ostracism themselves, and turned it upon Hyperbolus.

At first the people were pleased, and laughed at the strange turn things had taken; but, upon recollection, it gave them great uneasiness to think that the ostracism was dishonoured by its falling upon a person unworthy of it. They were persuaded there was a dignity in that punishment; or rather, that to such men as Thucydides and Aristides it was a punishment; whereas to Hyperbolus it was an honour which he might be proud of, since his profligacy had put him on the same list with the greatest patriots. Hence Plato, the comic poet, thus speaks of him: "No doubt, his crimes deserved chastisement, but a very different chastisement from that which he received. The shell was not designed for such wretches as he."

In fact, no one afterwards was banished by it. He was the last, and Hipparchus the Cholargian, a relation of the tyrant, was the first. From this event it appears how intricate are the ways of Fortune, how incomprehensible to human reason. Had Nicias run the risk of the ostracism, he would either have expelled Alcibiades, and lived afterwards in his native city in full security; or, if it had been carried against him, and he had been forced to retire, he would have avoided the impending stroke of misery, and preserved the reputation of a wise and experienced general. I am not ignorant that Theophrastus says Hyperbolus was banished in the contest between Phæax and Alcibiades, and not in that with Nicias: but most historians give it as above related.

About this time the Ægesteans and Leontines sent an embassy to desire the Athenians to undertake the Sicilian expedition. Nicias opposed it, but was overruled by the address and ambition of Alcibiades. Indeed, Alcibiades had previously gained the assembly by his discourses, and corrupted the people to such a degree with vain hopes, that the young men in their places of exercise, and the old men in the shops and other places where they conversed, drew plans of Sicily, and exhibited the nature of its seas, with all its ports and bearings on the side next Africa: for they did not consider Sicily as the reward of their operations, but only as a place of arms, from whence they were to go upon the conquest of Carthage; nay, of all Africa, and to make themselves masters of the seas within the Pillars of Hercules.

While they were so intent upon this expedition, Nicias had not many on his side, either among the commons or nobility, to oppose it: for the rich, fearing it might be thought they were afraid to serve in person, or to be at the expense of fitting out men of war, sat silent, contrary to their better judgment. Nicias, however, opposed it indefatigably, nor did he give up his point after the decree was passed for the war, and he was elected general along with Alcibiades and

Lamachus, and his name first in the suffrages. In the first assembly that was held after that, he rose to dissuade them, and to protest against their proceedings. In conclusion, he attacked Alcibiades for plunging the state in a dangerous and foreign war, merely with a view to his own emolument and fame. But his arguments had no effect. They thought a man of his experience the fitter to conduct this enterprise, and that nothing could contribute more to its success than to unite his caution with the fiery spirit of Alcibiades, and the boldness of Lamachus. Therefore they were still more confirmed in their choice. Besides, Demostratus, who of all the orators took most pains to encourage the people to that war, rose and said, he would soon cut off all the excuses of Nicias; and immediately he proposed and carried an order that the generals should have a discretionary power to lay plans and put them in execution, both at home and abroad.

It is said, indeed, that the priests strongly opposed the expedition. But Alcibiades had other diviners to set against them; and he gave it out, that certain ancient oracles promised the Athenians great glory in Sicily. The envoys, too, who were sent to consult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, returned with an answer, importing that the Athenians would take all the Syracusans.

If any of the citizens knew of bad presages, they took care to conceal them, lest they should seem to pronounce any thing inauspicious of an enterprise which their countrymen had too much at heart. Nor would any warnings have availed, when they were not moved at the most clear and obvious signs. Such was the mutilation of the *Hermæ**, whose heads were all struck off in one night, except that which was called the Mercury of Andocides, and which has been consecrated by the tribe of Ægeis, before the door of the person just named. Such also was the pollution of the altar of the twelve gods. A man got astride upon it, and there emasculated himself with a stone. At the temple of Delphi there was a golden statue of Pallas, which the Athenians had erected upon a palm-tree of brass, in commemoration of the victory over the Medes. The crows came and mutilated it with their beaks, and pecked off the golden fruit from the tree.

The Athenians, however, said these were only fictions propagated at Delphi, at the instigation of the Syracusans. A certain oracle ordered them to fetch a priestess of Minerva from Clazomenæ; and when she came, they found her name was *Hesychia*, by which the deity seemed to exhort them to continue in quiet. Meton, the astro-

* These *Hermæ*, or statues of Mercury, were square figures placed by the Athenians at the gates of their temples, and the doors of their houses.

loger, whether he was struck by these signs, or whether, by the eye of human reason, he discovered the impending danger (for he had a command in the army), feigned himself mad, and set fire to his house. Others say, he used no pretence of madness, but having burnt down his house in the night, addressed himself next morning to the assembly, in a forlorn condition, and desired the citizens, in compassion for his misfortunes, to excuse his son, who was to have gone out captain of a galley to Sicily.

The genius of Socrates*, on this occasion, warned that wise man, by the usual tokens, that the expedition would prove fatal to Athens. He mentioned this to several of his friends and acquaintance, and the warning was generally talked of. Many were likewise greatly discouraged on account of the time when the fleet happened to be sent out. The women were then celebrating the feasts of Adonis, during which there were to be seen in every quarter of the city images of the dead and funeral processions; the women accompanying them with dismal lamentations. So that those who took any account of omens were full of concern for the fate of their countrymen. They trembled to think that an armament fitted at so vast an expense, and which made so glorious an appearance, would soon lose its consequence.

As for Nicias, he showed himself a wise and worthy man, in opposing the expedition while it was under consideration; and in not suffering himself, after it was resolved upon, to be dazzled by vain hopes, or by the eminence of his post, so as to depart from his opinion. Nevertheless, when he could neither divert the people from their purpose, nor by all his efforts get himself excused from taking the command, but was placed, as it were, by violence at the head of a great army, it was then no time for caution and timid delay. He should not then have looked back from his ship like a child; nor, by a multitude of protestations that his better counsels were overruled, have disheartened his colleagues, and abated the ardour of his troops, which alone could give him a chance for success. He should have immediately attacked the enemy with the utmost vigour, and made Fortune blush at the calamities she was preparing.

But his conduct was very different. When Lamachus proposed to make a descent close by Syracuse†, and to give battle under the walls, and Alcibiades was of opinion they should first reduce the cities that owned the authority of Syracuse, and then march against the principal enemy, Nicias opposed both. He gave it for coasting along Sicily without any act of hostility, and showing what an armament they had. Then he was for returning to Athens, after having

* In Theog. † Vid. *Thucyd.* l. vi.

left a small reinforcement with the Ægesteans, as a taste of the Athenian strength. Thus he intercepted all their schemes, and broke down their spirits.

The Athenians, soon after this, called Alcibiades home to take his trial; and Nicias remained, joined, indeed, with another in commission, but first in authority. There was now no end of his delays. He either made an idle parade of sailing along the coast, or else sat still deliberating; until the spirit of confidence, which buoyed up his own troops, was evaporated and gone, as well as the consternation with which the enemy were seized at the first sight of his armament.

It is true, before the departure of Alcibiades, they had sailed towards Syracuse with sixty galleys, fifty of which they drew up in line of battle before the harbour, and the other ten they sent in to reconnoitre the place. These advanced to the foot of the walls, and, by proclamation, invited the Leontines to return to their old habitations*. At the same time they happened to take one of the enemy's vessels with the registers on board, in which all the Syracusans were set down according to their tribes. They used to be kept at some distance from the city, in the temple of Jupiter Olympius, but were then sent for to be examined, in order to the forming a list of persons able to bear arms. When these registers were brought to the Athenian generals, and such a prodigious number of names was displayed, the diviners were greatly concerned at the accident, thinking the prophecy, that the Athenians should take all the Syracusans, might possibly in this have its entire accomplishment. It is asserted, however, that it had its accomplishment on another occasion, when Calippus the Athenian, after he had killed Dion, made himself master of Syracuse.

When Alcibiades quitted Sicily with a small retinue, the whole power devolved upon Nicias. Lamachus, indeed, was a man of great courage and honour, and he freely exposed his person in time of action; but his circumstances were so mean, that whenever he gave in his accounts of a campaign, he charged a small sum for clothes and sandals. Nicias, on the contrary, besides his other advantages, derived great authority from his eminence both as to wealth and name. We are told, that on another occasion, when the Athenian generals met on a council of war, Nicias desired Sophocles the poet to give his opinion first, because he was the oldest man. "It

* They ordered proclamation to be made by a herald, that the Athenians were come to restore the Leontines to their country, in virtue of the relation and alliance between them. In consequence of which, such of the Leontines as were in Syracuse had nothing to do but to repair to the Athenians, who would take care to conduct them.

is true," said Sophocles, "I am older in respect of years: but you are older in respect of service." In the same manner he now brought Lamachus to act under his orders, though he was the abler general; and his proceedings were for ever timid and dilatory. At first he made the circuit of the island with his ships at a great distance from the enemy, which served only to raise their spirits. His first operation was to lay siege to the little town of Hybla; and not succeeding in that affair, he exposed himself to the utmost contempt. Afterwards he retired to Catana, without any other exploit than that of ruining Hyccara, a small place subject to the barbarians. Lais, the courtesan, who was then a girl, is said to have been sold among the prisoners, and carried from thence to Peloponnesus.

Towards the end of the summer, he was informed the Syracusans were come to that degree of confidence, that they designed to attack him. Nay, some of their cavalry rode up to his trenches, and asked his troops, in great derision, "Whether they were not rather come to settle in Catana themselves, than to settle the Leontines in their old habitations?"

Nicias now, at last, with much difficulty, determined to sail for Syracuse. In order to land his forces, and encamp them without running any risk, he sent a person to Catana before him, who, under pretence of being a deserter, should tell the Syracusans, that if they wanted to surprise the enemy's camp in a defenceless state, and make themselves masters of their arms and baggage, they had nothing to do but to march to Catana with all their forces on a day that he mentioned. For the Athenians, he said, passed the greatest part of their time within the walls; and such of the inhabitants as were friends to the Syracusans had determined, upon their approach, to shut in the enemy, and to burn their fleet. At the same time, he assured them their partisans were very numerous, and waited with impatience for their arrival*.

This was the best act of generalship Nicias performed in Sicily. Having drawn, by this means, the enemy's forces out of Syracuse, so that it was left almost without defence, he sailed thither from Catana, made himself master of their ports, and encamped in a situation where the enemy could least annoy him by that in which their chief strength consisted, and where he could easily exert the strength in which he was superior.

The Syracusans, at their return from Catana, drew up before the walls, and Nicias immediately attacked and beat them. They did not, however, lose any great number of men, because their cavalry

* Nicias knew he could not make a descent from his ships near Syracuse, because the inhabitants were prepared for him; nor could he go by land for want of cavalry.

stopped the Athenians in their pursuit. As Nicias had broken down all the bridges that were upon the river, he gave Hermocrates opportunity to encourage the Syracusans, by observing, "That it was ridiculous in Nicias to contrive means to prevent fighting; as if fighting was not the business he came about." Their consternation, indeed, was so great, that, instead of the fifteen generals they had, they chose three others, and the people promised upon oath to indulge them with a power of acting at discretion.

The temple of Jupiter Olympius was near the camp, and the Athenians were desirous to take it, because of the quantity of its rich offerings in gold and silver. But Nicias industriously put off the attack, and suffered a Syracusan garrison to enter it; persuaded that the plunder his troops might get there would be of no service to the public, and that he should bear all the blame of the sacrilege.

The news of the victory soon spread over the whole island, but Nicias made not the least improvement of it. He soon retired to Naxos*, and wintered there; keeping an army on foot at a great expense, and effecting but little; for only a few Sicilians came over to him. The Syracusans recovered their spirits again so as to make another excursion to Catana, in which they ravaged the country, and burnt the Athenian camp. Meanwhile all the world censured Nicias, and said, that by his long deliberations, delays, and extreme caution, he lost the time for action. When he did act, there was nothing to be blamed in the manner of it; for he was as bold and vigorous in executing, as he was timid and dilatory in forming a resolution.

When he had once determined to return with his forces to Syracuse, he conducted all his movements with so much prudence, expedition, and safety, that he had gained the peninsula of Thapsos, disembarked his men, and got possession of Epipolæ, before the enemy knew of his approach. He beat, on this occasion, some infantry that were sent to succour the fort, and made three hundred prisoners; he likewise routed their cavalry, which was thought invincible.

But what most astonished the Sicilians, and appeared incredible to the Greeks, was, that in a short space of time he enclosed Syracuse with a wall, a city not less than Athens, and much more difficult to be surrounded by such a work, by reason of the unevenness of the ground, the vicinity of the sea, and the adjoining marshes. Add to this, that it was almost effected by a man whose health was by no means equal to such an undertaking, for he was afflicted with the stone; and if it was not entirely finished, we must impute it to that circumstance.

* A city between Syracuse and Catana.

I cannot, indeed, but admire the attention of the general, and the invincible courage of the soldiers, in effecting what they did, in this as well as other instances. Euripides, after their defeat and death, wrote this epitaph for them:

> Eight trophies those from Syracuse obtain'd,
> Ere yet the gods were partial.

And in fact we find that the Athenians gained not only eight, but several more victories of the Syracusans, till the gods or fortune declared against them, at a time when they were arrived at the highest pitch of power. Nicias forced himself, beyond what his health would allow, to attend most of the actions in person: but when his distemper was very violent, he was obliged to keep his bed in the camp, with a few servants to wait upon him.

Meantime Lamachus, who was now commander in chief, came to an engagement with the Syracusans, who were drawing a cross wall from the city, to hinder the Athenians from finishing theirs. The Athenians, generally having the advantage, went in too disorderly a manner upon the pursuit; and it happened one day that Lamachus was left almost alone to receive the enemy's cavalry. Callicrates, an officer remarkable for his strength and courage, advanced before them, and gave Lamachus the challenge, which he did not decline. Lamachus received the first wound, which proved mortal, but he returned it upon his adversary, and they fell both together. The Syracusans remaining masters of the body and arms of Lamachus, carried them off; and, without losing a moment, marched to the Athenian camp, where Nicias lay without any guards to defend him. Roused, however, by necessity and the sight of his danger, he ordered those about him to set set fire to the materials before the intrenchments which were provided for the machines, and to the machines themselves. This put a stop to the Syracusans, and saved Nicias, together with the Athenian camp and baggage. For as soon as they beheld the flames rising in vast columns between the camp and them, they retired.

Nicias now remainded sole commander, but he had reason to form the most sanguine hopes of success. The cities declared for him, and ships laden with provisions came daily to his camp; his affairs being in so good a train that the Sicilians strove which should first express their attachment. The Syracusans themselves, despairing of holding out much longer, began to talk of proposals for an accommodation. Gylippus, who was coming from Lacedæmon to their succour, being informed of the wall with which they were enclosed, and the extremities they were reduced to, continued his

voyage, not with a view to Sicily, which he gave up for lost, but, if possible, to save the Greek cities in Italy. For the renown of the Athenians was now very extensive; it was reported that they carried all before them, and that they had a general whose prudence, as well as good fortune, rendered him invincible. Nicias himself, contrary to his nature, was suddenly elated by his present strength and success; the more so, because he was persuaded, upon private intelligence from Syracuse, as well as more public application, that the city was about to capitulate. Hence it was that he took no account of the approach of Gylippus, nor placed any regular guard to prevent his coming ashore; so that, screened by this utter negligence, Gylippus landed with safety. It was at a great distance from Syracuse, and he found means to collect a considerable army. But the Syracusans were so far from knowing or expecting his arrival, that they had assembled that very day to consider of articles of capitulation; nay, some were for coming to terms that moment, before the city was absolutely enclosed: for there was but a small part of the wall unfinished, and all the necessary materials were upon the spot.

At this critical and dangerous instant Gongylus arrived from Corinth with one galley of three banks of oars. The whole town was in motion, as might naturally be expected. He told them, Gylippus would soon come with several other ships to their succour. They could not give entire credit to Gongylus; but, while they were weighing the matter, a messenger arrived from Gylippus, with orders that they should march out to join him. Immediately upon this, they recovered their spirits and armed. Gylippus soon arrived, and put his troops in order of battle. As Nicias was drawing up against him, Gylippus rested his arms, and sent a herald with an offer of safe conduct to the Athenians, if they would quit Sicily. Nicias did not deign to give him any answer. But some of the soldiers asked him, by way of ridicule, "Whether the Syracusans were become so strong by the arrival of one Lacedæmonian cloke and staff, as to despise the Athenians, who had lately knocked off the fetters of three hundred Spartans, and released them, though all abler men and better-haired than Gylippus?"

Timæus says, the Sicilians set no great value upon Gylippus: for in a little time they discovered his sordid avarice and meanness; and, at his first appearance, they laughed at his cloke and head of hair. Yet the same historian relates, that as soon as Gylippus showed himself, the Sicilians gathered about him as birds do about an owl, and were ready to follow him wherever he pleased. And the latter account has more truth in it than the former. In the staff and cloke

they beheld the symbols of the Spartan dignity, and therefore repaired to them. Thucydides also tells us, that Gylippus was the only man who saved Sicily; and Philustus, a citizen of Syracuse, and an eye-witness of those transactions, does the same.

In the first engagement the Athenians had the advantage, and killed some of the Syracusans. Gongylus of Corinth fell at the same time. But the next day, Gylippus showed them of what consequence experience in a general is; with the very same arms and horses, and on the same spot, by only altering his order of battle*, he beat the Athenians, and drove them to their camp. Then taking the stones and other materials which they had brought for their wall, he continued the cross wall of the Syracusans, and cut through theirs in such a manner, that if they gained a victory, they could make no advantage of it.

Encouraged by this success, the Syracusans manned several vessels; and beating about the country with their cavalry and allies, they made many prisoners. Gylippus applied to the towns in person, and they readily listened to him, and lent him all the assistance in their power. So that Nicias, relapsing into his former fears and despondence at the sight of such a change of affairs, applied to the Athenians by letter, either to send another army, or to recal that which he had; and at the same time he desired them by all means to dismiss him from the command, on account of his infirmities.

The Athenians had designed some time before to send another army into Sicily; but the envy which the first success of Nicias had excited, had made them put it off upon several pretences. Now, however, they hastened the succours. They likewise came to a resolution, that Demosthenes should go in the spring with a respectable fleet, and that Eurymedon†, without waiting till winter was over, should carry money to pay the troops, and acquaint Nicias that the people had pitched upon Euthydemus and Menander, officers who then served under him, to assist him in his charge.

Meantime Nicias was suddenly attacked both by sea and land. At first, part of his fleet was worsted: but in the end he proved victorious, and sunk many of the enemy's ships. He could not, however, succour his troops by land, as the exigence of the case required. Gylippus made a sudden attack upon the fort of Plemmyrium, and took it; by which means he became master of the naval stores of

* He had the address to impute the late defeat to himself, and to assure his men that their behaviour was irreproachable. He said, that by ranging them the day before between walls, where their cavalry and archers had not room to act, he had prevented their conquering.

† Eurymedon went with ten galleys.

the Athenians, and a great quantity of treasure, which had been lodged there. Most of the garrison were either killed or taken prisoners. But what was still a greater blow to Nicias, by the loss of this place he lost the convenience of his convoys: for, while he had Plemmyrium, the communication was safe and easy; but, when that was taken, his supplies could not reach him without the utmost difficulty, because his transports could not pass without fighting the enemy's ships, which lay at anchor under the fort.

Besides, the Syracusans thought their fleet was beaten, not by any superior strength they had to combat, but by their going in a disorderly manner upon the pursuit. They therefore fitted out a more respectable fleet, in order for another action. Nicias, however, did not choose at present to try the issue of another naval fight, but declared it very absurd, when a large reinforcement of ships and fresh troops were hastening to him under the conduct of Demosthenes, to hazard a battle with a force so much inferior and so ill provided.

On the other hand, Menander and Euthydemus, who were appointed to a temporary share in the command, were led by their ambition and jealousy of Demosthenes and Nicias to strike some extraordinary blow, in order to be beforehand with the one, and to outdo the most shining actions of the other. Their pretence was the glory of Athens, which, they said, would be utterly lost, if they showed any fear of the Syracusan fleet. Thus they overruled Nicias, and gave battle. But they were soon defeated by a stratagem of Ariston the Corinthian, who was a most excellent seaman*. Their left wing, as Thucydides relates, was entirely routed, and they lost great numbers of their men. This loss threw Nicias into the greatest consternation. He reflected upon the checks he had met with while he had the sole command, and that he had now miscarried again through the obstinacy of his colleagues.

While he was indulging these reflections, Demosthenes appeared before the port with a very gallant and formidable fleet: he had seventy-three galleys†, on board of which were five thousand heavy-armed soldiers; and archers, spearmen, and slingers, to the number of three thousand. Their armour glittered, the streamers waved, and the prows of the ships were adorned with a variety of rich paint-

* Ariston advised the captains of the galleys to have refreshments ready for their men on the shore, while the Athenians imagined they went into the town for them. The Athenians, thus deceived, landed and went to dinner likewise. In the mean time the Syracusans, having made an expeditious meal, re-embarked, and attacked the Athenian ships, when there was scarce any body to defend them.

† Diodorus Siculus makes them three hundred and ten.

ings. He advanced with loud cheers and martial music, and the whole was conducted in a theatrical manner, to strike terror into the enemy.

The Syracusans were ready to fall into despair again. They saw no end or truce to their miseries; their labours and conflicts were all to begin anew, and they had been prodigal of their blood to no purpose. Nicias, however, had not long to rejoice at the arrival of such an army. At the first interview, Demosthenes wanted him to attack the enemy, that they might take Syracuse by an immediate and decisive stroke, and return again with glory to Athens. Nicias, astonished at his heat and precipitation, desired him to adopt no rash or desperate measures. He assured him delay would make against the enemy, since they were already in want of money, and their allies would soon quit both them and their cause. Consequently, when they began to feel the hard hand of necessity, they would apply to him again, and surrender upon terms, as they were going to do before. In fact, Nicias had a private understanding with several persons in Syracuse, who advised him to wait with patience, because the inhabitants were tired out with the war, and weary of Gylippus; and, when their necessities should become a little more pressing, they would give up the dispute.

As Nicias mentioned these things in an enigmatical manner, and did not choose to speak out, it gave occasion to the other generals to accuse him of timidity. "He is coming upon us," said they, "with his old delays, dilatory, slow, over-cautious counsels, by which the vigour and ardour of his troops was lost. When he should have led them on immediately, he waited till their spirit was gone, and the enemy began to look upon them with contempt." The other officers, therefore, listened to Demosthenes, and Nicias at last was forced to give up the point.

Upon this, Demosthenes put himself at the head of the land-forces, and attacked Epipolæ in the night. As he came upon the guards by surprise, he killed many of them, and routed those who stood upon their defence. Not content with this advantage, he proceeded till he came to the quarter where the Bœotians were posted. These closed their ranks, and first charged the Athenians, advancing with levelled pikes, and with all the alarm of voices; by which means they repulsed them, and killed a considerable number. Terror and confusion spread through the rest of the army. They who still kept their ground, and were victorious, were encountered by those that fled: and they who were marching down from Epipolæ to support the foremost bands were put in disorder by the fugitives; for they fell foul of one another, and took their friends for enemies.

The confusion, indeed, was inexpressible, occasioned by their fears, the uncertainty of their movements, and the impossibility of discerning objects as they could have wished, in a night which was neither quite dark nor sufficiently clear; the moon being near her setting, and the little light she gave rendered useless by her shade of so many bodies and weapons moving to and fro. Hence the apprehensions of meeting with an enemy made the Athenians suspect their friends, and threw them into the utmost perplexity and distress. They happened, too, to have the moon upon their backs, which, casting their shadows before them, both hid the number of their men, and the glittering of their arms; whereas the reflection from the shields of the enemy made them appear more numerous and better armed than they really were. At last they turned their backs, and were entirely routed. The enemy pressed hard upon them on all sides, and killed great numbers. Many others met their death in the weapons of their friends. Not a few fell headlong from the rocks or walls. The rest were dispersed about the fields, where they were picked up the next morning by the cavalry, and put to the sword. The Athenians lost two thousand men in this action; and very few returned with their arms to the head-quarters.

This was a severe blow to Nicias, though it was what he expected; and he inveighed against the rash proceedings of Demosthenes. That general defended himself as well as he could, but at the same time gave it as his opinion, that they should embark and return home as fast as possible. "We cannot hope," said he, "either for another army, or to conquer with the forces we have. Nay, supposing we had the advantage, we ought to relinquish a situation which is well known at all times to be unhealthy for the troops, and which now we find still more fatal from the season of the year." It was, indeed, the beginning of autumn; numbers were sick, and the whole army was dispirited.

Nevertheless, Nicias could not bear to hear of returning home; not that he was afraid of any opposition from the Syracusans, but he dreaded the Athenian tribunals and unfair impeachments there. He therefore replied, "That there was no great and visible danger at present; and, if there were, he had rather die by the hands of the enemy than those of his fellow-citizens." In this respect he greatly differed from Leo of Byzantium, who afterwards said to his countrymen, "I had rather die for you than with you." Nicias added, "That if it should appear necessary to encamp in another place, they might consider of it at their leisure."

Demosthenes urged the matter no farther, because his former counsels had proved unfortunate. And he was more willing to sub-

mit, because he saw others persuaded that it was the dependence Nicias had on his correspondence in the town which made him so strongly oppose their return to Athens. But as fresh forces came to the assistance of the Syracusans, and the sickness prevailed more and more in the Athenian camp, Nicias himself altered his opinion, and ordered the troops to be ready to embark.

Every thing accordingly was prepared for embarkation, and the enemy paid no attention to these movements, because they did not expect them. But in the night there happened an eclipse of the moon, at which Nicias and all the rest were struck with a great panic, either through ignorance or superstition. As for an eclipse of the sun, which happens at the conjunction, even the common people had some idea of its being caused by the interposition of the moon; but they could not easily form a conception by the interposition of what body, the moon, when at the full, should suddenly lose her light, and assume such a variety of colours. They looked upon it, therefore, as a strange and preternatural phenomenon, a sign by which the gods announced some great calamity.

Anaxagoras was the first who with any clearness and certainty showed in what manner the moon was illuminated and overshadowed. But he was an author of no antiquity*, nor was his treatise much known; it was confined to a few hands, and communicated with caution, and under the seal of secrecy: for the people had an aversion to natural philosophers, and those who were then called *Meteorolesche* [*inquirers into the nature of meteors*], supposing that they injured the Divine Power and Providence by ascribing things to insensate causes, unintelligent powers, and inevitable necessity. Protagoras was forced to fly on account of such a system; and Anaxagoras was thrown into prison, from whence Pericles with great difficulty got him delivered. Even Socrates†, who meddled not with physics, lost his life for philosophy. At last the glory of Plato enlightened the world, and his doctrine was generally received, both on account of his life, and his subjecting the necessity of natural causes to a more powerful and divine principle. Thus he removed all suspicion of impiety from such researches, and brought the study of mathematics into fashion. Hence it was, that his friend Dion, though the moon was eclipsed at the time of his going from

* He was cotemporary with Pericles, and with Nicias too; for he died the first year of the eighty-eighth Olympiad, and Nicias was killed in the fourth year of the ninety-first.

† Socrates tells us, in his Apology, that he had been accused of a criminal curiosity in prying into the heavens and into the abysses of the earth. However, he could not be said to lose his life for his philosophy so much as for his theology.

Zacynthus against Dionysius, was not in the least disconcerted, but pursued his voyage, and expelled the tyrant.

It was a great unhappiness to Nicias that he had not then with him an able diviner. Stilbides, whom he employed on such occasions, and who used to lessen the influence of his superstition, died a little before. Supposing the eclipse a prodigy, it could not, as Philochorus observes, be inauspicious to those who wanted to fly, but, on the contrary, very favourable; for whatever is transacted with fear, seeks the shades of darkness; light is the worst enemy. Besides, on other occasions, as Anticlides* remarks in his commentaries, there were only three days that people refrained from business, after an eclipse of either sun or moon; whereas Nicias wanted to stay another entire revolution of the moon, as if he could not see her as bright as ever the moment she passed the shadow caused by the interposition of the earth.

He quitted, however, almost every other care, and sat still observing his sacrifices, till the enemy came upon him, and invested his walls and intrenchments with their land-forces, as well as circled the harbour with their fleet. Not only the men from the ships, but the very boys from fishing-boats and small barks, challenged the Athenians to come out, and offered them every kind of insult. One of these boys, named Heraclides, who was of one of the best families in Syracuse, advancing too far, was pursued by an Athenian vessel, and very near being taken. His uncle Pollichus, seeing his danger, made up with ten galleys which were under his command; and others, in fear of Pollichus, advanced to support him. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the Syracusans were victorious, and Eurymedon and numbers more were killed.

The Athenians, not brooking any farther delay, with great indignation called upon their generals to lead them off by land. For the Syracusans, immediately after the victory, blocked up the harbour. Nicias, however, would not agree to it; thinking it a cruel thing to abandon so many ships of burden and near two hundred galleys. He therefore embarked his best infantry, and a select number of archers and spearmen, and manned with them a hundred and ten galleys, as far as his rowers would supply him. The rest of his troops he drew up on the shore; abandoning his great camp and his walls which reached to the temple of Hercules. The Syracusans had not for a long time offered the usual sacrifices to that deity, but now both the priests and generals went to observe the solemnity.

* This should probably be read Anticlides; for he seems to be the same person whom Plutarch has mentioned in the Life of Alexander, and in his Isis and Osiris.

. Their troops were embarked, and the inspectors of the entrails promised the Syracusans a glorious victory, provided they did not begin the attack, but only repelled force with force: for Hercules, they said, was victorious only in standing upon the defensive, and waiting to be attacked. Thus instructed, the Syracusans set out.

Then the great sea-fight began, remarkable not only for the vigour that was exerted, but for its causing as great a variety of passion and agitation in the spectators as in the combatants themselves; for those who looked on from the shore could discern every different and unexpected turn it took. The Athenians suffered not more harm from the enemy than they did from their own order of battle and the nature of their armament. Their ships were all crowded together, and were heavy and unwieldy besides, while those of the enemy were so light and nimble, that they could easily change their situation, and attack the Athenians on all sides. Add to this, that the Syracusans were provided with a vast quantity of stones, which seldom failed of their effect, wherever discharged; and the Athenians had nothing to oppose to them but darts and arrows, the flight of which was so diverted by the motion of the ship, that few of them could reach their mark. The enemy was put upon this expedient by Ariston the Corinthian, who, after he had given great proofs of his courage and ability, fell the moment that victory was declaring for the Syracusans.

After this dreadful defeat and loss, there was no possibility of escaping by sea. At the same time the Athenians saw it was extremely difficult to save themselves by land. In this despair, they neither opposed the enemy, who were seizing their vessels close to the shore, nor demanded their dead. They thought it not so deplorable a circumstance to leave the dead without burial, as to abandon the sick and wounded. And though they had great miseries before their eyes, they looked upon their own case as still more unhappy, since they had many calamities to undergo, and were to meet the same fate at last.

They did, however, design to begin their march in the night. Gylippus saw the Syracusans employed in sacrifices to the gods, and in entertaining their friends on account of the victory and the feast of Hercules; and he knew that neither entreaty nor force would prevail with them to leave the joys of festivity, and oppose the enemy's flight. But * Hermocrates found out a method to impose upon

* Hermocrates was sensible of what importance it was to prevent Nicias from retiring by land. With an army of forty thousand men which he had still left, he might have fortified himself in some part of Sicily, and renewed the war.

Nicias. He sent persons in whom he could confide, who were to pretend that they came from the old correspondents of that general within the town; and that their business was to desire him not to march in the night, because the Syracusans had laid several ambushes for him, and seized all the passes. The stratagem had its effect. Nicias sat still, in the simplicity of his heart, fearing he should really fall into the enemy's snares. In the morning the enemy got out before him. Then, indeed, they did seize all the difficult passes; they threw up works against the fords, broke down the bridges, and planted their cavalry wherever the ground was open and even: so that the Athenians could not move one step without fighting.

These poor men lay close all that day and the night following, and then began their march with tears and loud lamentations, as if they had been going to quit their native country, not that of the enemy. They were, indeed, in great want of provisions; and it was a miserable circumstance to leave their sick and wounded friends and comrades behind them; yet they looked upon their present misfortunes as small in comparison of those they had to expect.

But, among the various spectacles of misery, there was not one more pitiable than Nicias himself, oppressed as he was with sickness, and unworthily reduced to hard diet and a scanty provision, when his infirmities required a liberal supply. Yet, in spite of his ill health, he acted and endured many things which the more robust underwent not without difficulty. All this while his troops could not but observe it was not for his own sake, or any attachment to life, that he submitted to such labours, but that he seemed still to cherish hope on their account. When sorrow and fear brought others to tears and complaints, if Nicias ever dropped a tear among the rest, it was plain he did it from a reflection on the miserable and disgraceful issue of the war, which he hoped to have finished with great honour and success. Nor was it only the sight of his present misery that moved them, but when they recollected the speeches and warnings by which he endeavoured to dissuade the people from the expedition, they could not but think his lot much more unhappy than he deserved. All their hopes, too, of assistance from heaven abandoned them, when they observed that so religious a man as Nicias, one who had thought no expense too great in the service of the gods, had no better fortune than the meanest and most profligate person in the army.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, he still endeavoured, by the tone of his voice, by his looks, and every expression of kindness to the soldiers, to show himself superior to his misfortunes. Nay, through a march of eight days, though attacked and harassed all the

way by the enemy, he preserved his own division of the army tolerably entire; till Demosthenes was taken prisoner, and the troops he had the conduct of were surrounded, after a brave resistance, at a small place called Polyzelium. Demosthenes then drew his sword and stabbed himself, but as the enemy came immediately upon him and seized him, he had not time to give himself the finishing stroke.

Some Syracusans rode up to Nicias with this news, and he sent a few of his own cavalry to know the certainty. Finding, from their account, that Demosthenes and his party were really prisoners, he begged to treat with Gylippus, and offered hostages for paying the Syracusans the whole charge of the war, on condition they would suffer the Athenians to quit Sicily. The Syracusans rejected the proposal with every mark of insolence and outrage, and fell again upon a wretched man, who was in want of all manner of necessaries *.

He defended himself, however, all that night, and continued his march the next day to the river Asinarus. The enemy galled his troops all the way, and, when they came to the banks of the river, pushed them in.—Nay, some, impatient to quench their burning thirst, voluntarily plunged into the stream. Then followed a most cruel scene of blood and slaughter, the poor wretches being massacred as they were drinking, At last, Nicias threw himself at the feet of Gylippus, and said, "Gylippus, you should show some compassion amidst your victory. I ask nothing for myself. What is life to a man whose misfortunes are even proverbial? But, with respect to the other Athenians, methinks you should remember that the chance of war is uncertain, and with what humanity and moderation they treated you, when they were victorious."

Gylippus was somewhat affected both at the sight of Nicias and at his speech. He knew the good offices he had done the Lacedæmonians at the last treaty of peace, and was sensible it would contribute greatly to his honour, if he could take two of the enemy's generals prisoners. Therefore, raising Nicias from the ground, he bade him take courage, and gave orders that the other Athenians should have quarter. But, as the order was slowly communicated, the number of those that were saved was greatly inferior to that of the slain, though the soldiers spared several unknown to their officers.

When the Syracusans had collected all the prisoners they could find into one body, they dressed some of the tallest and straightest trees that grew by the river, as trophies, with the arms they had

* But were these brave people to blame? Was it not natural for them to use every means in their power to harass and weaken an enemy who had ambitiously considered their country as a property?

taken from the enemy. After which they marched homeward with garlands on their heads, and with their horses adorned in the most splendid manner, having first shorn those of the Athenians. Thus they entered the city as it were in triumph, after the happy termination of the sharpest dispute that ever subsisted between Grecians, and one of the most complete victories the sun ever beheld, gained by a glorious and persevering exertion of firmness and valour.

A general assembly of the people of Syracuse and of its allies was then held, in which Eurycles* the orator proposed a decree, "That, in the first place, the day they took Nicias should be observed as a festival, with the title of *Asinaria*, from the river where that great event took place, and that it should be entirely employed in sacrifices to the gods." This was the twenty-seventh day of the month *Carneus*, called by the Athenians *Metagitnion*†. "As to the prisoners, he proposed that the Athenian servants and all the allies should be sold for slaves; that such of the Athenians as were freemen, and the Sicilians their partisans, should be confined to the quarries; and that the generals should be put to death." As the Syracusans accepted the bill, Hermocrates rose up and said, "It was a more glorious thing to make a good use of victory than to gain one." But his motion raised a great ferment in the assembly. Gylippus expressing his desire to have the Athenian generals, that he might carry them prisoners to Lacedæmon, the Syracusans, now grown insolent with their good fortune, loaded him with reproaches. Indeed, they could not well bear his severity and Lacedæmonian rigour in command, while the war lasted. Besides, as Timæus observes, they had discovered in him an avarice and meanness, which was a disease he inherited from his father Cleandrides, who was banished for taking of bribes. The son, out of the thousand talents which Lysander sent by him to Sparta, purloined thirty, and hid them under the tiles of his house. Being detected in it, he fled his country with the utmost disgrace, as we have related more at large in the life of Lysander.

Timæus does not agree with Philistus and Thucydides, that Demosthenes and Nicias were stoned to death by the Syracusans. Instead of that, he tells us, that Hermocrates sent one of his people to acquaint those two generals with what was passing in the assembly, and the messenger being admitted by the guards before the court

* Diodorus Siculus calls him Diocles.

† Though it is not easy, as we have observed in a former note, to bring the Grecian months to tally with ours, yet we agree in this place with Dacier, that September is probably meant, or part of it; because Plutarch had said above, that the sickness had set in with autumn.

was dismissed, the unhappy men despatched themselves. Their bodies were thrown without the gates, and lay there expsoed to the view of all those who wanted to enjoy the spectacle. I am informed that a shield, said to be that of Nicias, is shown to this day in one of the temples at Syracuse; the exterior texture of which is gold and purple, and executed with surprising art.

As to the other Athenians, the greatest part perished in the quarries to which they were confined, by diseases and bad diet; for they were allowed only a pint of barley a-day, and half a pint of water. Many of those who were concealed by the soldiers, or escaped by passing as servants, were sold for slaves, and stigmatized with the figure of a horse upon their foreheads. Several of these, however, submitted to their fate with patience; and the modesty and decency with which they behaved were such, that they were either soon released, or treated in their servitude with great respect by their masters.

Some there were who owed their preservation to Euripides. Of all the Grecians, his was the muse whom the Sicilians were most in love with. From every stranger that landed in their island, they gleaned every small specimen or portion of his works, and communicated it with pleasure to each other. It is said, that on this occasion a number of Athenians, upon their return home, went to Euripides, and thanked him in the most respectful manner for their obligations to his pen; some having been enfranchised for teaching their masters what they remembered of his poems, and others having got refreshments, when they were wandering about after the battle, for singing a few of his verses. Nor is this to be wondered at, since they tell us, that when a ship from Caunus, which happened to be pursued by pirates, was going to take shelter in one of their ports, the Sicilians at first refused to admit her; upon asking the crew whether they knew any of the verses of Euripides, and being answered in the affirmative, they received both them and their vessel.

The Athenians, we are told, did not give credit to the first news of this misfortune, the person who brought it not appearing to deserve their notice. It seems, a stranger who landed in the Piræus, as he sat to be shaved in a barber's shop, spoke of it as an event already known to the Athenians. The barber no sooner heard it, but, before the stranger could communicate it to any other person, he ran into the city, and applying to the magistrates, informed them of the news in open court. Trouble and dismay seized all that heard it.—The magistrates immediately summoned an assembly, and introduced the informant. There he was interrogated, of whom he had the intelligence; and, as he could give no clear and pertinent answer, he

was considered as a forger of false news and a public incendiary*. In this light he was fastened to the wheel, where he bore the torture for some time, till at length some credible persons arrived, who gave a distinct account of the whole disaster. With so much difficulty did the misfortunes of Nicias find credit among the Athenians, though he had often forewarned them that they would certainly happen.

MARCUS CRASSUS.

MARCUS CRASSUS, whose father had borne the office of censor, and been honoured with a triumph, was brought up in a small house with his two brothers. These married while their parents were living, and they all ate at the same table. This, we may suppose, contributed not a little to render him sober and moderate in his diet. Upon the death of one of his brothers, he took the widow and children into his house. With respect to women, there was not a man in Rome more regular in his conduct; though, when somewhat advanced in years, he was suspected of a criminal commerce with one of the vestal virgins, named Licinia. Licinia was impeached by one Plotinus, but acquitted upon trial. It seems the vestal had a beautiful country-house, which Crassus wanting to have at an under price, paid his court to the lady with great assiduity, and thence fell under that suspicion. His judges, knowing that avarice was at the bottom of all, acquitted him of the charge of corrupting the vestal; and he never let her rest till she had sold him her house.

The Romans say, Crassus had only that one vice of avarice, which cast a shade upon his many virtues. He appeared, indeed, to have but one bad quality, because it was so much stronger and more powerful than the rest, that it quite obscured them. His love of money is very evident from the size of his estate, and his manner of raising it: at first it did not exceed three hundred talents; but, during his public employments, after he had consecrated the tenth of his substance to Hercules, given an entertainment to the people, and a supply of bread-corn to each citizen for three months, he found, upon an exact computation, that he was master of seven thousand one hundred

* Casaubon would infer from hence, that the Athenians had a law for punishing the forgers of false news. But this person was punished, not so much as a forger of false news as a public incendiary, who, by exciting groundless terrors in the people, aided and abetted their enemies.

talents. The greatest part of this fortune, if we may declare the truth, to his extreme disgrace, was gleaned from war and from fires; for he made a traffic of the public calamities. When Sylla had taken Rome, and sold the estates of those whom he had put to death, which he both reputed and called the spoils of his enemies, he was desirous to involve all persons of consequence in his crime, and he found in Crassus a man who refused no kind of gift or purchase.

Crassus observed also how liable the city was to fires, and how frequently houses fell down; which misfortunes were owing to the weight of the buildings, and their standing so close together*. In consequence of this, he provided himself with slaves who were carpenters and masons, and went on collecting them till he had upwards of five hundred. Then he made it his business to buy houses that were on fire, and others that joined upon them; and he commonly had them at a low price, by reason of the fear and distress the owners were in about the event. Hence in time he became master of great part of Rome. But though he had so many workmen, he built no more for himself than one house in which he lived: for he used to say, "That those who love building will soon ruin themselves, and need no other enemies."

Though he had several silver mines, and lands of great value, as well as labourers who turned them to the best advantage, yet it may be truly asserted, that the revenue he drew from these was nothing in comparison of that produced by his slaves; such a number had he of them, and all useful in life, readers, amanuenses, book-keepers, stewards, and cooks. He used to attend to their education, and often gave them lessons himself; esteeming it a principal part of the business of a master to inspect and take care of his servants, whom he considered as the living instruments of economy. In this he was certainly right, if he thought, as he often said, that other matters should be managed by servants, but the servants by the master. Indeed, economics, so far as they regard only inanimate things, serve only the low purposes of gain; but where they regard human beings, they rise higher, and form a considerable branch of politics. He was wrong, however, in saying that no man ought to be esteemed rich, who could not, with his own revenue, maintain an army: for, as Archidamus observes, it never can be calculated what such a monster as war will devour; nor consequently can it be determined what fortune is sufficient for its demands. Very different in this respect were the sentiments of Crassus from those of Marius. When the latter had made a distribution of lands among his soldiers, at the rate

* The streets were narrow and crooked, and the houses chiefly of wood, after the Gauls had burnt the city.

of fourteen acres a man, and found that they wanted more, he said, "I hope no Roman will ever think that portion of land too little which is sufficient to maintain him."

It must be acknowledged that Crassus behaved in a generous manner to strangers; his house was always open to them. To which we may add, that he used to lend money to his friends without interest. Nevertheless, his rigour in demanding his money the very day it was due, often made his appearing favour a greater inconvenience than the paying of interest would have been. As to his invitations, they were most of them to the commonalty; and though there was a simplicity in the provision, yet at the same time there was a neatness and unceremonious welcome which made it more agreeable than more expensive tables.

As to his studies, he cultivated oratory, most particularly that of the bar, which had its superior utility. And though he might be reckoned equal, upon the whole, to the first-rate speakers, yet, by his care and application, he exceeded those whom nature had favoured more: for there was not a cause, however unimportant, to which he did not come prepared. Besides, when Pompey, and Cæsar, and Cicero refused to speak, he often rose, and finished the argument in favour of the defendant. This attention of his to assist any unfortunate citizen was a very popular thing; and his obliging manner in his common address had an equal charm. There was not a Roman, however mean and insignificant, whom he did not salute, or whose salutation he did not return by name.

His knowledge of history is also said to have been very extensive, and he was not without a taste of Aristotle's philosophy. In the latter branch he was assisted by a philosopher named Alexander*, a man who gave the most glorious proofs of his disinterested and mild disposition during his acquaintance with Crassus: for it is not easy to say whether his poverty was greater when he entered or when he left his house. He was the only friend that Crassus would take with him into the country; on which occasions he would lend him a cloke for the journey, but demand it again when he returned to Rome.—The patience of that man is truly admirable, particularly when we consider that the philosophy he professed did not look upon poverty as a thing indifferent†. But this was a later circumstance in the life of Crassus.

When the faction of Cinna and Marius prevailed, it soon appeared

* Xylander conjectures this might be Alexander the Milesian, who is also called Polyhistor and Cornelius; and who is said to have flourished in the times of Sylla.

† Aristotle's as well as Plato's philosophy reckoned riches among real blessings, and looked upon them as conducive to virtue.

that they were not returning for any benefit to their country, but for the ruin and destruction of the nobility. Part of them they had already caught and put to death; among whom were the father and brother of Crassus. Crassus himself, who was then a very young man, escaped the present danger: but as he saw the tyrants had their hunters beating about for him on all sides, he took three friends and ten servants with him, and fled with surprising expedition into Spain, where he had attended his father during his prætorship, and gained himself friends. There, too, he found the minds of men full of terror, and all trembling at the cruelty of Marius, as if he had been actually present. Therefore he did not venture to apply to any of his friends in public: instead of that, he went into a farm which Vibius Pasianus had contiguous to the sea, and hid himself in a spacious cave there. Thence he sent one of his servants to sound Vibius; for his provisions already began to fail. Vibius, delighted to hear that he had escaped, inquired the number of people he had with him, and the place of his retreat. He did not wait on him in person, but sent immediately for the steward of that farm, and ordered him to dress a supper every day, carry it to the foot of the rock, and then retire in silence. He charged him not to be curious in examining into the affair, under pain of death; and promised him his freedom, if he proved faithful in his commission.

The cave is at a small distance from the sea. The surrounding rocks which form it admit only a slight and agreeable breath of air. A little beyond the entrance, it is astonishingly lofty, and the compass of it is so great, that it has several large caverns, like a suit of rooms, one within another. It is not destitute either of water or light. A spring of excellent water flows from the rock; and there are small natural apertures, where the rocks approach each other at top, through which day-light is admitted. By reason of the thickness of the rock, the interior air, too, is pure and clear; the foggy and moist part of it being carried away with the stream.

Crassus, in this assylum, had his provisions brought every day by the steward, who neither saw nor knew him or his people, though he was seen by them, because they knew his time, and watched for his coming. And he brought, not only what was sufficient for use, but delicacies too for pleasure: for Vibius had determined to treat his friend with all imaginable kindness. He reflected that some regard should be had to his time of life, and, as he was very young, that he should have some particular indulgences on that account. To supply his necessities only, he thought looked more like constraint than friendship. Therefore, one day he took with him two handsome maid-servants, and walked towards the sea. When they

came to the cave, he shewed them the entrance, and bade them go boldly in, for they had nothing to fear. Crassus, seeing them, was afraid his retreat was discovered, and began to examine who they were, and what they wanted. They answered, as they were instructed, "That they were come to seek their master, who lay concealed there." Upon which he perceived it was only a piece of gallantry in Vibius, who studied to divert him. He received the damsels, therefore, and kept them all the time he stayed there; and they served to carry his messages to Vibius, and to bring answers back. Fenestella says*, he saw one of them when she was very old, and often heard her tell the story with pleasure.

Crassus spent eight months in this privacy, at the end of which he received intelligence that Cinna was dead. Then he immediately made his appearance, and numbers repaired to him; out of which he selected a corps of two thousand five hundred men. With these he visited the cities, and most historians agree that he pillaged one called Malaca: but others tell us, he absolutely denied it, and disclaimed the thing in the face of those who spread the report. After this he collected vessels, and passed over into Africa to join Metellus Pius, an officer of great reputation, who had raised considerable forces. He did not, however, stay long there. Upon some difference with Metellus, he applied himself to Sylla, who received him with pleasure, and ranked him among his principal friends.

When Sylla was returned to Italy, he chose to keep the young men he had about him in exercise, and sent them upon various commissions. Crassus he despatched to levy troops among the Marsi; and, as his passage lay through the enemy's country, he demanded guards of Sylla. "I give thee for guards," said he, in an angry tone, "I give thee for guards, thy father, thy brother, thy friends, thy relations, who have been unjustly and abominably sacrificed, and whose cause I am going to revenge upon their murderers."

Crassus, roused and inflamed with these words, passed boldly through the midst of the enemy, raised a considerable army, and shewed his attachment, as well as exerted his courage, in all Sylla's conflicts. Hence, we are told, came his first competition and dispute with Pompey for the palm of honour. Pompey was the younger man, and had this great disadvantage besides, that his father was more hated than any man in Rome. Yet his genius broke forth with such lustre on these occasions, that Sylla treated him with more re-

* Fenestella wrote several books of annals. He might very well have seen one of these slaves when she was old; for he did not die till the sixth year of the reign of Tiberius, nor until he was seventy years of age.

spect than he generally shewed much older men, or even those of his own rank: for he used to rise up at his approach, and uncover his head, and salute him as *Imperator*.

Crassus was not a little piqued at these things, though there was no reason for his pretensions. He had not the capacity of Pompey; besides his innate blemishes, his avarice and meanness, robbed his actions of all their grace and dignity. For instance, when he took the city of Tudor in Umbria, he was supposed to have appropriated the greatest part of the plunder to his own use, and was represented in that light to Sylla. It is true, in the battle fought near Rome, which was the greatest and most decisive of all, Sylla was worsted, his troops repulsed, and a number of them killed. Meantime, Crassus, who commanded the right wing, was victorious, and having pursued the enemy till night, sent to inform Sylla of his success, and to demand refreshments for his men.

But, in the time of the proscriptions and confiscations, he lost all the credit he had gained; buying great estates at an under price, and often begging such as he had cast his eye upon. Nay, in the country of the Brutians, he is said to have proscribed one man without Sylla's order, merely to seize his fortune. Upon this Sylla gave him up, and never after employed him in any public affair.

Though Crassus was an exquisite flatterer himself, yet no man was more easily caught by flattery than he. And what was very particular, though he was one of the most covetous men in the world, no man was more averse to or more severe against such that resembled him*. But it gave him still more pain to see Pompey so successful in all his employments, to see him honoured with a triumph, and saluted by the citizens with the title of *the Great*. One day he happened to be told, "Pompey the Great was coming: upon which he answered, with a scornful smile, "How big is he?"

As he despaired of rising to an equality with him in war, he betook himself to the administration: and by paying his court, by defending the impeached, by lending money, and by assisting and canvassing for persons who stood for offices, he gained an authority and influence equal to that which Pompey acquired by his military achievements. There was something remarkably peculiar in their case. The name and interest of Pompey were much greater in Rome, when he was absent and † distinguishing himself in the field; when present, Crassus often carried his point against him.

* It was observed by the late ingenious Mr. Shenstone, that a coxcomb will be the first to find out and expose a coxcomb. Men of the same virtues love each other for the sake of those virtues; but smypathy in vice or folly has generally a contrary effect.

† This was not peculiar to Pompey; it was the case of Marius and many others.

This must be imputed to the state and grandeur that he affected: he seldom showed himself in public, or appeared in the assemblies of the people; and he very rarely served those who made application to him; imagining by that means he should have his interest entire when he wanted it himself. Crassus, on the contrary, had his services ever ready for those who wanted them; he constantly made his appearance; he was easy of access; his life was spent in business and good offices; so that his open and obliging manner got the better of Pompey's distance and state.

As to dignity of person, powers of persuasion, and engaging turn of countenance, we are told they were the same. But the emulation with which Crassus was actuated never carried him on to hatred and malignity. It is true, he was concerned to see Pompey and Cæsar held in great honour, but he did not add rancour and malevolence to his ambition; though Cæsar, when he was taken by pirates in Asia, and strictly confined, cried out, "O Crassus, what pleasure will it give thee to hear that I am taken!" However, they were afterwards upon a footing of friendship; and when Cæsar was going to set out for his command in Spain, and his creditors were ready to seize his equipage, because he could not satisfy them, Crassus was kind enough to deliver him from the embarrassment, by giving security for eight hundred and thirty talents.

Rome was at this time divided into three parties, at the head of which were Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus. For as to Cato, his reputation was greater than his power, and his virtue more admired than followed. The prudent and steady part of the city were for Pompey; the violent and enterprising gave into the prospects of Cæsar; Crassus steered a middle course, and availed himself of both. Crassus, indeed, often changed sides, and neither was a firm friend nor an implacable enemy. On the contrary, he frequently gave up either his attachments or resentments indifferently, when his interest required it; insomuch that in a short space of time he would appear either in support or opposition to the same persons and laws. He had some influence founded in love, and some in fear; but fear was the more serviceable principle of the two. An instance of the latter we have in Licinius, who was very troublesome to the magistrates and leading orators of his time. When he was asked, why he did not attack Crassus among the rest? he answered, "He wears wisps upon his horns*." So the Romans used to serve a vicious bull, for a warning to all persons that passed him.

When the gladiators took up arms and ravaged Italy, their insurrection was commonly called the war of Spartacus. Its origin was

* This passed into a proverb.

this: one Lentulus Batiatus kept at Capua a number of gladiators, the greatest part of which were Gauls and Thracians; men not reduced to that employment for any crimes they had committed, but forced upon it by the injustice of their master. Two hundred of them, therefore, agreed to make their escape. Though the plot was discovered, threescore and eighteen of them, by their extreme vigilance, were beforehand with their master, and sallied out of town, having first seized all the long knives and spits in a cook's shop. On the road they met some waggons carrying a quantity of gladiators' arms to another place. These they seized and armed themselves with them. Then they retired to a place of strength, and made choice of three leaders*. The first was Spartacus, whose extraction was from one of those Thracian *hordes* called Nomades. This man had not only a dignity of mind, a strength of body, but a discernment and civility superior to his fortune. In short, he was more of a Greek than a barbarian in his manner.

It is said, that when he was first brought to Rome to be sold, a serpent was seen twisted about his face as he slept. His wife, who was of the same tribe, having the gift of divination, and being a retainer besides to the orgies of Bacchus, said it was a sign that he would rise to something very great and formidable, the result of which would be happy†. This woman still lived with him, and was the companion of his flight.

The fugitives first distinguished themselves by defeating a party sent against them from Capua, whose arms they seized and wore with great satisfaction; throwing away those of gladiators, as dishonourable and barbarous. Clodius the prætor‡ was then sent against them from Rome with a body of three thousand men; and he besieged them on the hill where they were posted. There was but one ascent, which was very narrow and rugged, and there he placed a sufficient guard. The rest was all a craggy precipice, but covered with wild vines. The fugitives cut off such of the branches as might be of most service, and formed them into a ladder of sufficient strength, and so long as to reach the plain beneath. By the help of this ladder they all got down safe, except one. This man remained above only to let down their arms, and, when he had done that, he descended after them.

The Romans knowing nothing of this manœuvre, the gladiators came upon their rear, and attacked them so suddenly, that they fled

* Spartacus, Chrysus, and Œnomaus. This war began in the year of Rome 680; before Christ 71.

† His end was happy for a gladiator. He died fighting gallantly at the head of his troops.

‡ Clodius Glaber.

in great consternation, and left their camp to the enemy. Spartacus was there joined by the herdsmen and shepherds of the country, men of great vigour, and remarkably swift of foot. Some of these he clad in heavy armour, and the rest served as reconnoitering parties, and for other purposes of the light-armed.

The next general sent against these gladiators was Publius Varinus*. They first routed his lieutenant Furius, who engaged them with a detachment of two thousand men. After this Spartacus watched the motions of Cossinius, who was appointed assistant and chief counsellor to Varinus, and was now marching against him with a considerable force. His vigilance was such, that he was very near taking Cossinius in the bath at Salenæ; and though he did escape with much difficulty, Spartacus seized his baggage. Then he pursued his steps, and took his camp, having first killed great numbers of the Romans. Cossinius himself was among the slain. His subsequent operations were equally decisive. He beat Varinus in several engagements, and took his *lictors* and the very horse he rode.

By this time he was become great and formidable. Nevertheless, his views were moderate: he had too much understanding to hope the conquest of the Romans; and therefore led his army to the Alps, with an intention to cross them, and then dismiss his troops, that they might retire to their respective countries, some to Thrace, and some to Gaul. But they, relying upon their numbers, and elated with success, would not listen to his proposal. Instead of that, they laid Italy waste as they traversed it.

It was no longer the indignity and disgrace of this revolt that afflicted the senate; it was fear and danger; and they now employed both the consuls in this war, as one of the most difficult and important they had ever had upon their hands. Gellius, one of the consuls, having surprised a body of Germans, who were so rash and self-opinionated as to separate from the troops of Spartacus, defeated them entirely, and put them to the sword. Lentulus, the other consul, endeavoured to surround Spartacus with his forces, which were very considerable. Spartacus met him fairly in the field, beat his lieutenants, and stripped them of their baggage. He then continued his route towards the Alps, but was opposed by Cassius, who commanded in that part of Gaul which lay about the Po, and came against him at the head of ten thousand men. A battle ensued, in which Cassius was defeated with great loss, and saved himself not without difficulty.

No sooner were the senate informed of these miserable proceed-

* In the different editions of Livy Ephton, it is read Varenus, Varinius, &c.

ings, than they expressed the greatest indignation against the consuls, and gave orders that they should be superseded in the command. Crassus, was the person they pitched upon as a successor, and many of the nobility served under him as volunteers, as well on account of his political influence, as from his personal regard. He went and posted himself on the Picene, in order to intercept Spartacus, who was to march that way. At the same time he sent his lieutenant Mummius, round with two legions; giving him strict orders only to follow the enemy, and by no means to hazard either battle or skirmish. Mummius, however, upon the first promising occasion, engaged Spartacus, and was entirely routed. Numbers fell upon the field of battle, and many others threw away their arms, and fled for their lives.

Crassus gave Mummius a severe reprimand, and new-armed his men, but insisted withal that they should find security for their keeping those arms they were now intrusted with. The first five hundred, who had shown the greatest marks of cowardice, he divided into fifty parts, and put one in each decade to death, to whose lot it might happen to fall; thus reviving an ancient custom of military punishment which had long been disused. Indeed, this kind of punishment is the greatest mark of infamy; and being put in execution in sight of the whole army, is attended with many awful and affecting circumstances.

After thus chastising his men, he led them against the enemy. But Spartacus turned back and retired through Lucania to the sea. The rebel, happening to find a number of vessels in harbour belonging to the Cilician pirates, resolved to make an attempt upon Sicily, where, at the head of two thousand men, he thought he could easily rekindle the Servile war, which had but lately been smothered*, and which wanted little fuel to make it flame out again. Accordingly the pirates entered into agreement with him; but they had no sooner taken his money, than they broke their engagement, and sailed another way. Spartacus, thus deceived, left the sea, and intrenched himself in the peninsula of Rhegium.

When Crassus came up, he observed that the nature of the place suggested what measures he should take; in consequence of which he determined to build a wall across the Isthmus. This, he knew, would at once keep his soldiers from idleness, and cut off the enemy's supplies. The work was great and difficult; nevertheless he finished it, beyond all expectation, in a short time; drawing a trench from sea to sea three hundred furlongs in length, fifteen feet in breadth,

* It was but nineteen years before, that a period was put to the Servile war in Sicily,

and as many in depth; he built a wall also above it, of considerable height and strength.

Spartacus at first made a jest of the undertaking: but when his plunder began to fail, and he wanted to go farther, he saw the wall before him, and at the same time was conscious that the peninsula was exhausted. He watched his opportunity, however, in a snowy and tempestuous night, to fill up the trench with earth, wood, and other materials, and so passed it with a third part of his army. Crassus now began to fear, that Spartacus, in the spirit of enterprise, would march immediately to Rome. But when he observed that a number of the enemy, upon some difference or other, separated and encamped upon the Lucanian lake, he recovered his spirits. The water of this lake is said to change in such a manner as sometimes to be sweet and fresh, and at other times so salt that it is impossible to drink it. Crassus fell upon this party, and drove them from the lake, but could not do any great execution, or continue the pursuit far, because Spartacus made his appearance, and rallied his fugitives.

Crassus now repented of having written to the senate, *that it was necessary to recal Lucullus from Thrace, and Pompey from Spain,* and hastened to finish the war himself; for he was sensible that the general who should come to his assistance would rob him of all the honour. He resolved, therefore, in the first place, to attack the troops which had revolted, and formed a separate body, under the command of two officers named Cannicius and Castus. With this view, he sent a corps of six thousand men before to seize an eminence which he thought would be of service to him, but ordered them to conduct their enterprise with all imaginary secrecy. They observed his directions; and, to conceal their march the better, covered their helmets and the rest of their arms. Two women, however, who were sacrificing before the enemy's camp, discovered them; and they would probably have met their fate, had not Crassus advanced immediately, and given the enemy battle. This was the most obstinate action in the whole war. Twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy were killed, of which number there were only two found wounded on the back; the rest died in their ranks, after the bravest exertions of valour.

Spartacus, after this defeat, retired towards the mountains of Petelia; and Quintus, one of Crassus's officers, and Scropha the quæstor, marched after to harass his rear: but Spartacus facing about, the Romans fled in the most dastardly manner, and with great difficulty carried off the quæstor, who was wounded. This success was the ruin of Spartacus. It gave the fugitives such spirits,

that they would no longer decline a decisive action, or be obedient to their officers; but as they were upon the road, addressed them with their swords in their hands, and insisted on marching back through Lucania with the utmost expedition to meet the Romans, and face Crassus in the field.

This was the very thing that Crassus desired. He was informed that Pompey was approaching, and of the many speeches to the people on occasion of the ensuing election, in which it was asserted that this laurel belonged to him, and that, as soon as he made his appearance, he would, by some decisive stroke, put an end to the war.

Crassus, therefore, hastened to give that stroke himself, and, with the same view, encamped very near the enemy. One day, when he had ordered his soldiers to dig a trench, the gladiators attacked them as they were at work. Numbers came up continually on both sides to support the combatants; and at last Spartacus, seeing what the case necessarily required, drew out his whole army. When they brought him his horse, he drew his sword and killed him, saying, at the same time, "If I prove victorious, I shall have horses at command; if I am defeated, I shall have no need of this." His aim was to find Crassus, and he made his way through showers of darts and heaps of the slain. He did not, indeed, reach him, but he killed with his own hand two centurions who ventured to engage him. At last, those that seconded him fled. He, however, still stood his ground, and, though surrounded by numbers, fought with great gallantry till he was cut in pieces.

Crassus, on this occasion, availed himself of every circumstance with which fortune favoured him; he performed every act of generalship; he exposed his person in the boldest manner; yet he was only wreathing a laurel for the brows of Pompey. Pompey met, it seems, those who escaped out of the field, and put them to the sword. In consequence of which, he wrote to the senate, "That Crassus had indeed beaten the fugitive gladiators in a pitched battle; but that it was he who had cut up the war by the roots*."

Pompey, on his return to Rome, triumphed in a magnificent manner for his conquest of Sertorius and Spain. As for Crassus, he did not pretend to ask for the greater triumph; and even the less, which is led up on foot, under the name of an ovation, seemed to have no propriety or decorum in the conquest of fugitive slaves. In what respect this differs from the other, and whence the term *ovation* is derived, we have considered in the life of Marcellus.

* "Labore alieno magno partam gloriam verbis in se transmovet qui habet salem." *Terren.*

Pompey was immediately called to the consulship; and though Crassus had interest enough of his own to encourage him to hope for the same honour, yet he scrupled not to solicit his good offices. Pompey received the application with pleasure; for he was desirous by all means to have Crassus under an obligation to him. He therefore readily espoused his cause; and at last, when he made his speech to the people, said, "He was as much indebted to them for the colleague they had given him, as for their favour to himself." However, the same good understanding did not long continue; they differed about almost every article that came before them; and those disputes and altercations prevented their doing any thing considerable during their whole consulship. The most remarkable thing was, that Crassus offered a great sacrifice to Hercules, entertained the people at ten thousand tables, and gave them a supply of bread-corn for three months.

When they held one of the last assemblies, before they quitted their charge, a Roman knight, named Onatius Aurelius, who had spent most of his time in a retired manner in the country, and was a man of no great note, mounted the rostrum, and gave the people an account of a vision that appeared to him. "Jupiter," said he, "appeared to me in a dream, and commanded me to inform you in this public manner, that you are not to suffer the consuls to lay down their office before they are reconciled." He had no sooner ended his speech, than the people insisted that they should be reconciled. Pompey stood without making any motion towards it, but Crassus went and offered him his hand: "I am not ashamed, my fellow-citizens," said he, "nor do I think it beneath me, to make the first advances to Pompey, whom you distinguished with the name of *Great* while he was but a beardless youth, and whom you honoured with a triumph before he was a senator."

These were the only memorable things in the consulate of Crassus. As for his censorship, it passed without any thing worth mentioning*. He made no inquisition into the lives and manners of the senators; he did not review the equestrian order, or number the people. Lutatius Catulus, one of the best-natured men in the world, was his colleague; and it is said, that when Crassus wanted to adopt a violent and unjust measure, I mean the making Egypt tributary to Rome, Catulus strongly opposed it; and hence arose that difference in consequence of which they resigned their charge.

When the great conspiracy of Cataline, which brought the commonwealth to the verge of destruction, broke out, Crassus was sus-

* He was censor six years after his consulship, sixty-three years before the birth of Christ.

pected of having some concern in it. Nay, there was one who named him among the conspirators; but no one gave credit to his information*. It is true, Cicero, in one of his orations, openly accuses both Crassus and Cæsar of that crime; but that oration did not appear in public till both those great men were dead. On the other hand, the same Cicero, in the oration he delivered relating to his consulship, expressly says, that Crassus came to him one night, and put a letter in his hand, which showed the reality of the plot into which they were then inquiring. Be that as it may, it is certain that Crassus, after this, conceived a mortal hatred for Cicero; and would have shown it in some act of violence, had not his son Publius prevented it. Publius was a man of letters, and eloquence had a particular charm for him: hence his attachment to Cicero was so great, that when the bill for his banishment was proposed, he went into mourning, and persuaded the rest of the Roman youth to do the same. At last he even prevailed with his father to be reconciled to him.

About this time Cæsar returned from his government to solicit the consulship. Finding Crassus and Pompey again at variance, he would not apply to either in particular, lest he should make the other his enemy; nor could he hope to succeed without the assistance of one of them. In this dilemma he determined, if possible, to effect a good understanding once more between them; for which purpose he represented, "That, by levelling their artillery against each other, they raised the Ciceros, the Catuli, and the Catos; who would be nothing, if they were once real friends, and took care to act in concert. If that were the case," said he, "with your united interests and counsels you might carry all before you."

These representations had their effect; and, by joining himself to the league, he formed that invincible triumvirate which ruined the senate and people of Rome. Not that either Crassus or Pompey gained any advantage from their union; but Cæsar, by the help of both, climbed to the highest pinnacle of power. An earnest of this he had in his being unanimously elected consul. And, as he acquitted himself in his office with great honour, they procured him

* Sallust says otherwise. He tells us it did appear incredible to some, but others believed it. Yet not thinking it advisable to exasperate a man of so much power, they joined his retainers and those who owed him money, in crying it was a calumny, and in saying the senate ought to exculpate him; which accordingly they did. Some were of opinion, and Crassus himself among the rest, that the informer was suborned by Cicero. But what end could Cicero have in accusing a man of his consequence, unless it were to alarm the senate and people the more with a sense of their danger? And what could Crassus propose to himself in entering into a plot to burn a city in which his property was so large?

the command of armies, and decreed him the province of Gaul, where he was established as in an impregnable castle; for they imagined, if they did but secure to him the province that was fallen to his lot, they might share the rest between them at their leisure.

It was the immoderate love of power which led Pompey into this error. And Crassus, to his old disease of avarice, now added a new one. The achievements, the victories, and triumphs of Cæsar, raised in Crassus a passion for the same; and he could not be content to be beneath him in this respect, though he was so much superior in others. He therefore never let himself rest till he met an inglorious fate, and involved his country in the most dreadful calamities.

On Cæsar's coming from Gaul to the city of Lucca, numbers went to wait upon him, and, among the rest, Crassus and Pompey. These, in their private conferences, agreed with him to carry matters with a higher hand, and to make themselves absolute in Rome. For this purpose Cæsar was to remain at the head of his army, and the other two chiefs to divide the rest of the provinces and armies between them. There was no way, however, to carry their scheme into execution, without suing for another consulship; in which Cæsar was to assist by writing to his friends, and by sending a number of his soldiers to vote in the election.

When Crassus and Pompey returned to Rome, their designs were very much suspected; and the general discourse was, that the late interview boded no good to the commonwealth. Hereupon Marcellinus and Domitius* asked Pompey in full senate, "Whether he intended to solicit the consulship?" To which he answered, "Perhaps I may—perhaps not." And upon their interrogating him a second time, he said, "If I solicit it, I shall solicit it for men of honour, and not for men of a meaner principle." As this answer appeared to have too much of haughtiness and contempt, Crassus expressed more moderation: "If it be for the public good, I shall solicit it—if not, I shall forbear."

By this some other candidates, and among the rest Domitius, were imboldened to appear; but as soon as Pompey and Crassus declared themselves, the rest dropped their pretensions: only Domitius was exhorted and encouraged by his friend and kinsman Cato "not to abandon his prospects, but to stand boldly up for the liberties of his country. As for Pompey and Crassus," he said, "they wanted not the consulship, but absolute power; nor was it so much their aim to be chief magistrates at home, as to seize the provinces, and to divide the armies between them."

* Domitius Aenobarbus.

Cato having thus expressed his real sentiments, drew Domitius almost forcibly into the *forum*, and numbers joined them there; for they were greatly surprised at this step of Crassus and Pompey. "Why do they demand," said they, "a second consulship? Why together? Why not with others? Have we not any persons of merit sufficient to entitle them to be colleagues with either Crassus or Pompey?"

Pompey's party, alarmed at these speeches, threw off the mask, and adopted the most violent measures. Among other outrages, they waylaid Domitius as he was going to the place of election before day, accompanied by his friends, killed the torchbearer, wounded many of his train, and Cato among the rest. Then they shut them up together, till Crassus and Pompey were elected.

A little after this, they confined Domitius to his house, by planting armed men about it, drove Cato out of the *forum*, and killed several who made resistance. Having thus cleared the way, they continued Cæsar in his government for five years more, and got Syria and both the Spains for their own provinces. Upon casting lots, Syria fell to Crassus, and the Spains to Pompey.

The allotment was not disagreeable to the multitude. They chose to have Pompey not far from Rome; and Pompey, who passionately loved his wife, was very glad of the opportunity to spend most of his time there. As for Crassus, as soon as it appeared that Syria was his lot, he discovered the greatest joy, and considered it as the principal happiness of his life; insomuch that, even before strangers and the populace, he could hardly restrain his transports. To his intimate friends he opened himself more freely, expressing the most sanguine hopes, and indulging in vain elevations of heart, unsuitable to his age and disposition; for, in general, he was far from being pompous, or inclined to vanity. But now, extravagantly elated and corrupted by his flattering prospects, he considered not Syria and the Parthians as the termination of his good fortune; but intended to make the expedition of Lucullus against Tigranes, and of Pompey against Mithridates, appear only the sports of children. His design was to penetrate to the Bactrians, the Indians, the Eastern Ocean; and in his hopes he had already swallowed up the East.

In the law relating to the government of Crassus, no mention was made of a war in its neighbourhood; but all the world knew Crassus had an eye to it. And Cæsar, in the letter he wrote to him from Gaul, commended his design, and encouraged him to attack the Parthians. But when he was going to set out, Ateius, one of the tribunes, threatened to stop him, and numbers joined the tri-

bune's party. They could not, without indignation, think of his going to begin hostilities against a people who had done them no injury, and were in fact their allies. Crassus, alarmed at this, desired Pompey to conduct him out of Rome. He knew the dignity of Pompey, and the veneration the populace had for him; and on this occasion, though many were prepared to withstand Crassus, and to raise a clamour against him, yet, when they saw Pompey marching before him with an open and gay countenance, they dropped their resentment and made way in silence.

Ateius, however, advanced to meet him. In the first place, by the authority of his office, he commanded him to stop, and protested against his enterprise. Then he ordered one of his officers to seize him; but the other tribunes interposing, the officer let Crassus go. Ateius now ran before to the gate, and placed there a censer with fire in it. At the approach of Crassus, he sprinkled incense upon it, offered libations, and uttered the most horrid imprecations, invoking, at the same time, certain dreadful and strange gods. The Romans say, these mysterious and ancient imprecations have such power*, that the object of them never escapes their effect; nay, they add, that the person who uses them is sure to be unhappy; so that they are seldom used, and never but upon a great occasion. Ateius was much blamed for his rash zeal. It was for his country's sake that he was an adversary to Crassus, and yet it was his country he had laid under that dreadful curse.

Crassus, pursuing his journey, came to Brundusium; and, though the winter storms made the voyage dangerous, he put to sea, and lost a number of vessels in his passage. As soon as he had collected the rest of his troops, he continued his route by land through Galatia. There he paid his respects to Deiotarus, who, though an old man, was building a new city. Crassus laughed, and said, "You begin to build at the twelfth hour of the day!" The king laughed in his turn, and answered, "You do not set out very early in the morning against the Parthians!" Crassus, indeed, was then above sixty years of age†, and he looked much older than he was.

Upon his arrival in Syria, his affairs prospered at first according to his expectation. He threw a bridge over the Euphrates with ease, and his army passed it without opposition. Many cities in Mesopotamia voluntarily received him, and one only stood upon its defence. The prince who governed it was named Apollonius. The Romans having lost about a hundred men before it, Crassus marched against

* ..... Dira detestatio
Nulla expiatur victimi. *Hor.*

† Crassus set out upon this expedition in the year of Rome 699.

it with all his forces, took it by assault, plundered it of every thing valuable, and sold the inhabitants for slaves. The Greeks called that city Zenodotia*. Crassus, upon taking it, suffered his army to salute him *Imperator;* a thing which reflected no small disgrace upon him: it showed the meanness of his spirit, and his despair of effecting any thing considerable, when he valued himself upon such a trifling acquisition.

After he had garrisoned the towns that had submitted with seven thousand foot and a thousand horse, he returned into Syria to winter. There he was joined by his son, whom Cæsar had sent to him from Gaul, adorned with military honours, and at the head of a thousand select horse.

Among the many errors which Crassus committed in this war, the first, and none of the least, was his returning so soon into Syria. He ought to have gone forward, and strengthened himself with the accession of Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians: instead of which, he gave the enemy abundant time to prepare themselves. Besides, his occupations in Syria were greatly censured, having more of the trader in them than of the general. Instead of examining into the arms of his soldiers, keeping them in exercise, and improving their strength and activity by proper rewards, he was inquiring into the revenues of the cities, and weighing the treasures in the temple of the goddess of Hierapolis†. And though he fixed the quotas of troops which the states and principalities were to furnish, he let them off again for a sum of money; which exposed him to the contempt of those whom he excused.

The first sign of his future fortune came from this very goddess, whom some call Venus, some Juno, others *Nature,* or that great principle which produces all things out of moisture, and instructs mankind in the knowledge of every thing that is good. As they were going out of the temple, young Crassus stumbled and fell at the gate, and his father fell upon him.

He was now drawing his troops out of winter quarters, when ambassadors came from Arsaces, and addressed him in this short speech: "If this army was sent against the Parthians by the Roman people, that people has nothing to expect but perpetual war and enmity irreconcileable: but if Crassus, against the inclination of his country (which they were informed was the case), to gratify his own

* Zenodotia, in the province of Osrhoëne.

† About twenty miles from the Euphrates there was a city known by the several names of Bambyce, Edessa, and Hierapolis. By the Syrians it was called Magog. The goddess Atargatis was worshipped there with great devotion. Lucian mentions her temple as the richest in the world.

avarice, has undertaken this war, and invaded one of the Parthian provinces, Arsaces will act with more moderation. He will take compassion on Crassus's age, and let the Romans go, though in fact he considers them rather as in prison than in garrison." To this Crassus made no return but a rodomontade: he said, "He would give them his answer at Seleucia." Upon which, Vagises, the oldest of the ambassadors, laughed; and turning up the palm of his hand, replied, "Crassus, here will hair grow before thou wilt see Seleucia."

The ambassadors then returned to their king Orodes*, and told him he must prepare for war. Meantime, some Romans escaped with difficulty from the cities they garrisoned in Mesopotamia, and brought a very alarming account of the enemy. "They said they had been eye-witnesses to their immense numbers, and to their dreadful manner of fighting, when they attacked the towns." And as it is usual for fear to magnify its object, they added, "It is impossible either to escape them when they pursue, or to take them when they fly. They have a new and strange sort of arrows, which are swifter than lightning, and reach their mark before you can see they are discharged; nor are they less fatal in their effects than swift in their course. The offensive arms of their cavalry pierce through every thing, and the defensive arms are so well tempered that nothing can pierce them."

The Roman soldiers were struck with this account, and their courage began to droop. They had imagined that the Parthians were not different from the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had beaten and driven before him till he was weary; and, consequently, that the hardest part of the expedition would be the length of the way, and the trouble of pursuing men who would never stand an engagement. But now they found they had war and danger to look in the face, which they had not thought of; insomuch that several of the principal officers were of opinion that Crassus ought to stop, and call a council to consider whether new measures ought not to be taken. Of this number was Cassius the quæstor. Besides, the soothsayers whispered, that the sacrifices were not accepted by the gods, and the signs appeared always inauspicious to the general. However, he paid no attention to them, nor to any but those who were for hastening his march.

* Here the king of Parthia is called Orodes, who before was called Arsaces. Arsaces was probably a name common to the kings of that country, and Orodes the proper name of this prince. He was the son of Phraates the Second, and made his way to the crown through the blood of his elder brother Mithridates. For this he deservedly died the same kind of death.

He was the more confirmed in his intentions by the arrival of Artavasdes *, king of Armenia. That prince came with six thousand horse, which, he said, were only his body-guard. He promised Crassus ten thousand more armed at all points, and thirty thousand foot, all to be maintained at his own expense. At the same time, he advised him to enter Parthia by way of Armenia. "By that means," said he, "you will not only have plenty of provisions, which I shall take care to supply you with, but your march will be safe, as it will be along a chain of mountains, and a country almost impracticable for cavalry, in which the Parthian strength consists." Crassus received his tender of service and his noble offer of succours but coldly; and said, "He should march through Mesopotamia, where he had left a number of brave Romans." Upon this the Armenian bade him adieu, and returned to his own country.

As Crassus was passing the Euphrates at Zeugma, he met with dreadful bursts of thunder, and lightnings flamed in the face of his troops. At the same time, the black clouds emitted a hurricane mingled with fire, which broke down and destroyed great part of his bridge. The place which he had marked out for a camp, was also twice struck with lightning. One of the general's war-horses, richly caparisoned, running away, with his rider, leaped into the river, and was seen no more. And it is said, when the foremost eagle was moved, in order for a march, it turned back of its own accord. Besides these ill tokens, it happened that when the soldiers had their provisions distributed, after they had crossed the river, they were first served with lentils and salt, which are reckoned ominous, and commonly placed upon the monuments of the dead. In a speech of Crassus to the army, an expression escaped him, which struck them all with horror. He said, "He had broke down the bridge that not one of them might return." And when he ought, upon perceiving the impropriety of the expression, to have recalled or explained it to the intimidated troops, his obstinacy would not permit him. To which we may add, that in the sacrifice offered for the lustration of the army, the *aruspex* having put the entrails in his hands, he let them fall. All that attended the cremony were struck with astonishment; but he only said with a smile, "See what it is to be old! My sword, however, shall not slip out of my hands in this manner."

Immediately after this, he began his march along the side of the Euphrates with seven legions, near four thousand horse, and almost as many of the light-armed. He had not gone far before some of

* In the text he is here called Artabases; but as Plutarch called him Artavasdes every where afterwards, we thought it proper to put it so here.

his scouts returned and told him, that they had not found so much as one man in their excursions, but that there were many vestiges of cavalry, who appeared to have fled as if they had been pursued.

Crassus now began to be more sanguine in his hopes, and the soldiers to hold the enemy in contempt, upon a supposition that they durst not stand an encounter. Nevertheless, Cassius addressed himself to the general again, and advised him "to secure his troops in some fortified town till he should have some account of the enemy that might be depended upon. If he did not choose that, he desired him to keep along the river till he reached Seleucia: for by this means he would be constantly supplied with provisions from the vessels that would follow his camp; and the river preventing his being surrounded, he would always have it in his power to fight upon equal terms."

While Crassus was weighing these counsels with much deliberation, there arrived an Arabian chief named Ariamnes*. This artful and perfidious man was the principal instrument of all the calamities which fortune was preparing for the ruin of Crassus. Some of his officers, who had served under Pompey, knew how much Ariamnes was indebted to that general's favour, and that in consequence he passed for a well-wisher to the Romans. But now, gained by the Parthian officers, he concerted with them a scheme to draw Crassus from the river and the higher grounds into an immense plain, where he might easily be surrounded: for the enemy thought of nothing less than fighting a pitched battle with the Romans.

This barbarian, then, addressing himself to Crassus, at first launched out into the praises of Pompey as his benefactor, for he was a voluble and artful speaker; then he expressed his admiration of so fine an army; but, withal, took occasion to blame Crassus for his delays, and the time he spent in preparing; as if weapons, and not rather active hands and feet, were required against a people who had long been determined to retire with their most valuable effects, and with their families and friends, to the Scythians and Hyrcanians. "Or, suppose you have to fight," said he, "you ought to hasten to the encounter before the king recovers his spirits, and collects all his forces. At present, he has only sent out Surena and Sillaces to amuse you, and to prevent your pursuit of himself. For his part, he will take care not to appear in the field"

This story was false in every circumstance: for Orodes had divided his army into two parts; with one of which he was ravaging Armenia, to wreck his vengeance upon Artavasdes; Surena was left with the other to make head against the Romans. Not that the king (as

* Appian and Dion Cassius call him Acbarus or Agbarus.

some will have it) had any contempt for the Romans: for Crassus, one of the most powerful men Rome had produced, was not an antagonist whom he should despise, and think it a fairer field of honour to go and fight with Artavasdes, and lay waste Armenia. On the contrary, it is highly probable, it was his apprehensions of danger which made him keep at a distance, and watch the rising event; in order to which he sent Surena before him to make trial of the enemy's strength, and to amuse them with his stratagems. For Surena was no ordinary person; but in fortune, family, and honour, the first after the king; and in point of courage and capacity, as well as in size and beauty, superior to the Parthians of his time. If he went only upon an excursion into the country, he had a thousand camels to carry his baggage, and two hundred carriages for his concubines. He was attended by a thousand heavy-armed horse, and many more of the light-armed rode before him. Indeed, his vassals and slaves made up a body of cavalry little less than ten thousand. He had the hereditary privilege in his family to put the diadem upon the king's head when he was crowned. When Orodes was driven from the throne, he restored him; and it was he who conquered for him the great city of Seleucia, being the first to scale the wall, and beat off the enemy with his own hand. Though he was then not thirty years old, his discernment was strong, and his counsel esteemed the best. These were the talents by which he overthrew Crassus, who laid himself open to his arts, first by a two sanguine confidence, and afterwards by his fears and depressions under misfortunes.

When Crassus had listened to the lure of Ariamnes, and left the river to march into the plain, the traitor led him a way that was smooth and easy at first; but after a while it became extremely difficult, by reason of the deep sands in which he had to wade, and the sight of a vast desert without wood or water, which afforded no prospect of repose or hope of refreshment: so that his troops were ready to give out, not only through thirst and the difficulty of the march, but through the comfortless and melancholy view before them of a country where there was neither tree nor stream to be seen, no hill to shelter them, no green herb growing, but the billows of an immense sea of sand surrounding the whole army.

These things gave them sufficient reason to suspect they were betrayed; but when the envoys of Artavasdes arrived, there was no room to doubt it. That prince informed Crassus, "That Orodes had invaded his kingdom with a great army, so that now he could send the Romans no succours. Therefore he advised them to march towards Armenia, where, with their united forces, they might give Orodes battle.

If Crassus did not relish this advice, he conjured him at least never to encamp upon any ground favourable to the cavalry, but to keep close to the mountains." Crassus, in his resentment and infatuation, would send no answer in writing; he only said, "He was not at leisure now to think of the Armenians, but by and by he would come and chastise their king for his perfidiousness." Cassius was again extremely chagrined, but would not make any more remonstrances to the general, who was already offended at the liberty he had taken. He applied, however, to the barbarian in private, in such terms as these: "O thou vilest of impostors, what malevolent dæmon has brought thee amongst us? By what potions, by what enchantments, hast thou prevailed upon Crassus to pour his army into this vast, this amazing desert; a march more fit for a Numidian robber than for a Roman general?" The barbarian, who had art enough to adapt himself to all occasions, humbled himself to Cassius, and encouraged him to hold out and have patience only a little longer. As for the soldiers, he rode about the ranks under a pretence of fortifying them against their fatigues, and made use of several taunting expressions to them: "What," said he, "do you imagine that you are marching through Campania? Do you expect the fountains, the streams, the shades, the baths, and houses of refreshment you meet with there? And will you never remember that you are traversing the barren confines of the Arabians and Assyrians?" Thus the traitor admonished, or rather insulted the Romans, and got off at last before his imposture was discovered. Nor was this without the general's knowledge; he even persuaded him then, that he was going upon some scheme to put the enemy in disorder.

It is said, that Crassus on that day did not appear in a purple robe, such as the Roman generals used to wear, but in a black one, and, when he perceived his mistake, he went and changed it. Some of the standards too were so rooted in the ground, that they could not be moved without the greatest efforts. Crassus only laughed at the omen, and hastened his march the more, making the foot keep up with the cavalry. Meantime, the remains of a reconnoitering party returned with an account that their comrades were killed by the Parthians, and that they had escaped with great difficulty. At the same time they assured him, that the enemy was advancing with very numerous forces, and in the highest spirits.

This intelligence spread great dismay among the troops, and Crassus was the most terrified of all. In his confusion, he had scarce understanding enough about him to draw up his army properly. At first, agreeably to the opinion of Cassius, he extended the front of his infantry so as to occupy a great space of ground, to

prevent their being surrounded, and distributed the cavalry in the wings; but soon altering his mind, he drew up the legions in a close square, and made a front every way, each front consisting of twelve cohorts. Every cohort had its troop of horse allotted it, that no part might remain unsupported by the cavalry, but that the whole might advance with equal security to the charge. One of the wings was given to Cassius, the other to young Crassus, and the general placed himself in the centre.

In this order they moved forward, till they came to a river called Balissus, which, in itself, was not considerable, but the sight of it gave great pleasure to the soldiers, as well on account of their heat and thirst, as the fatigues of a march through a dry and sandy desert. Most of the officers were of opinion, that they ought to pass the night there, and after having got the best intelligence they could of the number of the enemy and their order, advance against them at break of day: but Crassus, carried away by the eagerness of his son, and of the cavalry about him, who called upon him to lead them to the charge, commanded those who wanted refreshment to take it as they stood in their ranks. Before they had all done, he began his march, not leisurely and with proper pauses, as is necessary in going to battle, but with a quick and continued pace till they came in sight of the enemy, who appeared neither so numerous nor so formidable as they had expected: for Surena had concealed his main force behind the advanced guard, and, to prevent their being discovered by the glittering of their armour, he had ordered them to cover it with their coats or with skins.

When both armies were near enough to engage, and the generals had given the signal, the field resounded with a horrid din and dreadful bellowing: for the Parthians do not excite their men to action with cornets and trumpets, but with certain hollow instruments covered with leather, and surrounded with brass bells, which they beat continually. The sound is deep and dismal, something between the howling of wild beasts and the crashing of thunder; and it was from sage reflection they had adopted it, having observed, that of all the senses, that of hearing soonest disturbs the mind, agitates the passions, and unhinges the understanding.

While the Romans were trembling at the horrid noise, the Parthians suddenly uncovered their arms, and appeared like battalions of fire, with the gleam of their breast-plates, and their helmets of Margian steel polished to the greatest perfection. Their cavalry, too, completely armed in brass and steel, shed a lustre no less striking. At the head of them appeared Surena, tall and well made; but his feminine beauty did not promise such courage as he was

possessed of: for he was dressed in the fashion of the Medes, with his face painted, and his hair curled and equally parted; while the rest of the Parthians wore their hair in great disorder, like the Scythians, to make themselves look more terrible.

At first, the barbarians intended to have charged with their pikes, and opened a way through their foremost ranks; but when they saw the depth of the Roman battalions, the closeness of their order, and the firmness of their standing, they drew back, and, under the appearance of breaking their ranks and dispersing, wheeled about and surrounded the Romans. At that instant Crassus ordered his archers and light infantry to begin the charge: but they had not gone far before they were saluted with a shower of arrows, which came with such force, and did so much execution, as drove them back upon the battalions. This was the beginning of disorder and consternation among the heavy-armed, when they beheld the force and strength of the arrows, against which no armour was proof, and whose keenness nothing could resist. The Parthians now separated, and began to exercise their artillery upon the Romans on all sides, at a considerable distance; not needing to take any exact aim, by reason of the closeness and depth of the square in which their adversaries were drawn up. Their bows were large and strong, yet capable of bending till the arrows were drawn to the head; the force they went with was consequently very great, and the wounds they gave mortal.

The Romans were now in a dreadful situation. If they stood still, they were pierced through; if they advanced, they could make no reprisals, and yet were sure to meet their fate: for the Parthians shoot as they fly; and this they do with dexterity inferior only to the Scythians. It is indeed an excellent expedient, because they save themselves by retiring, and, by fighting all the while, escape the disgrace of flight.

While the Romans had any hopes that the Parthians would spend all their arrows and quit the combat, or else advance hand to hand, they bore their distresses with patience; but as soon as it was perceived that behind the enemy there was a number of camels loaded with arrows, from whence the first ranks, after they emptied their quivers, were supplied, Crassus, seeing no end to his sufferings, was greatly distressed. The step he took was, to send orders to his son to get up with the enemy and charge them, if possible, before he was quite surrounded: for it was principally against him that one wing of the Parthian cavalry directed their efforts, in hopes of taking him in the rear. Upon this the young man took thirteen hundred horse, of which those he had from Cæsar made a thousand, five

hundred archers, and eight cohorts of infantry, which were next at hand, and wheeled about to come to the charge. However, the Parthians, whether it was that they were afraid to meet a detachment that came against them in such good order, which some say was the case, or whether they wanted to draw young Crassus as far as they possibly could from his father, turned their backs and fled*. The young man cried out, *They dare not stand us*, and followed at full speed. So did Censorinus and Megabacchus†; the latter a man noted for his strength and courage, and the former a person of senatorial dignity, and an excellent orator. Both were intimate friends of young Crassus, and nearly of his age.

The cavalry kept on, and such was the alacrity and spirit of hope with which the infantry were inspired, that they were not left behind: for they imagined they were only pursuing a conquered enemy. But they had not gone far before they found how much they were deceived. The pretended fugitives faced about, and, many others joining them, advanced to the encounter. The Romans, upon this, made a stand, supposing the enemy would come to close quarters with them, because their number was but small. The Parthians, however, only formed a line of their heavy-armed cavalry opposite their adversaries, and then ordered their irregulars to gallop round, and beat up the sand and dust in such a manner, that the Romans could scarce either see or speak for the clouds of it. Besides, the latter were drawn up in so small a compass, and pressed so close upon each other, that they were a very fair mark for the enemy.—Their death, too, was lingering: they rolled about in agonies of pain, with the arrows sticking in them, and, before they died, endeavoured to pull out the barbed points which were entangled within their veins and sinews; an effort that served only to enlarge their wounds, and add to their torture.

Many died in this miserable manner, and those who survived were not fit for action. When Publius‡ desired them to attack the heavy-armed cavalry, they showed him their hands nailed to their shields, and their feet fastened to the ground, so that they could neither fight nor fly. He therefore encouraged his cavalry, and advanced with great vigour to the charge. But the dispute was by no means

* It was their common method not to stand a pitched battle with troops that were in any degree their match. In retreating and advancing, as occasion required, they knew the advantage they had in the swiftness of their horses, and in the excellence of their archers.

† It is not easy to say what the Roman name Magabacchus could be the corruption of. Xylander tells us he found in an old translation *Cnei. Plancus*. Probably that translator might have the authority of some manuscript.

‡ Young Crassus.

upon an equality, either in respect of attack or defence: for his men had only weak and short javelins to attempt the Parthian cuirasses which were made either of raw hides or steel; while the enemy's strong pikes could easily make an impression upon the naked or light-armed Gauls. These were the troops in which he placed his chief confidence, and indeed he worked wonders with them. They laid hold on the pikes of the barbarians, and, grappling with them, pulled them from their horses, and threw them on the ground, where they could scarce stir, by reason of the weight of their armour. Many of them even quitted their own horses, and getting under those of the Parthians, wounded them in the belly; upon which the horses, mad with pain, plunged, and threw their riders, and treading them under foot along with the enemy, at last fell down dead upon both. What went hardest against the Gauls was heat and thirst, for they had not been accustomed to either. And they had lost most of their horses by advancing furiously against the enemy's pikes.

They had now no resource but to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Crassus, who was much wounded. But happening to see a hill of sand by the way, they retired to it; and having placed their horses in the middle, they locked their shields together all around, imagining that would prove the best defence against the barbarians. It happened, however, quite otherwise. While they were upon plain ground, the foremost ranks afforded some shelter to those behind; but upon an eminence, the unevenness of the ground showed one above another, and those behind higher than those before, so that there was no chance for any of them to escape: they fell promiscuously, lamenting their inglorious fate, and the impossibility of exerting themselves to the last.

Young Crassus had with him two Greeks, named Hieronymus and Nicomachus, who had settled in that country in the town of Carræ. These advised him to retire with them, and to make his escape to Ischnæ, a city which had adopted the Roman interests, and was at no great distance. But he answered, "There was no death, however dreadful, the fear of which could make him leave so many brave men dying for his sake." At the same time he desired them to save themselves, and then embraced and dismissed them. As his own hand was transfixed with an arrow, and he could not use it, he offered his side to his armour-bearer, and ordered him to strike the blow. Censorinus is said to have died in the same manner. As for Megabacchus, he despatched himself with his own hand, and the other principal officers followed his example. The rest fell by the Parthian pikes, after they had defended themselves gallantly to the last. The enemy did not make above five hundred prisoners.

When they had cut off the head of young Crassus, they marched with it to his father, whose affairs were in this posture: after he had ordered his son to charge the Parthians, news was brought him that they fled with great precipitation, and that the Romans pursued them with equal vivacity. He perceived also, that on his side the enemy's operations were comparatively feeble; for the greatest part of them were gone after his son. Hereupon he recovered his spirits in some degree, and drew his forces back to some higher ground, expecting every moment his son's return from the pursuit.

Publius had sent several messengers to inform him of his danger; but the first had fallen in with the barbarians, and were cut in pieces; and the last having escaped with great difficulty, told him his son was lost, if he had not large and immediate succours. Crassus was so distracted by different passions, that he could not form any rational scheme. On the one hand, he was afraid of sacrificing the whole army, and on the other, anxious for the preservation of his son; but at last he resolved to march to his assistance.

Meantime the enemy advanced with loud shouts and songs of victory, which made them appear more terrible; and all the drums bellowing again in the ears of the Romans, gave the notice of another engagement. The Parthians coming forward with the head of Publius upon a spear, demanded, in the most contemptuous manner, whether they knew the family and parents of the young man!— "For," said they, "it is not possible that so brave and gallant a youth should be the son of Crassus, the greatest dastard and the meanest wretch in the world."

This spectacle broke the spirits of the Romans more than all the calamities they had met with. Instead of exciting them to revenge, as might have been expected, it produced a horror and tremor which ran through the whole army. Nevertheless, Crassus, on this melancholy occasion, behaved with greater magnanimity than he had ever shown before. He marched up and down the ranks, and cried, "Romans, this loss is mine. The fortunes and glory of Rome stand safe and undiminished in you. If you have any pity for me, who am bereaved of the best of sons, show it in your resentment against the enemy. Put an end to their triumph: avenge their cruelty. Be not astonished at this loss; they must always have something to suffer who aspire to great things. Lucullus did not pull down Tigranes, nor Scipio Antiochus, without some expense of blood. Our ancestors lost a thousand ships before they reduced Sicily, and many great officers and generals in Italy; but no previous loss prevented their subduing the conquerors: for it was not by her good fortune, but

by the perseverance and fortitude with which she combated adversity, that Rome has risen to her present height of power."

Crassus, though he thus endeavoured to animate his troops, did not find many to listen to him with pleasure. He was sensible their depression still continued, when he ordered them to shout for the battle: for their shout was feeble, languid, and unequal, while that of the barbarians was bold and strong. When the attack began, the light-armed cavalry taking the Romans in flank, galled them with their arrows; while the heavy-armed, charging them in front with their pikes, drove them into a narrow space. Some, indeed, to avoid a more painful death from the arrows, advanced with the resolution of despair, but did not do much execution; all the advantage they had was, that they were speedily despatched by the large wounds they received from the broad heads of the enemy's strong pikes, which they pushed with such violence, that they often pierced through two men at once*.

The fight continued in this manner all day; and when the barbarians came to retire, they said, "They would give Crassus one night to bewail his son; if he did not, in the mean time, consider better, and rather choose to go and surrender himself to Arsaces, than be carried." Then they sat down near the Roman army, and passed the night in great satisfaction, hoping to finish the affair the next day.

It was a melancholy and dreadful night to the Romans. They took no care to bury the dead, nor any notice of the wounded, many of whom were expiring in great agonies. Every man had his own fate to deplore. That fate appeared inevitable, whether they remained where they were, or threw themselves in the night into that boundless plain. They found a great objection, too, against retiring, in the wounded, who would retard their flight, if they attempted to carry them off, and alarm the enemy with their cries, if they were left behind.

As for Crassus, though they believed him the cause of all their miseries, they wanted him to make his appearance and speak to them; but he had covered his head, chosen darkness for his companion, and stretched himself upon the ground; a sad example to the vulgar, of the instability of fortune; and, to men of deeper thought, of the effects of rashness and ill-placed ambition. Not contented with being the first and greatest among many millions of men, he had considered himself in a mean light, because there were two above him.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Cassius, endeavoured to

* There is nothing incredible in this, for it is frequently done by the Tartars in the same mode of fighting at this day.

raise him from the ground and console him, but found that he gave himself entirely up to despair. They then, by their own authority, summoned the centurions and other officers to a council of war, in which it was resolved that they should retire. Accordingly they began to do so without sound of trumpet, and silently enough at first: but when the sick and wounded perceived that they were going to be deserted, their doleful cries and lamentations filled the whole army with confusion and disorder. Still greater terror seized them as they proceeded, the foremost troops imagining that those behind were enemies: they often missed their way, often stopped to put themselves in some order, or to take some of the wounded off the beasts of burden, and put others on. By these things they lost a great deal of time; insomuch that Ignatius only, who made the best of his way with three hundred horse, arrived at Carræ about midnight. He saluted the guards in Latin, and when he perceived they heard him, he bid them go and tell Coponius, who commanded there, that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians. Then, without explaining himself farther, or acquainting them who he was, he made off as fast as possible to Zeugma; by which means he saved himself and his troop; but, at the same time, was much blamed for deserting his general.

However, Crassus found his advantage in the hint given to Coponius. That officer, considering that the hurry and confusion with which the message was delivered betokened no good, ordered his men to arm; and as soon as he was apprised that Crassus was marching that way, he went out to meet him, and conducted his army into the town.

Though the Parthians in the night perceived the flight of the Romans, they did not pursue them; but at break of day they fell upon those that were left in the camp, and despatched them, to the number of four thousand. The cavalry also picked up many others who were straggling upon the plain. One of the Roman officers, named Varguntinus, who had wandered in the night from the main body with four cohorts, was found next morning posted upon a hill. The barbarians surrounded the little corps, and killed them all, except twenty men. These made their way through the enemy sword in hand, who let them pass, and they arrived safe at Carræ.

A rumour was now brought to Surena, that Crassus, with the best of his officers and troops, had escaped, and that those who had retired into Carræ were only a mixed multitude, not worth his notice. He was afraid, therefore, that he had lost the fruits of his victory; but not being absolutely certain, he wanted better information, in order to determine whether he should besiege Carræ or pur-

sue Crassus, wherever he might have fled: for this purpose he despatched an interpreter to the walls, who was to call Crassus or Cassius in Latin, and tell them that Surena demanded a conference. As soon as the business of the interpreter was made known to Crassus, he accepted the proposal. And, not long after, certain Arabians arrived from the same quarter, who knew Crassus and Cassius well, having been in the Roman camp before the battle. These seeing Cassius upon the walls, told him, "Surena was ready to conclude a peace with them, on condition they would be upon terms of friendship with the king his master, and give up Mesopotamia: for he thought this more advantageous to both than coming to extremities." Cassius embraced the overture, and demanded that the time and place might be fixed for an interview between Surena and Crassus; which the Arabians undertook for, and then rode off.

Surena, delighted to find that the Romans were in a place where they might be besieged, led his Parthians against them the next day. These barbarians treated them with great insolence, and told them, if they wanted either peace or truce, they might deliver up Crassus and Cassius bound. The Romans, greatly afflicted at finding themselves so imposed upon, told Crassus he must give up his distant and vain hopes of succour from the Armenians, and resolve upon flight. This resolution ought to have been concealed from all the inhabitants of Carræ till the moment it was put in execution: but Crassus revealed it to Andromachus, one of the most perfidious amongst them, whom he also chose for his guide. From this traitor the Parthians learned every step that was taken.

As it was not their custom, nor consequently very practicable for them to fight in the night, and it was in the night that Crassus marched out, Andromachus contrived that they might not be far behind. With this view he artfully led the Romans sometimes one way, sometimes another, and at last entangled them among deep marshes and ditches, where it was difficult to get either forward or backward. There were several who conjectured, from this shifting and turning, that Andromachus had some evil design, and therefore refused to follow him any farther. As for Cassius, he returned to Carræ; and when his guides, who were Arabians, advised him to wait till the moon had passed the Scorpion, he answered, "I am more afraid of the Sagittary*." Then making the best of his way, he got into Assyria with five hundred horse. Others, finding faithful guides, reached the mountains of Sinnaca, and were perfectly secure, before it was light. These, about five thousand in number, were under the conduct of Octavius, a man of great merit and honour.

* Alluding to the Parthian archers.

Meantime day overtook Crassus, while, through the treachery of Andromachus, he was wandering in bogs and other impracticable ground. He had with him only four cohorts of infantry, a very small number of horse, and five lictors. At length he regained the road with much labour and difficulty, but by this time the enemy was coming up. He was not above twelve furlongs behind the corps under Octavius.—However, as he could not join him, all he could do was to retire to a hill, not so secure against cavalry as Sinnaca, but situated under those mountains, and connected with them by a long ridge which ran through the plain. Octavius, therefore, could see the danger Crassus was in, and he immediately ran down with a small band to his assistance. Upon this, the rest, reproaching themselves for staying behind, descended from the heights, and falling upon the Parthians, drove them from the hill. Then they took Crassus in the midst of them, and fencing him with their shields, boldly declared, that no Parthian arrow should touch their general, while any of them were left alive.

Surena now perceiving that the Parthians were less vigorous in their attacks, and that if night came on, and the Romans gained the mountains, they would be entirely out of his reach, formed a stratagem to get Crassus into his hands. He dismissed some of his prisoners, after they had heard the conversation of the Parthian soldiers, who had been instructed to say, that the king did not want perpetual war with the Romans, but had rather renew the friendship and alliance by his generous treatment of Crassus. After this manœuvre, the barbarians withdrew from the combat, and Surena, with a few of his principal officers, advancing gently to the hill, where he unstrung his bow, and, offering his hand, invited Crassus to an agreement. He said, "The king had hitherto, contrary to his inclinations, given prooofs of his power, but now he would with pleasure show his moderation and clemency, in coming to terms with the Romans, and suffering them to depart in peace."

The troops received this proposal of Surena with joy: but Crassus, whose errors had all been owing to the Parthian treachery and deceit, and thought this sudden change in their behaviour a very suspicious circumstance, did not accept the overture, but stood deliberating. Hereupon the soldiers raised a great outcry, and bade him go down. Then they proceeded to insults and reproaches, telling him, "He was very willing to expose them to the weapons of the Parthians, but did not dare to meet them himself, when they had laid down their arms, and wanted only a friendly conference."

At first he had recourse to entreaties, and represented, that if they would but hold out the remainder of the day, they might in the

night gain the mountains and rocks, which would be inaccessible to cavalry. At the same time he pointed to the way, and begged of them not to forego the hopes of safety, when they had it so near: but when he found they received his address with anger, and clashing their arms in a menacing manner, he was terrified, and began to go; only turning round a moment to speak these few words: "You Octavius, and you Petronius, and all you Roman officers that are present, are witnesses of the necessity I am under to take this step, and conscious of the dishonour and violence I suffer. But, when you are safe, pray tell the world that I was deceived by the enemy, and not that I was abandoned by my countrymen."

However, Octavius and Petronius would not stay behind; they descended the hill with him. His lictors, too, would have followed, but he sent them back. The first persons that met him, on the part of the barbarians, were two Greeks of the half breed. They dismounted, and made Crassus a low reverence, and addressing him in Greek, desired he would send some of his people to see that Surena and his company came unarmed, and without any weapons concealed about them. Crassus answered, "That if his life had been of any account with him, he should not have trusted himself in their hands." Nevertheless, he sent two brothers of the name of Roscius before him to inquire upon what footing, and how many of each side were to meet. Surena detained those messengers, and advanced in person, with his principal officers on horseback. "What is this," said he, "I behold? A Roman general on foot, when we are on horseback!" Then he ordered a horse to be brought for him. But Crassus answered, "There was no error on either side, since each came to treat after the manner of his country." "Then," said Surena, "from this moment there shall be peace and an alliance between Orodes and the Romans; but the treaty must be signed upon the banks of the Euphrates; for you Romans remember your agreements very ill." Then he offered him his hand; and when Crassus would have sent for a horse, he told him, "There was no need; the king would supply him with one." At the same time a horse was brought, with furniture of gold, and the equerries having mounted, Crassus began to drive him forward. Octavius then laid hold on the bridle; in which he was followed by Petronius, a legionary tribune. Afterwards the rest of the Romans who attended endeavoured to stop the horse, and to draw off those who pressed upon Crassus on each side. A scuffle and tumult ensued, which ended in blows. Thereupon Octavius drew his sword, and killed one of the Parthian grooms; and another coming behind Octavius despatched him. Petronius, who had no arms to defend him, received a stroke on

his breast-plate, but leaped from his horse unwounded. Crassus was killed by a Parthian named Pomaxæthres*; though some say another despatched him, and Pomaxæthres cut off his head and right hand. Indeed, all these circumstances must be rather from conjecture than knowledge: for part of those who attended were slain in attempting to defend Crassus, and the rest had run up the hill on the first alarm.

After this, the Parthians went and addressed themselves to the troops at the top. They told them, Crassus had met with the reward his injustice deserved; but as for them, Surena desired they would come down boldly, for they had nothing to fear. Upon this promise some went down and surrendered themselves.—Others attempted to get off in the night; but very few of those escaped. The rest were hunted by the Arabians, and either taken or put to the sword. It is said, that in all there were twenty thousand killed, and ten thousand made prisoners.

Surena sent the head and hand to Orodes in Armenia; notwithstanding which he ordered his messengers to give it out at Seleucia that he was bringing Crassus alive. Pursuant to this report, he prepared a kind of mock procession, which, by way of ridicule, he called triumph. Caius Pacianus, who of all the prisoners most resembled Crassus, was dressed in a rich robe in the Parthian fashion, and instructed to answer to the name of Crassus, and title of general. Thus accoutred, he marched on horseback at the head of the Romans. Before him marched the trumpets and lictors, mounted upon camels. Upon the rods were suspended empty purses, and, on the axes, heads of the Romans newly cut off. Behind came the Seleucian courtesans with music, singing scurrilous and farcical songs upon the effeminacy and cowardice of Crassus.

These things were to amuse the populace: but, after the farce was over, Surena assembled the senate of Seleucia, and produced the obscene books of Aristides, called *Milesiacs*. Nor was this a groundless invention to blacken the Romans: for the books being really found in the baggage of Rustius†, gave Surena an excellent opportunity to say many sharp and satirical things of the Romans, who, even in the time of war, could not refrain from such libidinous actions and abominable books.

This scene put the Seleucians in mind of the wise remark of Æsop. They saw Surena had put the Milesian obscenities in the fore part of the wallet, and behind they beheld a Parthian sybaris‡, with a

* Appian calls him Maxæthres, and in some copies of Plutarch he is called Axathres.

† One of the Bodleian manuscripts has it Roscius.

‡ Sybaris was a town in Lucania, famous for its luxury and effeminacy.

long train of carriages full of harlots; insomuch that his army resembled the serpents *scytalæ*. Fierce and formidable in its head, it presented nothing but pikes, artillery, and war-horses; while the tail ridiculously enough exhibited prostitutes, musical instruments, and nights spent in singing and riot with those women. Rustius undoubtedly was to blame; but it was an impudent thing in the Parthians to censure the *Milesiacs*, when many of the Arsacidæ who filled the throne were sons of Milesian or Ionian courtesans.

During these transactions, Orodes was reconciled to Artavasdes the Armenian, and had agreed to a marriage between that prince's sister and his son Pacorus. On this occasion they freely went to each others entertainments, in which many of the Greek tragedies were presented: for Orodes was not unversed in the Grecian literature; and Artavasdes had written tragedies himself, as well as orations and histories, some of which are still extant. In one of these entertainments, while they were yet at table, the head of Crassus was brought to the door. Jason, a tragedian of the city of Tralles, was rehearsing the Bacchæ of Euripides, and the tragical adventures of Pentheus and Agave. All the company were expressing their admiration of the pieces, when Sillaces, entering the apartment, prostrated himself before the king, and laid the head of Crassus at his feet. The Parthians welcomed it with acclamations of joy, and the attendants, by the king's order, placed Sillaces at the table. Hereupon Jason gave one of the actors the habit of Pentheus, in which he had appeared, and putting on that of Agave, with the frantic air, and all the enthusiasm of a Bacchanal, sung that part where Agave presents the head of Pentheus upon her thyrsus, fancying it to be that of a young lion—

> Well are our toils repaid: On yonder mountain
> We pierc'd the lordly savage.

Finding the company extremely delighted, he went on—

> The *Chorus* asks, "Who gave the glorious blow?"
> *Agave* answers, "Mine, mine is the prize."

Pomaxæthres, who was sitting at the table, upon hearing this, started up, and would have taken the head from Jason, insisting that that part belonged to him, and not to the actor. The king, highly diverted, made Pomaxæthres the presents usual on such occasions, and rewarded Jason with a talent. The expedition of Crassus was a real tragedy, and such was the *exodium**, or farce after it.

* Exodium, in its original sense, signified the unravelling of the plot, the catastrophe of a tragedy; and it retained that sense among the Greeks. But when the Romans began to act their light satirical pieces (of which they had always been very fond) after their tragedies, they applied the term to those pieces.

However, the Divine Justice punished Orodes for his cruelty, and Surena for his perjury. Orodes, envying the glory Surena had acquired, put him to death soon after. And that prince, having lost his son Pacorus in a battle with the Romans, fell into a languishing disorder, which turned to a dropsy. His second son, Phraates, took the opportunity to give him aconite; but finding the poison worked only upon the watery humour, and was carrying off the disease with it, he took a shorter method, and strangled him with his own hands*.

NICIAS AND CRASSUS COMPARED.

ONE of the first things that occurs in this comparison is, that Nicias gained his wealth in a less exceptionable manner than Crassus. The working of mines, indeed, does not seem very suitable to a man of Nicias's character, where the persons employed are commonly malefactors or barbarians, some of which work in fetters, till the damps and unwholesome air put an end to their being. But it is comparatively an honourable pursuit, when put in parallel with getting an estate by the confiscations of Sylla, or by buying houses in the midst of fires. Yet Crassus dealt as openly in these things as

* There have been more execrable characters, but there is not perhaps, in the history of mankind, one more contemptible than that of Crassus. His ruling passion was the most sordid lust of wealth, and the whole of his conduct, political, popular, and military, was subservient to this. If at any time he gave into public munificence, it was with him no more than a species of commerce. By thus treating the people, he was laying out his money in the purchase of provinces. When Syria fell to his lot, the transports he discovered sprung not from the great ambition of carrying the Roman eagles over the east: they were nothing more than the joy of a miser, when he stumbles upon a hidden treasure. Dazzled with the prospect of barbarian gold, he grasped with eagerness a command for which he had no adequate capacity. We find him embarrassed by the slightest difficulties in his military operations, and, when his obstinacy would permit him, taking his measures from the advice of his lieutenants. We look with indignation on the Roman squadrons standing, by his dispositions, as a mark for the Parthian archers, and incapable of acting either on the offensive or the defensive. The Romans could not be ignorant of the Parthian method of attacking and retreating, when they had before spent so much time in Armenia. The fame of their cavalry could not be unknown in a country where it was so much dreaded. It was, therefore, the first business of the Roman general to avoid those countries which might give them any advantage in the equestrian action. But the hot scent of eastern treasure made him a dupe even to the policy of the barbarians; and, to arrive at this the nearest way, he sacrificed the lives of thirty thousand Romans.

he did in agriculture and usury. As to the other matters which he was censured for, and which he denied, namely, his making money of his vote in the senate, his extorting it from the allies, his overreaching silly women by flattery, and his undertaking the defence of bad men; nothing like these things was ever imputed by Slander herself to Nicias. As to his wasting his money upon those who made a trade of impeachments, to prevent their doing him any harm, it was a circumstance which exposed him to ridicule, and unworthy, perhaps, of the characters of Pericles and Aristides, but necessary for him, who had a timidity in his nature. It was a thing which Lycurgus, the orator, afterwards made a merit of to the people: when censured for having bought off one of these trading informers, "I rejoice," said he, "that, after being so long employed in the administration, I am discovered to have given money, and not taken it."

As to their expenses, Nicias appears to have been more public-spirited in his. His offerings to the gods, and the games and tragedies with which he entertained the people, were so many proofs of noble and generous sentiments. It is true, all that Nicias laid out in this manner, and, indeed, his whole estate, amounted only to a small part of what Crassus expended at once in entertaining so many myriads of men, and supplying them with bread afterwards. But it would be very strange to me, if there should be any one who does not perceive that this vice is nothing but an inequality and inconsistency of character; particularly when he sees men laying out that money in an honourable manner which they have got dishonourably. So much with regard to their riches.

If we consider their behaviour in the administration, we shall not find in Nicias any instance of cunning, injustice, violence, or effrontery: on the contrary, he suffered Alcibiades to impose upon him, and he was modest, or rather timid, in his applications to the people. Whereas Crassus, in turning from his friends to his enemies, and back again, if his interest required it, is justly accused of an illiberal duplicity. Nor could he deny that he used violence to attain the consulship, when he hired ruffians to lay their hands upon Cato and Domitius. In the assembly that was held for the allotment of the provinces, many were wounded, and four citizens killed; nay, Crassus himself struck a senator, named Lucius Annalius, who opposed his measures, upon the face with his fist (a circumstance which escaped us in his life), and drove him out of the *forum* covered with blood.

But if Crassus was too violent and tyrannical in his proceedings, Nicias was as much too timid. His poltroonery and mean submission

to the most abandoned persons in the state deserves the greatest reproach. Besides, Crassus showed some magnanimity and dignity of sentiment in contending, not with such wretches as Cleon and Hyperbolus, but with the glory of Cæsar, and the three triumphs of Pompey. In fact, he maintained the dispute well with them for power, and in the high honour of the censorship he was even beyond Pompey: for he who wants to stand at the helm should not consider what may expose him to envy, but what is great and glorious, and may by its lustre force envy to sneak behind. But if security and repose are to be consulted above all things, if you are afraid of Alcibiades upon the *rostrum*, of the Lacedæmonians at Pylos, and of Perdiccas in Thrace, then surely, Nicias, Athens is wide enough to afford you a corner to retire to, where you may weave yourself the soft crown of tranquillity, as some of the philosophers express it. The love Nicias had for peace was, indeed, a divine attachment, and his endeavours, during his whole administration, to put an end to the war, were worthy of the Grecian humanity. This alone places him in so honourable a light, that Crassus could not have been compared with him, though he had made the Caspian Sea or the Indian Ocean the boundary of the Roman empire.

Nevertheless, in a commonwealth which retains any sentiments of virtue, he who has the lead should not give place for a moment to persons of no principle; he should intrust no charge with those who want capacity, nor place any confidence in those who want honour. And Nicias certainly did this in raising Cleon to the command of the army; a man who had nothing to recommend him but his impudence and his bawling in the *rostrum*. On the other hand, I do not commend Crassus for advancing to action in the war with Spartacus, with more expedition than prudence; though his ambition had this excuse, that he was afraid Pompey would come and snatch his laurels from him, as Mummius had done from Metellus at Corinth. But the conduct of Nicias was very absurd and mean-spirited: he would not give up to his enemy the honour and trust of commander in chief, while he could execute that charge with ease, and had good hopes of success; but as soon as he saw it attended with great danger, he was willing to secure himself, though he exposed the public by it. It was not thus Themistocles behaved in the Persian war. To prevent the advancement of a man to the command who had neither capacity nor principle, which he knew must have been the ruin of his country, he prevailed with him, by a sum of money, to give up his pretensions. And Cato stood for the tribuneship, when he saw it would involve him in the greatest trouble and danger. On the contrary, Nicias was willing enough to be general, when he had only

to go against Minoa, Cythera, or the poor Melians; but if there was occasion to fight with the Lacedæmonians, he put off his armour, and intrusted the ships, the men, the warlike stores, in short, the entire direction of a war which required the most consummate prudence and experience, to the ignorance and rashness of Cleon, in which he was not only unjust to himself and his own honour, but to the welfare and safety of his country. This made the Athenians send him afterwards, contrary to his inclination, against Syracuse. They thought it was not a conviction of the improbability of success, but a regard to his own ease, and a want of spirit, which made him willing to deprive them of the conquest of Sicily.

There is, however, this great proof of his integrity, that though he was perpetually against war, and always declined the command, yet they failed not to appoint him to it, as the ablest and best general they had. But Crassus, though he was for ever aiming at such a charge, never gained one, except in the war with the gladiators; and that only because Pompey, Metellus, and both the Lucullus's, were absent. This is the more remarkable, because Crassus was arrived at a high degree of authority and power. But, it seems, his best friends thought him (as the comic poet expresses it)

In all trades skill'd, except the trade of war.

However, this knowledge of his talents availed the Romans but little; his ambition never let them rest till they assigned him a province. The Athenians employed Nicias against his inclination; and it was against the inclination of the Romans that Crassus led them out. Crassus involved his country in misfortunes; but the misfortunes of Nicias were owing to his country.

Nevertheless, in this respect, it is easier to commend Nicias than to blame Crassus. The capacity and skill of the former, as a general, kept him from being drawn away with the vain hopes of his countrymen, and he declared from the first that Sicily could not be conquered: the latter called out the Romans to the Parthian war, as an easy undertaking. In this he found himself sadly deceived; yet his aim was great. While Cæsar was subduing the west, the Gauls, the Germans, and Britain, he attempted to penetrate to the Indian Ocean on the east, and to conquer all Asia: things which Pompey and Lucullus would have effected, if they had been able. But though they were both engaged in the same designs, and made the same attempts with Crassus, their characters stood unimpeached, both as to moderation and probity. If Crassus was opposed by one of the tribunes in his Parthian expedition, Pompey was opposed by the senate, when he got Asia for his province. And when Cæsar had routed three hundred thousand Germans, Cato voted that he should be given

up to that injured people, to atone for the violation of the peace: but the Roman people, paying no regard to Cato, ordered a thanksgiving to the gods for fifteen days, and thought themselves happy in the advantage gained. In what raptures, then, would they have been, and for how many days would they have offered sacrifices, if Crassus could have sent them an account from Babylon that he was victorious; and if he had proceeded from thence through Media, Persia, Hyrcania, Susa, and Bactria, and reduced them to the form of Roman provinces? For, according to Euripides, if justice must be violated, and men cannot sit down quiet and contented with their present possessions, it should not be for taking the small town of Scandia, or razing such a castle as Mende; nor yet for going in chace of the fugitive Æginetæ, who, like birds, have retired to another country: the price of injustice should be high; so sacred a thing as right should not be invaded for a trifling consideration, for that would be treating it with contempt indeed. In fact, they who commend Alexander's expedition, and decry that of Crassus, judge of actions only by the event.

As to their military performances, several of Nicias's are very considerable. He gained many battles, and was very near taking Syracuse. Nor were all his miscarriages so many errors; but they were to be imputed partly to his ill health, and partly to the envy of his countrymen at home. On the other hand, Crassus committed so many errors, that Fortune had no opportunity to show him any favour; wherefore we need not so much wonder that the Parthian power got the better of his incapacity, as that his incapacity prevailed over the good fortune of Rome.

As one of them paid the greatest attention to divination, and the other entirely disregarded it, and yet both perished alike, it is hard to say whether the observation of omens is a salutary thing or not. Nevertheless, to err on the side of religion, out of regard to ancient and received opinions, is a more pardonable thing than to err through obstinacy and presumption.

Crassus, however, was not so reproachable in his exit: he did not surrender himself, or submit to be bound, nor was he deluded with vain hopes; but, in yielding to the instances of his friends, he met his fate, and fell a victim to the perfidy and injustice of the barbarians: whereas Nicias, from a mean and unmanly fondness for life, put himself in the enemy's hands, by which means he came to a baser and more dishonourable end.

SERTORIUS.

IT is not at all astonishing that Fortune, in the variety of her motions through a course of numberless ages, happens often to hit upon the same point, and to produce events perfectly similar: for if the number of events be infinite, Fortune may easily furnish herself with parallels in such abundance of matter: if their number be limited, there must necessarily be a return of the same occurrences, when the whole is run through.

Some there are who take a pleasure in collecting those accidents and adventures they have met with in history or conversation, which have such a characteristical likeness as to appear the effects of reason and foresight. For example, there were two eminent persons of the name of Artis*; the one a Syrian, the other an Arcadian, who were both killed by a boar. There were two Acteons, one of which was torn in pieces by his dogs, and the other by his lovers†. Of the two Scipios, one conquered Carthage, and the other demolished it. Troy was taken three times; the first time by Hercules, on account of Laomedon's horses; the second time by Agamemnon, through means of the wooden horse‡; the third by Charidemus, a horse happening to stand in the way, and hindering the Trojans from shutting the gates so quickly as they should have done. There are two cities that bear the names of the most odoriferous plants, *Ios*§ and *Smyrna*, *Violet* and *Myrrh*; and Homer is said to have been born in the one, and to have died in the other. To these instances we may add, that some of the generals who have been the greatest warriors, and have exerted their capacity for stratagem in the most successful manner, have had but one eye; I mean Philip, Antigonus,

* Pausanias, in his Achaics, mentions one Attis or Attes, the son of Calaus the Phrygian, who introduced the worship of the mother of the gods among the Lydians. He was himself under a natural incapacity of having children, and therefore he might possibly be the first who proposed that all the priests of that goddess should be eunuchs. Pausanias adds, that Jupiter, displeased at his being so great a favourite with her, sent a boar, which ravaged the fields, and slew Attis, as well as many of the Lydians. We know nothing of any other Attis.

† Acteon, the son of Aristæus, was torn in pieces by his own dogs; and Acteon, the son of Melissus, by the Bacchiadæ. See the Scholiast upon *Apollonius*, book iv.

‡ These are all wooden instances of events, being under the guidance of an intelligent being. Nay, they are such puerilities as Timæus himself scarce ever gave into.

§ Some suppose Ios to have been an island rather than a town. But if it was an island, there might be a town in it of the same name, which was often the case in the Greek islands.

Hannibal, and Sertorius, whose life we are now going to write; a man whose conduct with respect to women was preferable to that of Philip; who was more faithful to his friends than Antigonus, and more humane to his enemies than Hannibal. But, though he was inferior to none of them in capacity, he fell short of them all in success. Fortune, indeed, was ever more cruel to him than his most inveterate and avowed enemies; yet he showed himself a match for Metellus in experience, for Pompey in noble daring, for Sylla in his victories, nay, for the whole Roman people in power; and was all the while an exile and a sojourner among barbarians.

The Grecian general who, we think, most resembles him, is Eumenes of Cardia*. Both of them excelled in point of generalship; in all the art of stratagem, as well as courage. Both were banished their own countries, and commanded armies in others; and both had to contend with Fortune, who persecuted them so violently, that at last they were assassinated through the treachery of those very persons whom they had often led to victory.

Quintus Sertorius was of a respectable family in the town of Nursia, and country of the Sabines. Having lost his father when a child, he had a liberal education given him by his mother, whom, on that account, he always loved with the greatest tenderness. Her name was Rhea. He was sufficiently qualified to speak in a court of justice; and by his abilities that way gained some interest, when but a youth, in Rome itself: but his greater talents for the camp, and his success as a soldier, turned his ambition into that channel.

He made his first campaign under Cæpio†, when the Cimbri and Teutones broke into Gaul. The Romans fought a battle, in which their behaviour was but indifferent, and they were put to the rout. On this occasion Sertorius lost his horse, and received many wounds himself; yet he swam the river Rhone, armed as he was with his breastplate and shield, in spite of the violence of the torrent: such was his strength of body, and so much had he improved that strength by exercise.

The same enemy came on a second time with such prodigious numbers, and such dreadful menaces, that it was difficult to prevail with a Roman to keep his post, or to obey his general. Marius had then the command, and Sertorius offered his service to go as a spy, and bring him an account of the enemy. For this purpose, he took

* In the Thracian Chersonesus.

† In the printed text it is *Scipio;* but two manuscripts give us *Cæpio.* And it certainly was Q. Servilius Cæpio who, with the consul Cn. Mallius, was defeated by the Cimbri, in the fourth year of the hundred and sixty-eighth Olympiad, a hundred and three years before the Christian era.*

a Gaulish habit, and having learned as much of the language as might suffice for common address, he mingled with the barbarians. When he had seen and heard enough to let him into the measures they were taking, he returned to Marius, who honoured him with the established rewards of valour; and, during that whole war, he gave such proofs of his courage and capacity as raised him to distinction, and perfectly gained him the confidence of his general.

After the war with the Cimbri and Teutones, he was sent as a legionary tribune, under Didius, into Spain, and took up his winter-quarters in Castulo*, a city of the Celtiberians. The soldiers, living in great plenty, behaved in an insolent and disorderly manner, and commonly drank to intoxication. The barbarians, seeing this, held them in contempt; and one night, having got assistance from their neighbours the Gyriscœnians †, they entered the houses where they were quartered, and put them to the sword. Sertorius, with a few more, having found means to escape, sallied out, and collected all that he had got out of the hands of the barbarians. Then he marched round the town, and finding the gate open at which the Gyriscœnians had been privately admitted, he entered, but took care not to commit the same error they had done. He placed a guard there, made himself master of all the quarters of the town, and slew all the inhabitants who were able to bear arms. After this execution, he ordered his soldiers to lay aside their own arms and clothes, and take those of the barbarians, and to follow him in that form to the city of the Gyriscœnians. The people, deceived by the suits of armour and habits they were acquainted with, opened their gates, and sallied forth in expectation of meeting their friends and fellow-citizens in all the joy of success: the consequence of which was, that the greatest part of them were cut in pieces at the gates; the rest surrendered, and were sold as slaves.

By this manœuvre, the name of Sertorius became famous in Spain, and, upon his return to Rome, he was appointed quæstor in Cisalpine Gaul. That appointment was a very seasonable one; for the Marian war soon breaking out, and Sertorius being employed to levy troops and to provide arms, he proceeded in that commission with such expedition and activity, that, while effeminacy and supineness was spreading among the rest of the Roman youth, he was considered as a man of spirit and enterprise.

Nor did his martial intrepidity abate, when he arrived at the degree of general. His personal exploits were still great, and he faced

* A town of New Castile, on the confines of Andalusia.

† The Gyriscœnians being a people whom we know nothing of, it has been conjectured that we should read *Orisians*. The Orisians were of that district.—See *Cellarius*.

danger in the most fearless manner; in consequence of which he had one of his eyes struck out. This, however, he always gloried in. He said, others did not always carry about with them the honourable badges of their valour, but sometimes laid aside their chains, their truncheons, and coronets; while he had perpetually the evidences of his bravery about him, and those who saw his misfortune at the same time beheld his courage. The people, too, treated him with the highest respect: when he entered the theatre, they received him with the loudest plaudits and acclamations: an honour which officers distinguished for their age and achievements did not easily obtain.

Yet when he stood for the office of tribune of the people, he lost it through the opposition of Sylla's faction; which was the chief cause of his perpetual enmity against Sylla. When Marius was overpowered by Sylla, and fled for his life, and Sylla was going to carry on the war against Mithridates, Octavius, one of the consuls, remained in Sylla's interest; but Cinna, the other consul, whose temper was restless and seditious, endeavoured to revive the sinking faction of Marius. Sertorius joined the latter; the rather because he perceived that Octavius did not act with vigour, and that he distrusted the friends of Marius.

Some time after, a great battle was fought by the consuls in the *forum*, in which Octavius was victorious, and Cinna and Sertorius, having lost not much less than ten thousand men, were forced to fly. But as there was a number of troops scattered up and down in Italy, they gained them by promises, and with that addition found themselves able to make head against Octavius again. At the same time Marius arrived from Africa, and offered to range himself under the banners of Cinna, as a private man under the consul. The officers were of opinion that they ought to receive him; only Sertorius opposed it. Whether it was that he thought Cinna would not pay so much attention to him, when he had a man of so much greater name as a general in his army; or whether he feared the cruelty of Marius would throw all their affairs into confusion again, as he indulged his resentments without any regard to justice or moderation, whenever he had the advantage; he remonstrated, that as they were already superior to the enemy, they had not much left to do; but if they admitted Marius among them, he would rob them of all the honour and the power at the same time, for he could not endure an associate in command, and was treacherous in every thing where his own interest was concerned.

Cinna answered, that the sentiments of Sertorius were perfectly right, but that he was ashamed, and indeed knew not how to reject

Marius, when he had invited him to take a part in the direction of affairs. Sertorius replied, "I imagined that Marius had come of his own accord into Italy, and pointed out to you what in that case was most expedient for you to do: but, as he came upon your invitation, you should not have deliberated* a moment whether he was to be admitted or not. You should have received him immediately. True honour leaves no room for doubt and hesitation."

Cinna then sent for Marius; and the forces being divided into three parts, each of these three great officers had a command. When the war was over, Cinna and Marius gave into every manner of insolence and cruelty. Sertorius alone neither put any man to death to glut his own revenge, nor committed any other outrage: on the contrary, he reproached Marius with his savage proceedings, and applying to Cinna in private, prevailed with him to make a more moderate use of his power. At last, finding that the slaves whom Marius had admitted his fellow-soldiers, and afterwards employed as guards of his tyranny†, were a strong and numerous body; and that, partly by order or permission of Marius, partly by their native ferocity, they proceeded to the greatest excesses, killing their masters, abusing their mistresses, and violating the children; he concluded that these outrages were insupportable, and shot them all with arrows in their camp, though their number was not less than four thousand.

After the death of Marius, the assassination of Cinna that followed it, and the appointment of young Marius to the consulship, contrary to the will of Sertorius and the laws of Rome, Carbo, Scipio, and Norbanus, carried on the war against Sylla, now returned to Italy, but without any success: for sometimes the officers behaved in a mean and dastardly manner, and sometimes the troops deserted in large bodies. In this case Sertorius began to think his presence of no importance, as he saw their affairs under a miserable direction, and that persons of the least understanding had most power. He was the more confirmed in this opinion, when Sylla encamped near Scipio, and amusing him with caresses, under pretence of an approaching peace, was all the while corrupting his troops. Sertorius advertised Scipio of it several times, and told him what the event would be, but he never listened to him.

Then giving up Rome for lost, he retired with the utmost expedition into Spain: hoping, if he could get the government there into his hands, to be able to afford protection to such of his friends as might be beaten in Italy. He met with dreadful storms on his way, and when he came to the mountains adjoining to Spain, the barba-

* Qui deliberant desciverunt.—*Tacit.* † The *Bardiæans.*

rians insisted that he should pay toll, and purchase his passage over them. Those that attended him were fired with indignation, and thought it an insufferable thing for a Roman proconsul to pay toll to such a crew of barbarians. But he made light of the seeming disgrace, and said, "Time was the thing he purchased, than which nothing in the world could be more precious to a man engaged in great attempts." He therefore satisfied the demands of the mountaineers, and passed over into Spain without losing a moment.

He found the country very populous, and abounding in youth fit for war, but at the same time the people, oppressed by the avarice and rapacity of former governors, were ill-disposed towards any Roman government whatever. To remove this aversion, he tried to gain the better sort by his affable and obliging manner, and the populace by lowering the taxes. But his excusing them from providing quarters for the soldiers was the most agreeable measure: for he ordered his men to pass the winter in tents without the walls, and he set them the example. He did not, however, place his whole dependence upon the attachment of the barbarians. Whatever Romans had settled there, and were fit to bear arms, he incorporated with his troops; he provided such a variety of warlike machines, and built such a number of ships, as kept the cities in awe: and though his address was mild and gentle in peace, he made himself formidable by his preparations for war.

As soon as he was informed that Sylla had made himself master of Rome, and that the faction of Marius and Carbo was entirely suppressed, he concluded that an army would soon be sent against him under the conduct of an able general. For this reason he sent Julius Salinator, with six thousand foot, to block up the passes of the Pyrenees. In a little time Caius Annius arrived on the part of Sylla; and seeing it impossible to dislodge Salinator, he sat down at the foot of the mountain, not knowing how to proceed. While he was in this perplexity, one Calpurnius, surnamed Lenarius, assassinated Salinator, and his troops thereupon quitting the Pyrenees, Annius passed them, easily repulsing with his great army the few that opposed him. Sertorius, not being in a condition to give him battle, retired with three thousand men to New Carthage; where he embarked, and crossed over to Africa. The Maurusian coast was the land he touched upon: and his men going on shore there to water, and not being upon their guard, the barbarians fell upon them, and killed a considerable number; so that he was forced to make back for Spain. He found the coasts guarded, and that it was impracticable to make a descent there; but having met with some vessels of Cilician pirates, he persuaded them to join him, and made his land-

ing good in the island of Pityusa*, forcing his way through the guards which Annius had placed there.

Soon after Annius made his appearance with a numerous fleet, on board of which were five thousand men. Sertorius ventured to engage him, though his vessels were small, and made rather for swift sailing than strength. But a violent west wind springing up raised such a storm, that the greatest part of Sertorius's ships, being too light to bear up against it, were driven upon the rocky shore. Sertorius himself was prevented by the storm from making his way at sea, and by the enemy from landing; so that he was tossed about by the waves for ten days together, and at last escaped with great difficulty.

At length the wind abated, and he ran in among some scattered islands in that quarter. There he landed; but, finding they were without water, he put to sea again, crossed the straits of Gades, and, keeping to the right, landed a little above the mouth of the river Bætis, which, running through a large track to discharge itself in the Atlantic Ocean, gives name to all that part of Spain through which it passes†. There he found some mariners lately arrived from the Atlantic Islands‡. These are two in number, separated only by a narrow channel, and are at the distance of four hundred leagues§ from the African coast. They are called the *Fortunate Islands*. Rain seldom falls there, and, when it does, it falls moderately; but they generally have soft breezes, which scatter such rich dews, that the soil is not only good for sowing and planting, but spontaneously produces the most excellent fruits, and those in such abundance, that the inhabitants have nothing more to do than to indulge themselves in the enjoyment of ease. The air is always pleasant and salubrious, through the happy temperature of the seasons, and their insensible transition into each other. For the north and east winds which blow from our continent, in the immense track they have to pass, are dissipated and lost; while the sea winds, that is the south and west, bring with them from the ocean slight and gentle showers, but oftener only a refreshing moisture, which imperceptibly scatters plenty on their plains: so that it is generally believed, even among the barbarians, that these are the Elysian Fields, and the Seats of the Blessed, which Homer has described in all the charms of verse‖.

Sertorius, hearing these wonders, conceived a strong desire to fix himself in those islands, where he might live in perfect tranquillity, at a distance from the evils of tyranny and war. The Cilicians, who

* Now *Ivica*.

† *Bætica*, now *Andalusia*.

‡ The Canaries.

§ In the orignal, *ten thousand furlongs*.

‖ Odyss. IV.

wanted neither peace nor repose, but riches and spoils, no sooner perceived this than they bore away for Africa to restore Ascalis, the son of Iphtha, to the throne of Mauritania. Sertorius, far from giving himself up to despair, resolved to go and assist the people who were at war with Ascalis, in order to open to his troops another prospect in this new employment, and to prevent their relinquishing him for want of support. His arrival was very acceptable to the *Moors*, and he soon beat Ascalis in a pitched battle, after which he beseiged him in the place to which he retired.

Hereupon Sylla interposed, and sent Paccianus with a considerable force to the assistance of Ascalis. Sertorius, meeting him in the field, defeated and killed him; and having incorporated his troops with his own, assaulted and took the city of Tingis*, whither Ascalis and his brothers had fled for refuge. The Africans tell us, the body of Antæus lies there; and Sertorius, not giving credit to what the barbarians related of his gigantic size, opened his tomb for satisfaction. But how great was his surprise, when (according to the account we have of it) he beheld a body sixty cubits long. He immediately offered sacrifices, and closed up the tomb; which added greatly to the respect and reputation it had before.

The people of Tingis relate, that, after the death of Antæus, Hercules took his widow Tinga to his bed, and had by her a son named Sophax, who reigned over that country, and founded a city, to which he gave his mother's name. They add that Diodorus, the son of Sophax, subdued many African nations with an army of Greeks, which he raised out of the colonies of Olbians and Myceneans, settled here by Hercules. These particulars we mention for the sake of Juba, the best of all royal historians; for he is said to have been a descendant of Sophax and Diodorus, the son and grandson of Hercules.

Sertorius, having thus cleared the field, did no sort of harm to those who surrendered themselves, or placed a confidence in him. He restored them their possessions and cities, and put the government in their hands again; taking nothing for himself but what they voluntarily offered him.

As he was deliberating which way he should next turn his arms, the Lusitanians sent ambassadors to invite him to take the command among them: for they wanted a general of his reputation and experience to support them against the terror of the Roman eagles; and he was the only one on whose character and firmness they could properly depend. Indeed, he is said to have been proof against the

* In the text *Tingene*. Strabo tells us the barbarians call it *Tinga*; that Artemidorus gives it the name of *Linga*; and Eratosthenes that of *Lixus*.

impressions both of pleasure and fear; intrepid in time of danger, and not too much elated with more prosperous fortune; in any great and sudden attempt as daring as any general of his time, and where art and contrivance, as well as despatch, was necessary for seizing a pass, or securing a strong-hold, one of the greatest masters of stratagem in the world; noble and generous in rewarding great actions, and in punishing offences very moderate.

It is true, his treatment of the Spanish hostages in the latter part of his life, which bore such strong marks of cruelty and revenge, seems to argue that the clemency he showed before was not a real virtue in him, but only a pretended one, taken up to suit his occasions. I think, indeed, that the virtue which is sincere, and founded upon reason, can never be so conquered by any stroke whatever, as to give place to the opposite vice: yet dispositions naturally humane and good, by great and undeserved calamities, may possibly be soured a little, and the man may change with his fortune. This, I am persuaded, was the case of Sertorius; when fortune forsook him, his disposition was sharpened by disappointment, and he became severe to those who injured or betrayed him.

At present, having accepted the invitation to Lusitania, he took his voyage from Africa thither. Upon his arrival, he was invested with full authority as general, and levied forces, with which he reduced the neighbouring provinces. Numbers voluntarily came over to him, on account of his reputation for clemency, as well as the vigour of his proceedings. And to these advantages he added artifice to amuse and gain the people.

That of the hind was none of the least*. Spanus, a countryman who lived in those parts, happening to fall in with a hind which had newly yeaned, and which was flying from the hunters, failed in his attempt to take her; but, charmed with the uncommon colour of the fawn, which was a perfect white, he pursued and took it. By good fortune Sertorius had his camp in that neighbourhood; and whatever was brought to him, taken in hunting, or of the productions of the field, he received with pleasure, and returned the civility with interest. The countryman went and offered him the fawn. He received this present like the rest, and at first took no extraordinary notice of it: but in time it became so tractable and fond of him, that it would come when he called, follow him wherever he went, and learned to bear the hurry and tumult of the camp. By little and little he brought the people to believe there was something sacred and mysterious in the affair; giving it out that the fawn was a gift from Diana, and that it discovered to him many important se-

* Sertorius had learned these arts of Marius.

crets; for he knew the natural power of superstition over the minds of the barbarians. In pursuance of this scheme, when the enemy was making a private irruption into the country under his command, or persuading some city to revolt, he pretended the fawn had appeared to him in a dream, and warned him to have his forces ready. And if he had intelligence of some victory gained by his officers, he used to conceal the messenger, and produce the fawn crowned with flowers for its good tidings, bidding the people rejoice and sacrifice to the gods on account of the news they would soon hear.

By this invention he made them so tractable, that they obeyed his orders in every thing without hesitation, no longer considering themselves as under the conduct of a stranger, but the immediate direction of Heaven. And the astonishing increase of his power, far beyond what they could rationally expect, confirmed them in that persuasion: for with two thousand six hundred men, whom he called Romans (though among them there were seven hundred Africans, who came over with him), and an addition of four thousand light-armed Lusitanians, and seven hundred horse, he carried on the war against four Roman generals, who had a hundred and twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, two thousand archers and slingers, and cities without number under their command; though at first he had twenty cities only. Nevertheless, with so trifling a force, and such small beginnings, he subdued several great nations, and took many cities. Of the generals that opposed him, he beat Cotta at sea in the straits over against Mellaria; he defeated Phidius, who had the chief command in Bætica, and killed four thousand Romans upon the banks of the Bætis. By his quæstor he beat Domitius and Lucius Manlius*, proconsul of the other Spain; he likewise slew Thoranius†, one of the officers sent against him by Metellus, together with his whole army. Nay, Metellus himself, a general of as great reputation as any the Romans then had, was entangled by him in such difficulties, and reduced to such extremities, that he was forced to call in Lucius Lollius from Gallia Narbonensis to his assistance, and Pompey the Great was sent with another army from Rome with the utmost expedition. For Metellus knew not what measures to take against so daring an enemy, who was continually harassing him, and yet would not come to a pitched battle, and who, by the lightness and activity of his Spanish troops, turned himself into all manner of forms. He was sufficiently skilled, indeed, in set battles, and he commanded a firm heavy-armed infantry, which

* *Lusius* in the text again is corrupt. We read it Lucius Manlius from Orosius and Livy.

† Florus has it *Thorius*.

knew how to repulse and bear down any thing that would make head against them, but had no experience in climbing mountains, or capacity to vie in flying and pursuing men as swift as the wind; nor could his troops bear hunger, eat any thing undressed, or lie upon the ground without tents, like those of Sertorius. Besides, Metellus was now advanced in years, and, after his many campaigns and long service, had begun to indulge himself in a more delicate way of living: whereas Sertorius was in the vigour of his age, full of spirits, and had brought his strength and activity to the greatest perfection by exercise and abstemiousness. He never indulged in wine, even when he had nothing else to do; and he had accustomed himself to bear labour and fatigue, to make long marches, and pass many successive nights without sleep, though supported all the while with mean and slender diet. By bestowing his leisure on hunting, and traversing all the country for game, he had gained such a knowledge of the impracticable as well as the open parts of it, that when he wanted to fly, he found no manner of difficulty in it; and if he had occasion to pursue or surround the enemy, he could execute it with ease.

Hence it was that Metellus, in being prevented from coming to any regular action, suffered all the inconveniences of a defeat; and Sertorius gained as much by flying as he could have done by conquering and pursuing: for he cut his adversary off from water, and prevented his foraging. If the Romans began to march, he was on the wing to harass them; and if they sat still, he galled them in such a manner, that they were forced to quit their post. If they invested a town, he was soon upon them, and by cutting off their convoys, as it were, besieged the besiegers; insomuch that they began to give up the point, and to call upon Metellus to accept the challenge that Sertorius had given; insisting that general should fight with general, and Roman with Roman: and when he declined it, they ridiculed and abused him. Metellus only laughed at them, and he did perfectly right; for, as Theophrastus says, "A general should die like a general, and not like a common soldier."

He found that the Langobritæ were very serviceable to Sertorius, and perceived, at the same time, that he might soon bring them to surrender for want of water; for they had but one well in the city, and an enemy might immediately make himself master of the springs in the suburbs, and under the walls. He therefore advanced against the town; but concluding he should take it within two days, he ordered his troops to take only five days provisions with them. But Sertorius gave the people speedy assistance. He got two thousand skins, and filled them with water, promising a good reward for the

care of each vessel or skin. A number of Spaniards and Moors offered their service on this occasion; and having selected the strongest and swiftest of them, he sent them along the mountains, with orders, when they delivered these vessels, to take all useless persons out of the town, that the water might be fully sufficient for the rest during the whole course of the siege.

When Metellus was informed of this manœuvre, he was greatly concerned at it; and, as his provisions began to fail, he sent out Aquilius* with six thousand men to collect fresh supplies. Sertorius, who had early intelligence of it, laid an ambush for Aquilius, and upon his return, three thousand men, who were placed in the shady channel of a brook for the purpose, rose up and attacked him in the rear. At the same time Sertorius himself, charging him in front, killed a considerable number of his party, and took the rest prisoners. Aquilius got back to Metellus, but with the loss both of his horse and his arms: whereupon Metellus retired with disgrace, greatly insulted and ridiculed by the Spaniards.

This success procured Sertorius the admiration and esteem of the Spaniards; but what charmed them still more was, that he armed them in the Roman manner, taught them to keep their ranks, and to obey the word of command; so that, instead of exerting their strength in a savage and disorderly manner, and behaving like a multitude of banditti, he polished them into regular forces. Another agreeable circumstance was, that he furnished them with abundance of gold and silver to gild their helmets, and enrich their shields; and that he taught them to wear embroidered vests and magnificent coats; nor did he give them supplies only for these purposes, but he set them the example†. The finishing stroke was his collecting, from the various nations, the children of the nobility into the great city of Osca‡, and his furnishing them with masters to instruct them in the Grecian and Roman literature. This had the appearance only of an education, to prepare them to be admitted citizens of Rome, and to fit them for important commissions; but, in fact, the children were so many hostages. Meanwhile the parents were delighted to see their sons in gowns bordered with purple, and walking in great state to the schools, without any expense to them: for Sertorius took the whole upon himself, often examining besides into the improvements

* The common reading in the Greek text is *Aquinus*, but the manuscripts give us *Aquilius*.

† Alexander had taken the same method before him among the Persians: for he ordered thirty thousand Persian boys to be taught Greek, and trained in the Macedonian manner.

‡ A city in Hispania Tarraconensis.

they made, and distributing proper rewards to those of most merit, among which were the golden ornaments furling down from the neck, called by the Romans *bullæ*.

It was then the custom in Spain for the band which fought near the general's person, when he fell, to die with him. This manner of devoting themselves to death, the barbarians call a *Libation**.—The other generals had but a few of these guards or knights companions; whereas Sertorius was attended by many myriads, who had laid themselves under that obligation. It is said, that when he was once defeated near the walls of a town, and the enemy were pressing hard upon him, the Spaniards, to save Sertorius, exposed themselves without any precaution. They passed him upon their shoulders, from one to another, till he had gained the walls, and when their general was secure, then they dispersed, and fled for their own lives.

Nor was he beloved by the Spanish soldiers only, but by those which came from Italy too. When Perpenna Vento, who was of the same party with Sertorius, came into Spain with a great quantity of money, and a respectable army, intending to proceed in his operations against Metellus, upon his own bottom, the troops disliked the scheme, and nothing was talked of in the camp but Sertorius.—This gave great uneasiness to Perpenna, who was much elated with his high birth and opulent fortune. Nor did the matter stop here. Upon their having intelligence that Pompey had passed the Pyrenees, the soldiers took up their arms and standards, and loudly called upon Perpenna to lead them to Sertorius; threatening, if he would not comply, to leave him, and go to a general who knew how to save both himself and those under his command: so that Perpenna was forced to yield, and he went and joined Sertorius with fifty-three cohorts†.

Sertorius now found himself at the head of a great army; for, besides the junction of Perpenna, all the countries within the Iberus had adopted his interest, and troops were daily flocking in on all sides. But it gave him pain to see them behave with the disorder and ferocity of barbarians; to find them calling upon him to give the signal to charge, and impatient of the least delay. He tried what mild representations would do, and they had no effect. They still continued obstinate and clamorous, often demanding the combat in a very unseasonable manner. At last he permitted them to engage in their own way, in consequence of which they would suffer great

* In Gaul the persons who laid themselves under this obligation were called *Soldurii*. *Cæs. de Bell. Gal.* l. iii.

† A cohort is the tenth part of a legion.

loss, though he designed to prevent their being entirely defeated.—These checks, he hoped, would make them more willing to be under discipline.

The event answered his expectation: they fought and were beaten; but making up with succours, he rallied the fugitives, and conducted them safe into the camp. His next step was to rouse them up out of their despondence: for which purpose, a few days after, he assembled all his forces, and produced two horses before them; the one old and feeble, the other large and strong, and remarkable besides for a fine flowing tail. By the poor weak horse stood a robust able-bodied man, and by the strong horse stood a little man of a very contemptible appearance. Upon a signal given, the strong man began to pull and drag about the weak horse by the tail, as if he would pull it off; and the little man to pluck off the hairs of the great horses tail, one by one. The former tugged and toiled a long time, to the great diversion of the spectators, and at last was forced to give up the point; the latter, without any difficuly, soon stripped the great horse's tail of all its hair*. Then Sertorius rose up, and said, "You see, my friends and fellow-soldiers, how much greater are the effects of perseverance than those of force, and that there are many things invincible in their collective capacity, and in a state of union, which may gradually be overcome when they are once separated. In short, perseverance is irresistible. By this means, time attacks and destroys the strongest things upon earth. Time, I say, who is the best friend and ally to those that have the discernment to use it properly, and watch the opportunities it presents, and the worst enemy to those who will be rushing into action when it does not call them." By such symbols as these, Sertorius applied to the senses of the barbarians, and instructed them to wait for proper junctures and occasions.

But his contrivance with respect to the Characitani gained him as much admiration as any of his military performances whatever. The Characitani are seated beyond the river Tagus. They have neither cities nor villages, but dwell upon a large and lofty hill, in dens and caverns of the rocks, the mouths of which are all to the north. The soil of all the country about it is a clay, so very light and crumbly, that it yields to the pressure of the foot, is reduced to powder with the least touch, and flies about like ashes or unslaked lime. The barbarians, whenever they are apprehensive of an attack, retire to these caves with their booty, and look upon themselves as in a place perfectly impregnable.

It happened that Sertorius, retiring to some distance from Metellus,

* Horace alludes to this, l. ii. ep. 1.

encamped under this hill; and the savage inhabitants, imagining he retired only because he was beaten, offered him several insults.—Sertorius, either provoked at such treatment, or willing to show them he was not flying from any enemy, mounted his horse the next day, and went to reconnoitre the place. As he could see no part in which it was accessible, he almost despaired of taking it, and could only vent his anger in vain menaces. At last he observed that the wind blew the dust in great quantities towards the mouths of the caves, which, as I said before, are all to the north*. The north wind, which some call *Cæcias*†, prevails most in those parts; taking its rise from the marshy grounds, and the mountains covered with snow. And as it was then the height of summer, it was remarkably strong, having fresh supplies from the melting of the ice on the northern peaks; so that it blew a most agreeable gale, which in the day-time refreshed both these savages and their flocks.

Sertorius reflecting upon what he saw, and being informed by the neighbouring Spaniards that these were the usual appearances, ordered his soldiers to collect vast quantities of that dry and crumbly earth, so as to raise a mount of it over against the hill. The barbarians, imagining he intended to storm their strong holds from that mount, laughed at his proceedings. The soldiers went on with their work till night, and then he led them back into the camp. Next morning, at break of day, a gentle breeze sprang up, which moved the lightest part of the heap, and dispersed it like smoke; and as the sun got up higher, the *Cæcias* blew again, and by its violence covered all the hill with dust. Meantime the soldiers stirred up the heap from the very bottom, and crumbled all the clay; and some galloped up and down to raise the light earth, and thicken the clouds of dust in the wind, which carried them into the dwellings of the Characitani; their entrances directly facing it. As they were caves, and of course had no other aperture, the eyes of the inhabitants were soon filled, and they could scarce breathe for the suffocating dust which they drew in with the air. In these wretched circumstances they held out two days, though with great difficulty, and the third day surrendered themselves to Sertorius at discretion, who, by reducing them, did not gain such an accession of strength as of honour: for an honor it was to subdue those by policy whom his arms could not reach.

While he carried on the war against Metellus only, his success in general was imputed to the old age and inactivity of his adversary, who had to contend with a bold young man, at the head of troops so

* Mediâ inter Aquilonem et Exortum Æquinoctialem,—*Plin.* l. ii. c. 47.

† Narrant et in Ponto Cæcian in se trahere nubes.—Ib.

light, that they might pass rather for a marauding party than a regular army. But when Pompey had passed the Pyrenees, and Sertorius took post against him, every art of generalship on both sides was exhausted, and yet even then it appeared that, in point both of attack and defence, Sertorius had the advantage. In this case, the fame of Sertorius greatly increased, and extended itself as far as Rome, where he was considered the ablest general of his time. Indeed, the honour Pompey had acquired was very considerable, and the actions he had performed under Sylla set him in a very respectable light, insomuch that Sylla had given him the appellation of *the Great*, and he was distinguished with a triumph even before he wrote man.— This made many of the cities, which were under the command of Sertorius, cast their eyes upon Pompey, and inclined them to open their gates to him. But they returned to their old attachment, upon the unexpected success that attended Sertorius at Lauron*.

Sertorius was besieging that place, and Pompey marched with his whole army to its relief. There was a hill at some distance from the walls, from which the city might be greatly annoyed. Sertorius hastened to seize it, and Pompey to prevent him; but the former gained the post. Pompey, however, sat down by it with great satisfaction, thinking he had been fortunate enough to cut Sertorius off from the town; and he sent a message to the Lauronites, "That they might be perfectly easy, and sit quietly upon their walls, while they saw him besiege Sertorius." But when that general was informed of it, he only laughed, and said, "I will teach that scholar of Sylla" so in ridicule he called Pompey, "that a general ought to look behind him, rather than before him." At the same time he showed the besieged a body of six thousand foot in the camp, which he had quitted in order to seize the hill, and which had been left there on purpose to take Pompey in the rear, when he should come to attack Sertorius in the post he now occupied.

Pompey, not discovering this manœuvre till it was too late, did not dare to begin the attack, lest he should be surrounded. And yet he was ashamed to leave the Lauronites in such extreme danger. The consequence was, that he was obliged to sit still and see the town lost. The people, in despair of assistance, surrendered to Sertorius, who was pleased to spare the inhabitants, and let them go free; but he laid their city in ashes. This was not done out of anger, or a spirit of cruelty, (for he seems to have indulged his resentment less than any other general whatever) but to put the admirers of Pompey to the blush; while it was said among the barbarians, that though he was

* A city of Hither Spain, five leagues from Valencia.

at hand, and almost warmed himself at the flame, he suffered his allies to perish.

It is true Sertorius received many checks in the course of the war; but it was not where he acted in person; for he ever continued invincible; it was through his lieutenants. And such was his manner of rectifying the mistakes, that he met with more applause than his adversaries in the midst of their success; instances of which we have in the battle of Sucro with Pompey, and in that of Tuttia* with both Pompey and Metellus.

As to the battle of Sucro, we are told it was fought the sooner, because Pompey hastened it to prevent Metellus from having a share in the victory. This was the very thing Sertorius wanted, to try his strength with Pompey, before Metellus joined him. Sertorius came up and engaged him in the evening. This he did out of choice, in the persuasion that the enemy, not being acquainted with the country, would find darkness a hinderance to them, whether they should have occasion to fly or to pursue. When they came to charge, he found that he had not to do with Pompey, as he could have wished, but that Afranius commanded the enemy's left wing opposite to *him*, who was at the head of his own right wing. However, as soon as he understood that his left gave way to the vigorous impressions of Pompey, he put his right under the direction of other officers, and hastened to support that which had the disadvantage. By rallying the fugitives, and encouraging those who kept their ground, he forced Pompey to fly in great confusion, who before was pursuing: nay, that general was in the greatest danger; he was wounded, and got off with difficulty: for the Africans, who fought under the banners of Sertorius, having taken Pompey's horse, adorned with gold and other rich furniture, left the pursuit to quarrel about dividing the spoil. In the mean time, when Sertorius was flown from his right wing to succour the other in distress, Afranius overthrew all before him, and closely pursuing the fugitives, entered their camp with them, which he pillaged till it was dark; he knew nothing of Pompey's defeat, and was unable to keep the soldiers from plundering, if he had desired it. At this instant Sertorius returns, with the laurels he had won, falls upon the troops of Afranius, which were scattered up and down the camp, and destroys great numbers of them. Next morning he armed, and took the field again; but perceiving that Metellus was at hand, he drew off and decamped. He did it, however, with an air of gaiety: "If the old woman," said he, "had not

* Grævius conjectures that we should read *Turia*, the *Turius* being a river which falls into the Sucro.

been here, I would have flogged the boy well, and sent him back to Rome."

He was, notwithstanding, much afflicted for the loss of his hind: for she was an excellent engine in the management of the barbarians, who now wanted encouragement more than ever. By good fortune, some of his soldiers, as they were strolling one night about the country, met with her, and, knowing her by the colour, brought her to him. Sertorius, happy to find her again, promised the soldiers large sums, on condition they would not mention the affair. He carefully concealed the hind, and a few days after appeared in public with a cheerful countenance, to transact business, telling the barbarian officers that he had some extraordinary happiness announced to him from heaven in a dream. Then he mounted the tribunal for the despatch of such affairs as might come before him. At that instant the hind being let loose near the place, by those who had the charge of her, and seeing Sertorius, ran up with great joy, leaped upon the tribunal, laid her head upon his lap, and licked his right hand in the manner to which she had long been trained. Sertorius returned her caresses with all the tokens of a sincere affection, even to the shedding of tears. The assembly at first looked on with silent astonishment; but afterwards they testified their regard for Sertorius with the loudest plaudits and acclamations, as a person of a superior nature, beloved by the gods. With these impressions they conducted him to his pavilion, and resumed all the hopes and spirits with which he could have wished to inspire them.

He watched the enemy so close in the plains of Saguntum, that they were in great want of provisions; and as they were determined at last to go out to forage, and collect necessaries, this unavoidably brought on a battle. Great acts of valour were performed on both sides. Memmius, the best officer Pompey had, fell in the hottest of the fight. Sertorius carried all before him, and through heaps of the slain, made his way towards Metellus, who made great efforts to oppose him, and fought with a vigour above his years, but at last was borne down with the stroke of a spear. All the Romans who saw or heard of his disaster, resolved not to abandon their general; and from an impulse of shame as well as anger, they turned upon the enemy, and sheltered Metellus with their shields, till others carried him off in safety. Then they charged the Spaniards with great fury, and routed them in their turn.

As victory had now changed sides, Sertorius, to secure a safe retreat for his troops, as well as convenient time for raising fresh forces, had the art to retire into a city strongly situated upon a mountain. He

repaired the walls, and barricaded the gates, as though he thought of nothing less than standing a siege. The enemy, however, were deceived by appearances. They invested the place, and in the imagination that they should make themselves masters of it without difficulty, took no care to pursue the fugitive barbarians, or to prevent the new levies which the officers of Sertorius were making. These officers he had sent to the towns under his command, with instructions when they had assembled a sufficient number, to send a messenger to acquaint him with it.

Upon the receipt of such intelligence, he sallied out, and having made his way through the enemy without much trouble, he joined his new-raised troops, and returned with that additional strength.—He now cut off the Roman convoys both by sea and land: at land, by laying ambushes, or hemming them in, and, by the rapidity of his motions, meeting them in every quarter: at sea, by guarding the coast with his light piratical vessels. In consequence of this, the Romans were obliged to separate. Metellus retired into Gaul, and Pompey went and took up his winter-quarters in the territories of the Vaccæans, where he was greatly distressed for want of money; insomuch that he informed the senate he should soon leave the country if they did not supply him; for he had already sacrificed his own fortune in defence of Italy. Indeed, the common discourse was, that Sertorius would be in Italy before Pompey: so far had his capacity prevailed over the most distinguished and the ablest generals in Rome.

The opinion which Metellus had of him, and the dread of his abilities, was evident from a proclamation then published; in which Metellus offered a reward of a hundred talents of silver, and twenty thousand acres of land, to any Roman who should take him; and if that Roman was an exile, he promised he should be restored to his country. Thus he plainly discovered his despair of conquering his enemy, by the price which he set upon him. When he happened once to defeat him in a pitched battle, he was so elated with the advantage, and thought the event so fortunate, that he suffered himself to be saluted as *Imperator;* and the cities received him with sacrifices and every testimony of gratitude to the gods at their altars. Nay, it is said he received crowns of victory, that he made most magnificent entertainments on the occasion, and wore a triumphal robe. Victories in effigy, descended in machines, with trophies of gold and garlands in their hands; and choirs of boys and virgins sung songs in his praise. These circumstances were extremely ridiculous, since he expressed so much joy, and such superabundant

vanity, while he called Sertorius a fugitive from Sylla, and the poor remains of Carbo's faction.

On the other hand, the magnanimity of Sertorius appeared in every step he took. The patricians who had been obliged to fly from Rome, and take refuge with him, he called a senate. Out of them he appointed quæstors and lieutenants, and in every thing he proceeded according to the laws of his country. What was of still greater moment, though he made war only with the arms, the money, and the men of Spain, he did not suffer the Spaniards to have the least share in any department of government, even in words or titles. He gave them Roman generals and governors, to make it appear that the liberty of Rome was his great object, and that he did not want to set up the Spaniards against the Romans. In fact, he was a true lover of his country, and his passion to be restored to it was one of the first in his heart. Yet in his greatest misfortunes, he never departed from his dignity: on the other hand, when he was victorious, he would make an offer to Metellus or Pompey to lay down his arms, on condition he might be permitted to return in the capacity of a private man. He said, he had rather be the meanest citizen in Rome, than an exile with the command of all the other countries in the world.

This love of his country is said to have been in some measure owing to the attachment he had to his mother. His father died in his infancy, and he had his education wholly from her; consequently his affections centered in her. His Spanish friends wanted to constitute him supreme governor; but having information at that time of the death of his mother, he gave himself up to the most alarming grief: for seven whole days he neither gave the word, nor would be seen by any of his friends. At last his generals, and others who were upon a footing with him in point of rank, beset his tent, and insisted that he should rise from the ground, and make his appearance, to speak to the soldiers, and to take the direction of their affairs, which were then as prosperous as he could desire. Hence many imagined that he was naturally of a pacific turn, and a lover of tranquillity, but was brought, against his inclination, by some means or other, to take upon him the command; and that when he was hard pressed by his enemies, and had no other shelter but that of war to fly to, he had recourse to it merely in the way of self-defence.

We cannot have greater proofs of his magnanimity than those that appear in his treaty with Mithridates. That prince, recovering from the fall given him by Sylla, entered the lists again, and renewed

his pretensions to Asia. By this time the fame of Sertorius had extended itself into all parts of the world. The merchants who traded to the west carried back news of his achievements, like commodities from a distant country, and filled Pontus with his renown. Hereupon Mithridates determined to send an embassy to him; induced to it by the vain speeches of his flatterers, who compared Sertorius to Hannibal, and Mithridates to Pyrrhus, and insisted that the Romans would never be able to bear up against two such powers and two persons of such genius and abilities, when attacked by them in different quarters; the one being the most excellent of generals, and the other the greatest of kings.

In pursuance of this scheme, Mithridates sent ambassadors into Spain with letters to Sertorius, and proposals to be made in conference; the purport of which was, that the king would supply him with money and ships for the war, on condition that he confirmed his claim to Asia, which he had lately given up to the Romans in the treaty with Sylla.

Sertorius assembled his council, which he called *the Senate*. They were unanimous in their opinions that he should accept the conditions, and think himself happy in them, since they were only asked for an empty name and title to things which it was not in their power to give, and the king in return would supply them with what they most wanted. But Sertorius would by no means agree to it. He said, he had no objection to that prince's having Bithynia and Cappadocia, countries accustomed to kingly government, and not belonging to the Romans by any just title; but as to a province to which the Romans had an undeniable claim, a province which they had been deprived of by Mithridates, which he afterwards lost to Fimbria, and at last had quitted upon the peace with Sylla, he could never consent that he should be put in possession of it again. "Rome," said he, "ought to have her power extended by my victories, and it is not my right to rise to power at her expense. A man who has any dignity of sentiment should conquer with honour, and not use any base means even to save his life."

Mithridates was perfectly astonished at this answer, and thus communicated his surprise to his friends:—"What orders would Sertorius give us, when seated in the senate-house at Rome, if now, driven as he is to the coasts of the Atlantic ocean, he prescribes bounds to our empire, and threatens us with war, if we make any attempt upon Asia?" The treaty, however, went on, and was sworn to. Mithridates was to have Cappadocia and Bithynia, and Sertorius to supply him with a general and some troops; the king, on the other hand, was to furnish Sertorius with three thousand talents, and forty ships of war.

The general whom Sertorius sent into Asia was a senator who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius. When Mithridates, by his assistance, had taken some cities in Asia, he permitted that officer to enter them with his rods and axes, and voluntarily took the second place as one of his train. Marius declared some of those cities free, and excused others from imposts and taxes, telling them they were indebted for these favours to Sertorius. So that Asia, which laboured again under the exaction of the Roman tax-gatherers, and the oppressions and insults of the garrisons, had once more a prospect of some happier mode of government.

But in Spain, the senators about Sertorius, who looked upon themselves as on a footing with him, no sooner saw themselves as a match for the enemy, than they bade adieu to fear, and gave into a foolish jealousy and envy of their general. At the head of these was Perpenna, who, elated with the vanity of birth, aspired to the command, and scrupled not to address his partisans in private with such speeches as these: "What evil demon possesses us, and leads us from bad to worse? We, who would not stay at home and submit to the orders of Sylla, who is master both of sea and land, what are we come to? Did we not come here for liberty? Yet here we are voluntary slaves; guards to the exiled Sertorius. We suffer ourselves to be amused with the title of a senate; a title despised and ridiculed by all the world. O noble senators, why submit to the most mortifying tasks and labours as much as the meanest Spaniards and Lusitanians!"

Numbers were attacked with these and such like discourses; and though they did not openly revolt, because they dreaded the power of Sertorius, yet they took private methods to ruin his affairs, by treating the barbarians ill, inflicting heavy punishments, and collecting exhorbitant subsidies, as if by his order. Hence the cities began to waver in their allegiance, and to raise disturbances; and the persons sent to compose those disturbances by mild and gentle methods made more enemies than they reconciled, and inflamed the rising spirit of disobedience: insomuch that Sertorius, departing from his former clemency and moderation, behaved with great injustice and outrage to the children of the Spaniards in Osca, putting some to death, and selling others for slaves.

The conspiracy daily gathered strength, and among the rest, Perpenna drew in Manlius*, who had a considerable command in the army.

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He and his partisans then prepared letters for Sertorius, which im-

* Dacier thinks we should read *Manius*, by which he means *Manius Antonius*, who gave Sertorius the first blow.

ported that a victory was gained by one of his officers, and great numbers of the enemy slain. Sortorius offered sacrifice for the good tidings; and Perpenna gave him, and his own friends who were by, and who were all privy to the design, an invitation to supper, which, with much entreaty, he prevailed upon him to accept.

The entertainments at which Sertorius was present had been always attended with great order and decorum; for he could not bear either to see or hear the least indecency, and he had ever accustomed the guests to divert themselves in an innocent and irreproachable manner. But, in the midst of the entertainment, the conspirators began to seek occasion to quarrel, giving into the most dissolute discourse, and pretending drunkenness as the cause of their ribaldry. All this was done to provoke him. However, either vexed at their obscenities and design, or guessing at their designs by the manner of their drawling them out, he changed his posture, and threw himself back upon his couch, as though he neither heard nor regarded them. Then Perpenna took a cup of wine, and, as he was drinking, purposely let it fall out of his hands. The noise it made being the signal for them to fall on, Antony, who sat next to Sertorius, gave him a stroke with his sword. Sertorius turned, and strove to get up; but Antony, throwing himself upon his breast, held both his hands, so that, not being able in the least to defend himself, the rest of the conspirators despatched him with many wounds.

Upon the first news of his death, most of the Spaniards abandoned Perpenna, and by their deputies surrendered themselves to Pompey and Metellus. Perpenna attempted something with those that remained; but though he had the use of all that Sertorius had prepared, he made so ill a figure, that it was evident he knew no more how to command than how to obey —He gave Pompey battle, and was soon routed and taken prisoner. Nor in this last distress did he behave as became a general. He had the papers of Sertorius in his possession, and he offered Pompey the sight of original letters from men of consular dignity, and the greatest interest in Rome, by which they invited Sertorius into Italy in consequence of the desire of numbers who wanted a change in the present face of affairs, and a new administration.

Pompey, however, behaved not like a young man, but with all the marks of a solid and improved understanding, and by his prudence delivered Rome from a train of dreadful fears and new commotions. He collected all those letters and the other papers of Sertorius, and burnt them, without either reading them himself, or suffering any other person to do it. As for Perpenna, he put him to death immediately, lest he should mention the names of those who wrote the

letters, and thence new seditions and troubles should arise. Perpenna's accomplices met the same fate; some of them being brought to Pompey, and by him ordered to the block, and others who fled into Africa shot by the Moors. None escaped but Aufidius, the rival of Manlius. Whether it was that he could not be found, or they thought him not worth the seeking, he lived to old age in a village of the barbarians, wretchedly poor, and universally despised.

EUMENES.

DURIS the historian writes, that Eumenes the Cardian was the son of a poor waggoner in the Chersonesus, and yet that he had a liberal education both as to learning and the exercises then in vogue*. He says, that while he was but a lad, Philip happening to be in Cardia, went to spend an hour of leisure in seeing how the young men acquitted themselves in the *pancration*†, and the boys in wrestling. Among these Eumenes succeeded so well, and showed so much activity and address, that Philip was pleased with him, and took him into his train. But others assert, with a greater appearance of probability, that Philip preferred him on account of the ties of friendship and hospitality there were between him and the father of Eumenes.

After the death of Philip, he maintained the reputation of being equal to any of Alexander's officers in capacity, and in the honour with which he discharged his commissions; and though he had only the title of principal secretary, he was looked upon in as honourable a light as the king's most intimate friends and counsellors; insomuch that he had the sole direction of an Indian expedition; and, upon the death of Hephæstion, when Perdiccas had the post of that favourite, he succeeded Perdiccas. Therefore, when Neoptolemus, who had been the principal armour-bearer, took upon him to say, after the death of Alexander, "That he had borne the shield and spear of that monarch, and that Eumenes had only followed with his escrutoir;" the Macedonians only laughed at his vanity; knowing that, besides other marks of honour, Alexander had thought Eumenes not un-

* There were public schools, where children of all conditions were taught without distinction.

† The *pancration* (as we have already observed) was a composition of wrestling and boxing.

worthy his alliance: for Barsine, the daughter of Artabazus, who was the first lady Alexander took to his bed in Asia, and who brought him a son named Hercules, had two sisters; one of whom, called Apama, he gave to Ptolemy, and the other, called also Barsine, he gave to Eumenes, at a time when he was selecting Persian ladies as wives for his friends*.

Yet, it must be acknowledged, he was often in disgrace with Alexander, and once or twice in danger, too, on account of Hephæstion. In the first place, Hephæstion gave a musician, named Evius, the quarters which the servants of Eumenes had taken up for him. Upon this Eumenes went in great wrath to Alexander, with Mentor†, and cried, "The best method they could take was to throw away their arms, and learn to play upon the flute or turn tragedians." Alexander at first entered into his quarrel, and sharply rebuked Hephæstion: but he soon changed his mind, and turned the weight of his displeasure upon Eumenes, thinking he had behaved with more disrespect to him than resentment against Hephæstion.

Again, when Alexander wanted to send out Nearchus with a fleet to explore the coasts of the ocean, he found his treasury low, and asked his friends for a supply.—Among the rest he applied to Eumenes for three hundred talents, who offered him only a hundred, and assured him, at the same time, he should find it difficult to collect that sum by his stewards. Alexander refused the offer, but did not remonstrate or complain. However, he ordered his servants privately to set fire to Eumenes's tent, that he might be forced to carry out his money, and be openly convicted of the falsity. It happened that the tent was entirely consumed, and Alexander was sorry on account of the loss of his papers.—There was gold and silver found melted to the amount of more than a thousand talents, yet even then the king took none of it. And having written to all his grandees and lieutenants to send him copies of the despatches that were lost, upon their arrival he put them again under the care of Eumenes.

Some time after, another dispute happened between him and Hephæstion, on account of some present from the king to one of

* Alexander had married Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius, and given the youngest, named Trypetis, to Hephæstion. This was a measure well calculated for establishing him and his posterity on the Persian throne; but it was obnoxious to the Macedonians. Therefore, to support it on one hand, and to obviate inconveniences on the other, he selected eighty virgins out of the most honourable families in Persia, and persuaded his principal friends and officers to marry them.

† Mentor was brother to Memnon, whose widow, Barsine, was Alexander's mistress. He was also brother-in-law to Artabazus; and the second Barsine, whom Eumenes married, seems to have been daughter to Memnon and Mentor's sister.

them. Much severe and abusive language passed between them, yet Alexander, for the present, did not look upon Eumenes with the less regard. But Hephæstion dying soon after, the king, in his unspeakable affliction for that loss, expressed his resentment against all who he thought envied that favourite while he lived, or rejoiced at his death. Eumenes was one of those whom he most suspected of such sentiments, and he often mentioned the differences, and the severe language those differences had produced.—Eumenes, however, being an artful man, and happy at expedients, made the very person through whom he had lost the king's favour, the means of regaining it. He seconded the zeal and application of Alexander to celebrate the memory of Hephæstion. He suggested such instances of veneration as he thought might do most honour to the deceased, and contributed largely and freely, out of his own purse, towards the expenses of his funeral.

Upon the death of Alexander, a great quarrel broke out between the *phalanx* and the late king's friends and generals. Eumenes, in his heart, sided with the *phalanx*, but in appearance stood neuter, as a person perfectly indifferent; saying, it did not become him, who was a stranger, to interfere in the disputes of the Macedonians. And when the other great officers retired from Babylon, he staid there, endeavouring to appease that body of infantry, and to dispose them to a reconciliation.

After these troubles were past, and the generals met to consult about dividing the provinces and armies among them, the countries assigned Eumenes were Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, and the coast of the Sea of Pontus, as far as Trapezus. These countries were not then subject to the Macedonians, for Ariarathes was king of them; but Leonatus and Antigonus were to go with a great army, and put Eumenes in possession.—Antigonus, now elated with power, and despising all the world, gave no attention to the letters of Perdiccas; but Leonatus marched down from the upper provinces into Phrygia, and promised to undertake the expedition for Eumenes. Immediately after this, Hecatæus, a petty tyrant in Cardia, applied to Leonatus, and desired him rather to go to the relief of Antipater and the Macedonians, who were besieged in Lamia*. Leonatus, being inclined to go, called Eumenes, and attempted to reconcile him to Hecatæus. They had long had suspicions of each other on account of a family difference in point of politics; in consequence of which Eumenes had only accused Hecatæus of setting himself up tyrant in Cardia, and had entreated Alexander to restore that people to their liberty. He now desired to be excused taking a share in the Grecian expedition, alleging he was afraid Antipater, who had long hated

* A city of Thessaly.

him, to gratify himself as well as Hecatæus, would make some attempt upon his life. Upon which, Leonatus, placing an entire confidence in him, opened to him all his heart. He told him the assisting Antipater was nothing but a pretext, and that he designed, as soon as he landed in Greece, to assert his claim to Macedonia. At the same time he showed him letters from Cleopatra*, in which she invited him to Pella, and promised to give him her hand.

Whether Eumenes was really afraid of Antipater, or whether he despaired of any service from Leonatus, who was extremely obstinate in his temper, and followed every impulse of a precipitate ambition, he withdrew from him in the night with all his equipage, which consisted of three hundred horse, two hundred of his domestics, well armed, and all his treasure, amounting to five thousand talents. With this he fled to Perdiccas; and, as he acquainted that general with the secret designs of Leonatus, he was immediately taken into a high degree of favour, and admitted to a share in his counsels. In a little time, too, Perdiccas in person conducted him into Cappadocia with a great army; took Ariarathes prisoner, subdued all the country, and established Eumenes in that government: in consequence of which Eumenes put the cities under the direction of his friends, placed guards and garrisons, with proper officers at their head, and appointed judges and superintendants of the revenue; Perdiccas leaving the entire disposition of those things to him After this, he departed with Perdiccas; choosing to give him that testimony of respect, and not thinking it consistent with his interest to be absent from his court. But Perdiccas, satisfied that he could himself execute the designs he was meditating, and perceiving that the provinces he had left behind required an able and faithful guardian, sent back Eumenes, when he had reached Cilicia. The pretence was, that he might attend to the concerns of his own government; but the real intention, that he should secure the adjoining province of Armenia, which was disturbed by the practices of Neoptolemus.

Neoptolemus was a man of sanguine pursuits, and unbounded vanity. Eumenes, however, endeavoured to keep him to his duty by soothing applications. And as he saw the Macedonian infantry were become extremely insolent and audacious, he applied himself to raising a body of cavalry, which might be a counterpoise against them: for this purpose he remitted the taxes, and gave other immunities to those of his province who were good horsemen. He also bought a great number of horses, and distributed them among such of his courtiers as he placed the greatest confidence in; exciting

* The sister of Alexander.

them by honours and rewards, and training them to strength and skill by a variety of exercises. The Macedonians, upon this, were differently affected, some with astonishment, and others with joy, to see a body of cavalry collected, to the number of six thousand three hundred, and trained in so short a space of time.

About that time, Craterus and Antipater, having reduced Greece, passed into Asia to overthrow the power of Perdiccas; and news was brought that their first intention was to enter Cappadocia. Perdiccas himself was engaged in war with Ptolemy; he therefore appointed Eumenes commander in chief of the forces in Armenia and Cappadocia, and wrote to Alcetas and Neoptolemus to obey the orders of that general, whom he had invested with discretionary powers. Alcetas plainly refused to submit to that injunction; alleging that the Macedonians would be ashamed to fight Antipater; and as for Craterus, their affection for him was such, that they would receive him with open arms. On the other hand, it was visible that Neoptolemus was forming some treacherous scheme against Eumenes; for, when called upon, he refused to join him, and, instead of that, prepared to give him battle.

This was the first occasion on which Eumenes reaped the fruits of his foresight and timely preparations: for, though his infantry were beaten, with his cavalry he put Neoptolemus to flight, and took his baggage. And while the phalanx were dispersed upon the pursuit, he fell upon them in such good order with his horse, that they were forced to lay down their arms, and take an oath to serve him. Neoptolemus collected some of the fugitives, and retired with them to Craterus and Antipater. They had already sent ambassadors to Eumenes to desire him to adopt their interests, in reward of which they would confirm to him the provinces he had, and give him others, with an additional number of troops: in which case he would find Antipater a friend instead of an enemy, and continue in friendship with Craterus, instead of turning his arms against him.

Eumenes made answer to these proposals, "That having long been on a footing of enmity with Antipater, he did not choose to be his friend at a time when he saw him treating his friends as so many enemies. As for Craterus, he was ready to reconcile him to Perdiccas, and to compromise matters between them upon just and reasonable terms: but if he should begin hostilities, he should support his injured friend while he had an hour to live, and rather sacrifice life itself than his honour."

When this answer was reported to Antipater and Craterus, they took some time to deliberate upon the measures they should pursue. Meanwhile Neoptolemus arriving, gave them an account of the battle

he had lost, and requested assistance of them both, but particularly of Craterus. He said, "The Macedonians had so extraordinary an attachment to him, that if they saw but his hat, or heard one accent of his tongue, they would immediately run to him with their swords in their hands." Indeed, the reputation of Craterus was very great among them, and, after the death of Alexander, most of them wished to be under his command. They remembered the risks he had run of embroiling himself with Alexander for their sakes; how he had combated the inclination for Persian fashions, which insensibly grew upon him, and supported the customs of his country against the insults of barbaric pomp and luxury.

Craterus now sent Antipater into Cilicia, and taking a considerable part of the forces himself, marched along with Neoptolemus against Eumenes. If Eumenes foresaw his coming, and was prepared for it, we may impute it to the vigilance necessary in a general; we see nothing in that of superior genius: but when, besides his concealing from the enemy what they ought not to discover, he brought his own troops to action, without knowing who was their adversary, and made them serve against Craterus, without finding out that he was the officer they had to contend with; in this we see characteristical proofs of generalship: for he propagated a report, that Neoptolemus, assisted by Pigris, was advancing again with some Cappadocian and Paphlagonian horse. The night he designed to decamp, he fell into a sound sleep, and had a very extraordinary dream. He thought he saw two Alexanders prepared to try their strength against each other, and each at the head of a phalanx. Minerva came to support the one, and Ceres the other. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the Alexander assisted by Minerva was defeated, and Ceres crowned the victor with a wreath of corn. He immediately concluded that the dream was in his favour, because he had to fight for a country which was most of it in tillage, and which had then so excellent a crop, well advanced towards the sickle, that the whole face of it had the appearance of a profound peace. He was the more confirmed in his opinion, when he found the enemy's word was *Minerva and Alexander;* and in opposition to it he gave *Ceres and Alexander.* At the same time, he ordered his men to crown themselves, and to cover their arms with ears of corn. He was several times upon the point of declaring to his principal officers and captains what adversary they had to contend with, thinking it a hazardous undertaking to keep to himself a secret so important, and perhaps necessary for them to know. Yet he abode by his first resolution, and trusted his own heart only with the danger that might ensue.

When he came to give battle, he would not set any Macedonian to engage Craterus, but appointed to that charge two bodies of foreign horse, commanded by Pharnabazus the son of Artabazus, and Phœnix of Tenedos. They had orders to advance on the first sight of the enemy, and come to close fighting, without giving them time to retire; and if they attempted to speak or send any herald, they were not to regard it: for he had strong apprehensions that the Macedonians would go over to Craterus, if they happened to know him. Eumenes himself, with a troop of three hundred select horse, went and posted himself in the right wing, where he should have to act against Neoptolemus. When they had passed a little hill that separated the two armies, and came in view, they charged with such impetuosity, that Craterus was extremely surprised, and expressed his resentment in strong terms against Neoptolemus, who, he thought, had deceived him with a pretence that the Macedonians would change sides. However, he exhorted his officers to behave like brave men, and stood forward to the encounter. In the first shock, which was very violent, the spears were soon broke, and they were then to decide the dispute with the sword.

The behaviour of Craterus did no dishonour to Alexander. He killed numbers with his own hand, and overthrew many others who assailed him in front: but at last he received a side-blow from a Thracian, which brought him to the ground. Many passed over him without knowing him; but Gorgias, one of Eumenes's officers, took notice of him; and being well acquainted with his person, leaped from his horse, and guarded the body. It was then, however, too late; he was at the last extremity, and in the agonies of death.

In the mean time, Neoptolemus engaged Eumenes. The most violent hatred had long subsisted between them, and this day added stings to it. They knew not one another in the two first encounters, but in the third they did; and then they rushed forward impetuously, with swords drawn, and loud shouts. The shock their horses met with was so violent, that it resembled that of two galleys. The fierce antagonists quitted the bridles, and laid hold of each other, each endeavouring to tear off the helmet or the breastplate of his enemy. While their hands were thus engaged, their horses went from under them, and as they fell to the ground without quitting their hold, they wrestled for the advantage. Neoptolemus was beginning to rise first, when Eumenes wounded him in the ham, and by that means got upon his feet before him. Neoptolemus being wounded in one knee, supported himself upon the other, and fought with great courage underneath, but was not able to reach his adversary a mortal blow. At last, receiving a wound in the neck, he grew faint, and stretched

himself upon the ground. Eumenes, with all the eagerness of inveterate hatred, hastening to strip him of his arms, and loading him with reproaches, did not observe that his sword was still in his hand; so that Neoptolemus wounded him under the cuirass, where it touches upon the groin. However, as the stroke was but feeble, the apprehensions it gave him were greater than the real hurt.

When he had despoiled his adversary, weak as he was with the wounds he had received in his legs and arms, he mounted his horse, and made up to his left wing, which he supposed might still be engaged with the enemy. There, being informed of the fate of Craterus, he hastened to him; and finding his breath and his senses not quite gone, he alighted from his horse, wept over him, and gave him his hand. One while he vented his execrations upon Neoptolemus, and another while he lamented his own ill fortune, and the cruel necessity he was under of coming to extremities with his most intimate friend, and either giving or receiving the fatal blow.

Eumenes won this battle about ten days after the former. And it raised him to a high rank of honour, because it brought him the palm both of capacity and courage, but at the same time it exposed him to the envy and hatred both of his allies and his enemies. It seemed hard to them, that a stranger, a foreign adventurer, should have destroyed one of the greatest and most illustrious of the Macedonians with the arms of those very Macedonians. Had the news of the death of Craterus been brought sooner to Perdiccas, none but he would have swayed the Macedonian sceptre: but he was slain in a mutiny in Egypt, two days before the news arrived. The Macedonians were so much exasperated against Eumenes upon the late event, that they immediately decreed his death. Antigonus and Antipater were to take the direction of the war which was to carry that decree into execution. Meantime Eumenes went to the king's horses, which were pasturing about Mount Ida, and took such as he had occasion for, but gave the keepers a discharge for them. When Antipater was apprised of it, he laughed, and said, "He could not enough admire the caution of Eumenes, who must certainly expect to see the account of the king's goods and chattels stated either on one side or other."

Eumenes intended to give battle upon the plains of Lydia near Sardis, both because he was strong in cavalry, and because he was ambitious to show Cleopatra what a respectable force he had. However, at the request of that princess, who was afraid to give Antipater any cause of complaint, he marched to the upper Phrygia, and wintered in Celænæ. There Alcetas, Polemon, and Docimus, contended with him for the command; upon which he said, "This

makes good the observation—Every one thinks of advancing himself, but no one thinks of the danger that may accrue to the public weal."

He had promised to pay his army within three days, and as he had not money to do it, he sold them all the farms and castles in the country, together with the people and cattle that were upon them. Every captain of a Macedonian company, or officer who had a command in the foreign troops, received battering engines from Eumenes; and when he had taken the castle, he divided the spoil among his company, according to the arrears due to each particular man. This restored him the affections of the soldiers: insomuch, that when papers were found in his camp, dispersed by the enemy, in which their generals promised a hundred talents and great honours to the man who should kill Eumenes, the Macedonians were highly incensed, and gave orders that from that time he should have a body-guard of a thousand officer-like men always about him, who should keep watch by turns, and be in waiting day and night. There was not a man who refused that charge; and they were glad to receive from Eumenes the marks of honour, which those who are called the king's friends used to receive from the hands of royalty. For he, too, was empowered to distribute purple hats and rich robes, which were considered as the principal gifts the kings of Macedon had to bestow.

Prosperity gives some appearance of higher sentiments even to persons of mean spirit, and we see something of grandeur and importance about them in the elevation where Fortune has placed them: but he who is inspired by real fortitude and magnanimity will show it most by the dignity of his behaviour under losses, and in the most adverse fortune. So did Eumenes: when he had lost a battle to Antigonus in the territory of the Orcynians in Cappadocia, through the treachery of one of his officers, though he was forced to fly himself, he did not suffer the traitor to escape to the enemy, but took him, and hanged him upon the spot. In his flight he took a different way from the pursuers, and privately turned round in such a manner as to regain the field of battle. There he encamped, in order to bury the dead, whom he collected, and burned with the door-posts of the neighbouring villages. The bodies of the officers and common soldiers were burned upon separate piles; and, when he had raised great monuments of earth over them, he decamped: so that Antigonus, coming that way afterwards, was astonished at his firmness and intrepidity.

Another time he fell in with the baggage of Antigonus, and could easily have taken it, together with many persons of free condition, a

great number of slaves, and all the wealth which had been amassed in so many wars, and the plunder of so many countries: but he was afraid that his men, when possessed of such riches and spoils, would think themselves too heavy for flight, and be too effeminate to bear the hardship of long wandering from place to place; and yet time, he knew, was his principal resource for getting clear of Antigonus. On the other hand, he was sensible it would be extremely difficult to keep the Macedonians from flying upon the spoil, when it was so much within reach. He therefore ordered them to refresh themselves, and feed their horses before they attacked the enemy: in the mean time he privately sent a messenger to Menander, who escorted the baggage, to acquaint him, "That Eumenes, in consideration of the friendship that had subsisted between them, advised him to provide for his safety, and to retire as fast as possible from the plain, where he might easily be surrounded, to the foot of the neighbouring mountain, where the cavalry could not act, nor any troops fall upon his rear."

Menander soon perceived his danger, and retired. After which, Eumenes sent out his scouts in the presence of all his soldiers, and commanded the latter to arm and bridle their horses, in order for the attack. The scouts brought back an account that Menander had gained a situation where he could not be taken. Hereupon Eumenes pretended great concern, and drew off his forces. We are told, that upon the report Menander made of this affair to Antigonus, the Macedonians launched out in the praises of Eumenes, and began to regard him with an eye of kindness for acting so generous a part, when it was in his power to have enslaved their children and dishonoured their wives. The answer Antigonus gave them was this: "Think not, my good friends, it was for your sakes he let them go; it was for his own. He did not choose to have so many shackles upon him, when he designed to fly."

After this, Eumenes, being forced to wander and fly from place to place, spoke to many of his soldiers to leave him, either out of care for their safety, or because he did not choose to have a body of men after him, who were too few to stand a battle, and too many to fly in privacy. And when he retired to the castle of Nora*, on the confines of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, with only five hundred horse and two hundred foot, there again he gave all such of his friends free leave to depart, as did not like the inconveniences of the place, and the meanness of diet†, and dismissed them with great marks of kindness.

* It was only two hundred and fifty paces in circumference.

† A hundred left him upon this offer.

In a little time Antigonus came up, and, before he formed that siege, invited him to a conference. Eumenes answered, "Antigonus had many friends, and generals to take his place, in case of accidents to himself; but the troops he had the care of had none to command or to protect them after him." He therefore insisted that Antigonus should send hostages, if he wanted to treat with him in person. And when Antigonus wanted him to make his application to him first, as the greater man, he said, "While I am master of my sword, I shall never think any man greater than myself." At last Antigonus sent his nephew Ptolemy into the fort as a hostage, and then Eumenes came out to him. They embraced with great tokens of cordiality, having formerly been intimate friends and companions.

In the conference, which lasted a considerable time, Eumenes made no mention of security for his own life, or of an amnesty for what was past. Instead of that, he insisted on having the government of his provinces confirmed to him, and considerable rewards for his services besides: insomuch that all who attended on the occasion admired his firmness, and were astonished at his greatness of mind.

During the interview, numbers of the Macedonians ran to see Eumenes; for, after the death of Craterus, no man was so much talked of in the army as he. But Antigonus, fearing they should offer him some violence, called them to keep at a distance; and, when they still kept crowding in, ordered them to be driven off with stones. At last he took him in his arms, and, keeping off the multitude with his guards, with some difficulty got him safe again into the castle.

As the treaty ended in nothing, Antigonus drew a line of circumvallation round the place, and having left a sufficient number of troops to carry on the siege, he retired. The fort was abundantly provided with corn, water, and salt, but in want of every thing else requisite for the table. Yet with this mean provision he furnished out a cheerful entertainment for his friends, whom he invited in their turns, for he took care to season his provisions with agreeable discourse and the utmost cordiality. His appearance indeed was very engaging. His countenance had nothing of a ferocious or war-worn turn, but was smooth and elegant; and the proportion of his limbs was so excellent, that they might seem to have come from the chisel of the statuary. And though he was not very eloquent, he had a soft and persuasive way of speaking, as we may conclude from his epistles.

He observed that the greatest inconvenience to the garrison was the narrowness of the space in which they were confined, enclosed

as it was with small houses, and the whole of it not more than two furlongs in circuit; so that they were forced to take their food without exercise, and their horses to do the same. To remove the langour which is the consequence of that want, as well as to prepare them for flight, if occasion should offer, he assigned a room fourteen cubits long, the largest in all the fort, for the men to walk in, and gave them orders gradually to mend their pace. As for the horses, he tied them to the roof of the stable with strong halters; then he raised their heads and fore-parts by a pulley, till they could scarce touch the ground with their fore-feet, but, at the same time, they stood firm upon their hind-feet. In this posture the grooms plied them with the whip and the voice; and the horses, thus irritated, bounded furiously on their hind-feet, or strained to set their fore-feet on the ground; by which efforts their whole body was exercised, till they were out of breath and in a foam. After this exercise, which was no bad one either for speed or strength, they had their barley given them boiled, that they might sooner despatch and better digest it.

As the siege was drawn out to a considerable length, Antigonus received information of the death of Antipater in Macedonia, and of the troubles that prevailed there through the animosities between Cassander and Polyperchon. He now bade adieu to all inferior prospects, and grasped the whole empire in his schemes: in consequence of which he wanted to make Eumenes his friend, and bring him to co-operate in the execution of his plan. For this purpose he sent to him Hieronymus* with proposals of peace, on condition he took the oath that was offered to him. Eumenes made a correction in the oath, and left it to the Macedonians before the place to judge which form was the most reasonable. Indeed Antigonus, to save appearances, had slightly mentioned the royal family in the beginning, and all the rest ran in his own name. Eumenes, therefore, put Olympias and the princes of the blood first: and he proposed to engage himself by oath of fealty, not to Antigonus only, but to Olympias, and the princes, her children. This appearing to the Macedonians much more consistent with justice than the other, they permitted Eumenes to take it, and then raised the siege. They likewise sent this oath to Antigonus, requiring him to take it on the other part.

Meantime Eumenes restored to the Cappadocians all the hostages he had in Nora, and, in return, they furnished him with horses, beasts

* Hieronymus was of Cardia, and therefore a countryman of Eumenes. He wrote the history of those princes who divided Alexander's dominions among them, and of their successors.

of burden, and tents. He also collected great part of his soldiers who had dispersed themselves after his defeat, and were straggling about the country. By this means he assembled near a thousand horse*, with which he marched off as fast as possible; rightly judging he had much to fear from Antigonus. For that general not only ordered him to be besieged again, and shut up with a circular wall, but, in his letters, expressed great resentment against the Macedonians for admitting the correction of the oath.

While Eumenes was flying from place to place, he received letters from Macedonia, in which the people declared their apprehensions of the growing power of Antigonus; and others from Olympias, wherein she invited him to come and take upon him the tuition and care of Alexander's son, whose life she conceived to be in danger. At the same time, Polyperchon and king Philip sent him orders to carry on the war against Antigonus with the forces in Cappadocia. They empowered him also to take five hundred talents out of the royal treasure at Quinda† for the re-establishment of their own affairs, and as much more as he should judge necessary for the purposes of the war. Antigenes and Teutamus, too, who commanded the *Argyraspides*, had directions to support him.

These officers, in appearance, gave Eumenes a kind reception, but it was not difficult to discover the envy and jealousy they had in their hearts, and how much they disdained to act under him. Their envy he endeavoured to remove, by not taking the money, which he told them he did not want. To remove their obstinacy and ambition for the first place was not so easy an affair; for, though they knew not how to command, they were resolved not to obey. In this case he called in the assistance of superstition. He said Alexander had appeared to him in a dream, and showed him a pavilion with royal furniture, and a throne in the middle of it; after which that prince declared, "If they would hold their councils, and despatch business there, he would be with them, and prosper every measure and action which commenced under his auspices‡."

He easily persuaded Antigenes and Teutamus to believe he had this vision. They were not willing to wait upon him, nor did he choose to dishonour his commission by going to them. They pre-

* Diodorus Siculus says two thousand. † In Caria.

‡ In consequence of this, according to Diodorus, Eumenes proposed to take a sum out of the treasury, sufficient for making a throne of gold; to place upon that throne the diadem, the sceptre, and crown, and all the other ensigns of royalty belonging to that prince; that every morning a sacrifice should be offered him by all the officers; and that all orders should be issued in his name. A stroke of policy suitable to the genius of Eumenes.

pared therefore a royal pavilion, and a throne in it, which they called the throne of Alexander; and thither they repaired to consult upon the most important affairs.

From thence they marched to the higher provinces, and, upon the way were joined by Peucestas, a friend of Eumenes, and other governors of provinces. Thus the Macedonians were greatly strengthened, both in point of numbers, and in the most magnificent provision of all the requisites of war. But power and affluence had rendered these governors so untractable in society, and so dissolute in their way of living, since the death of Alexander, and they came together with a spirit of despotism so nursed by barbaric pride, that they soon became obnoxious to each other, and no sort of harmony could subsist between them. Besides, they flattered the Macedonians without any regard to decorum, and supplied them with money in such a manner, for their entertainments and sacrifices, that in a little time their camp looked like a place of public reception for every scene of intemperance; and those veterans were to be courted for military appointments, as the people are for their votes in a republic.

Eumenes soon perceived that the new-arrived grandees despised each other, but were afraid of him, and watched an opportunity to kill him. He therefore pretended he was in want of money, and borrowed large sums of those that hated him most*, in order that they might place some confidence in him, or at least might give up their designs upon his life, out of regard to the money lent him. Thus he found guards for himself in the opulence of others; and, though men in general seek to save their lives by giving, he provided for his safety by receiving.

While no danger was near, the Macedonians took bribes of all who wanted to corrupt them, and, like a kind of guards, daily attended the gates of those that affected the command. But, when Antigonus came and encamped over against them, and affairs called for a real general, Eumenes was applied to not only by the soldiers; but the very grandees, who had taken so much state upon them in time of peace and pleasure, freely gave place to him, and took the post he assigned them without murmuring. Indeed, when Antigonus attempted to pass the river Pasitigris, not one of the other officers who were appointed to guard it got any intelligence of his motions: Eumenes alone was at hand to oppose him; and he did it so effectually, that he filled the channel with dead bodies, and made four thousand prisoners.

The behaviour of the Macedonians, when Eumenes happened to

* Four hundred thousand crowns.

be sick, still more particularly showed that they thought others fit to direct in magnificent entertainments, and the solemnities of peace, but that he was the only person among them fit to lead an army. For Peucestas having feasted them in a sumptuous manner in Persia, and given each man a sheep for sacrifice, hoped to be indulged with the command. A few days after, as they were marching against the enemy, Eumenes was so dangerously ill, that he was forced to be carried in a litter at some distance from the ranks, lest his rest, which was very precarious, should be disturbed with the noise. They had not gone far before the enemy suddenly made their appearance, for they had passed the intermediate hills, and were now descending into the plain. The lustre of their golden armour glittering in the sun, as they marched down the hill, the elephants with the towers on their backs, and the purple vests which the cavalry used to wear when they were advancing to the combat, struck the troops that were to oppose them, with such surprise, that the front halted, and called out for Eumenes; declaring that they would not move a step farther, if he had not the direction of them. At the same time they grounded their arms, exhorting each other to stop, and insisted that their officers should not hazard an engagement without Eumenes.

Eumenes no sooner heard this, than he advanced with the utmost expedition, hastening the slaves that carried the litter. He likewise opened the curtains, and stretched out his hand in token of his joy. On the first sight of the general of their heart, the troops saluted him in the Macedonian language, clanked their arms, and with loud shouts challenged the enemy to advance, thinking themselves invincible while he was at their head.

Antigonus having learned from some prisoners that Eumenes was so extremely ill, that he was forced to be carried in a litter, concluded he should find no great difficulty in beating the other generals; and therefore hastened to the attack. But when he came to reconnoitre the enemy's army, and saw in what excellent order it was drawn up, he stood still some time in silent admiration. At last spying the litter carried about from one wing to the other, he laughed out aloud, as his manner was, and said to his friends, "Yon litter is the thing that pitches the battle against us." After this he immediately retreated to his intrenchments*.

* There are some particulars in Diodorus which deserve to be inserted here. After the two armies were separated, without coming to action, they encamped about three furlongs distance from each other; and Antigonus soon finding the country where he lay so much exhausted, that it would be very difficult for him to subsist, sent deputies to the confederate army, to solicit them, especially the governors of provinces, and the

The Macedonians had hardly recovered themselves from their fears, before they began to behave again in a disorderly and mutinous manner to their officers, and spread themselves over almost all the provinces of Gabene for winter-quarters; insomuch that the first were at the distance of a thousand furlongs from the last. Antigonus, being informed of this circumstance, moved back against them without losing a moment's time. He took a rugged road, that afforded no water, because it was the shortest; hoping, if he fell upon them while thus dispersed, that it would be impossible for their officers to assemble them.

However, as soon as he had entered that desolate country, his troops were attacked with such violent winds and severe frosts, that it was difficult for them to proceed; and they found it necessary to light many fires: for this reason their march could not be concealed. The barbarians who inhabited the mountains that overlook the desert, wondering what such a number of fires could mean, sent some persons upon dromedaries to Peucestas with an account of them.

Peucestas, distracted with terror at this news, prepared for flight, intending to take with him such troops as he could collect on

old Macedonian corps, to desert Eumenes, and to join him; which, at this time, they rejected with the highest indignation. After the deputies were dismissed, Eumenes came into the assembly, and delivered himself in the following fable:—"A lion once falling in love with a young damsel, demanded her in marriage of her father. The father made answer—That he looked on such an alliance as a great honour to his family, but stood in fear of his claws and teeth, lest, upon any trifling dispute that might happen between them after marriage, he might exercise them a little too hastily upon his daughter. To remove this objection, the amorous lion caused both his nails and teeth to be drawn immediately; whereupon the father took a cudgel, and soon got rid of his enemy."—"This," continued he, "is the very thing aimed at by Antigonus, who is liberal in promises, till he has made himself master of your forces, and then beware of his teeth and paws." A few days after this, Eumenes having intelligence that Antigonus intended to decamp in the night, presently guessed that his design was to seek quarters of refreshment for his army in the rich district of Gabene. To prevent this, and at the same time to gain a passage into that country, he instructed some soldiers to pretend they were deserters, and sent them into the camp of Antigonus, where they reported that Eumenes intended to attack him in his trenches that very night. But, while Antigonus's troops were under arms, Eumenes marched for Gabene, which at length Antigonus suspected; and, having given proper orders to his foot, marched immediately after him with his cavalry. Early in the morning, from the top of a hill, he discerned Eumenes with his army below; and Eumenes, upon sight of the cavalry, concluding that the whole army of Antigonus was at hand, faced about, and disposed his troops in order of battle. Thus Eumenes was deceived in his turn; and, as soon as Antigonus's infantry came up, a sharp action followed, in which the victory seemed won and lost several times. At last, however, Antigonus had visibly the worst, being forced to withdraw, by long marches, into Media.—*Diod. Sic.* lib. xviii.

the way: but Eumenes soon dispelled their fears and uneasiness, by promising so to impede the enemy's march, that they would arrive three days later than they were expected. Finding that they listened to him, he sent orders to the officers to draw all the troops from their quarters, and assemble them with speed. At the same time he took his horse, and went with his colleagues to seek out a lofty piece of ground, which might attract the attention of the troops marching below. Having found one that answered his purpose, he measured it, and caused a number of fires to be lighted at proper intervals, so as to resemble a camp.

When Antigonus beheld those fires upon the heights, he was in the utmost distress: for he thought the enemy were apprised of his intention some time before, and were come to meet him. Not choosing, therefore, with forces so harassed and fatigued with their march, to be obliged to fight troops that were perfectly fresh, and had wintered in agreeable quarters, he left the short road, and led his men through the towns and villages; giving them abundant time to refresh themselves. But when he found that no parties came out to gall him on his march, which is usual when an enemy is near, and was informed by the neighbouring inhabitants that they had seen no troops whatever, nor any thing but fires upon the hills, he perceived that Eumenes had outdone him in point of generalship; and this incensed him so much, that he advanced with a resolution to try his strength in a pitched battle.

Meantime the greatest part of the forces repairing to Eumenes, in admiration of his capacity, desired him to take the sole command. Upon this, Antigenes and Teutamus, who were at the head of the *Argyraspides*, were so exasperated with envy, that they formed a plot against his life; and having drawn into it most of the grandees and generals, they consulted upon a proper time and method to take him off. They all agreed to make use of him in the ensuing battle, and to assassinate him immediately after. But Eudamus, master of the elephants, and Phædimus, privately informed Eumenes of their resolutions; not out of any kindness or benevolent regard, but because they were afraid of losing the money they had lent him. He commended them for the honour with which they behaved, and retired to his tent. There he told his friends, "That he lived among a herd of savage beasts," and immediately made his will. After which, he destroyed all his papers, lest, after his death, charges and impeachments should arise against the persons who wrote them, in consequence of the secrets discovered there. He then considered whether he should put the enemy in the way of gaining the victory, or take his flight through Media and Armenia into Cappadocia;

but he could not fix upon any thing while his friends staid with him. After revolving various expedients in his mind, which was now almost as changeable as his fortune, he drew up the forces, and endeavoured to animate the Greeks and the barbarians. On the other hand, the *phalanx* and the *Argyraspides* bade him be of good courage, assuring him that the enemy would not stand the encounter: for they were veterans who had served under Philip and Alexander, and, like so many champions of the ring, had never had a fall to that day. Many of them were seventy years of age, and none less than sixty: so that when they charged the troops of Antigonus, they cried out, "Villains you fight against your fathers!" Then they fell furiously upon his infantry, and soon routed them. Indeed, none of the battalions could stand the shock, and the most of them were cut in pieces upon the spot. But though Antigonus had such bad success in this quarter, his cavalry were victorious, through the weak and dastardly behaviour of Peucestas, and took all the baggage. Antigonus was a man who had an excellent presence of mind on the most trying occasions, and here the place and the occasion befriended him. It was a plain open country, the soil neither deep nor hard, but, like the sea-shore, covered with a fine dry sand, which the trampling of so many men and horses, during the action, reduced to a small white dust, that, like a cloud of lime, darkened the air, and intercepted the prospect; so that it was easy for Antigonus to take the baggage unperceived.

After the battle was over, Teutamus sent some of his corps to Antigonus, to desire him to restore the baggage. He told them, he would not only return the *Argyraspides* their baggage, but treat them, in all respects, with the greatest kindness, provided they would put Eumenes in his hands. The *Argyraspides* came into that abominable measure, and agreed to deliver up that brave man alive to his enemies. In pursuance of this scheme, they approached him unsuspected, and planted themselves about him: some lamented the loss of their baggage; some desired him to assume the spirit of victory which he had gained; others accused the rest of their commanders. Thus watching their opportunity, they fell upon him, took away his sword, and bound his hands behind him with his own girdle.

Nicanor was sent by Antigonus to receive him. But, as they led him through the midst of the Macedonians, he desired first to speak to them; not for any request he had to make, but upon matters of great importance to *them*. Silence being made, he ascended an eminence, and stretching out his hands, bound as they were, he said, "What trophy, ye vilest of all the Macedonians! what tro-

phy could Antigonus have wished to raise, like this which you are raising, by delivering up your general bound? Was it not base enough to acknowledge yourselves beaten, merely for the sake of your baggage, as if victory dwelt among your goods and chattels, and not upon the points of your swords; but you must also send your general as a ransom for that baggage? For my part, though thus led, I am not conquered; I have beaten the enemy, and am ruined by my fellow-soldiers. But I conjure you by the god of armies*, and the awful deities who preside over oaths, to kill me here with your own hands. If my life be taken by another, the deed will still be yours: nor will Antigonus complain, if you take the work out of his hands; for he wants not Eumenes alive, but Eumenes dead. If you choose not to be the immediate instruments, loose but one of my hands, and that shall do the business. If you will not trust me with a sword, throw me bound as I am to wild beasts. If you comply with this last request, I acquit you of all guilt with respect to me, and declare you have behaved to your general like the best and honestest of men."

The rest of the troops received this speech with sighs and tears, and every expression of sorrow; but the *Argyraspides* cried out, "Lead him on, and attend not to his trifling: for it is no such great matter, if an execrable Chersonesian, who has harassed the Macedonians with infinite wars, have cause to lament his fate, as it would be, if the best of Alexander's and Philip's soldiers should be deprived of the fruit of their labours, and have their bread to beg in their old age: and have not our wives already passed three nights with our enemies?" So saying they drove him forward.

Antigonus, fearing some bad consequences from the crowd (for there was not a man left in his camp), sent out ten of his best elephants, and a corps of spearmen, who were Medes and Parthians, to keep them off. He could not bear to have Eumenes brought into his presence, because of the former friendly connexions there had been between them: and when those who took the charge of him asked in what manner he would have him kept? He said, "So as you would keep an elephant or a lion." Nevertheless, he soon felt some impressions of pity, and ordered them to take off his heavy chains, and allow him a servant who had been accustomed to wait upon him. He likewise permitted such of his friends as desired it to pass whole days with him, and to bring him necessary refreshments. Thus he spent some considerable time in deliberating how to dispose of him, and sometimes listened to the applications and promises of Nearchus the Cretan, and his own son Demetrius, who made it a point to save

him: but all the other officers insisted that he should be put to death, and urged Antigonus to give directions for it.

One day, we are told, Eumenes asked his keeper, Onomarchus, "Why Antigonus, now he had got his enemy into his power, did not either immediately despatch him, or generously release him?" Onomarchus answered in a contemptuous manner, "That in the battle, and not now, he should have been so ready to meet death." To which Eumenes replied, "By heaven I was so! Ask those who ventured to engage me, if I was not. I do not know that I met with a better man than myself."—"Well," said Onomarchus, "now you have found a better man than yourself, why do not you patiently wait his time?"

When Antigonus had resolved upon his death, he gave orders that he should have no kind of food. By this means, in two or three days time, he began to draw near his end: and then Antigonus, being obliged to decamp upon some sudden emergency, sent an executioner to despatch him. The body he delivered to his friends, allowing them to burn it honourably, and to collect the ashes into a silver urn, in order to their being sent to his wife and children.

Thus died Eumenes: and divine justice did not go far to seek instruments of vengeance against the officers* and soldiers who had betrayed him. Antigonus himself, detesting the *Argyraspides* as impious and savage wretches, ordered Ibyrtius, governor of Arachosia†, under whose direction he put them, to take every method to destroy them; so that none of them might return to Macedonia, or set his eyes upon the Grecian sea.

SERTORIUS AND EUMENES COMPARED.

THESE are the most remarkable particulars which history has given us concerning Eumenes and Sertorius. And now to come to the comparison: we observe, first, that though they were both strangers, aliens, and exiles, they had, to the end of their days, the command of many warlike nations, and great and respectable armies.

* Antigenes, commander in chief of the *Silver Shields*, was, by order of Antigonus, put into a coffin, and burnt alive. Eudamus, Celbanus, and many others of the enemies of Eumenes, experienced a like fate.

† A province of Parthia, near Bactriana.

Sertorius, indeed, has this advantage, that his fellow-warriors ever freely gave up the command to him on account of his superior merit; whereas many disputed the post of honour with Eumenes, and it was his actions only that obtained it for him. The officers of Sertorius were ambitious to have him at their head; but those who acted under Eumenes never had recourse to him, till experience had showed them their own incapacity, and the necessity of employing another.

The one was a Roman, and commanded the Spaniards and Lusitanians, who for many years had been subject to Rome; the other was a Chersonesian, and commanded the Macedonians, who had conquered the whole world. It should be considered, too, that Sertorius the more easily made his way, because he was a senator, and had led armies before; but Eumenes, with the disreputation of having been only a secretary, raised himself to the first military employments. Nor had Eumenes only fewer advantages, but greater impediments also, in the road to honour. Numbers opposed him openly, and as many formed private designs against his life; whereas no man ever opposed Sertorius in public, and it was not till towards the last that a few of his own party entered upon a private scheme to destroy him. The dangers of Sertorius were generally over when he had gained a victory; and the dangers of Eumenes grew out of his very victories, among those who envied his success.

Their military performances were equal and similar, but their dispositions were very different. Eumenes loved war, and had a native spirit of contention; Sertorius loved peace and tranquillity. The former might have lived in great security and honour, if he would not have stood in the way of the great; but he rather chose to tread for ever in the uneasy paths of power, though he had to fight every step he took: the latter would gladly have withdrawn from the tumult of public affairs; but was forced to continue the war, to defend himself against his restless persecutors. For Antigonus would have taken pleasure in employing Eumenes, if he would have given up the dispute for superiority, and been content with the station next to his; whereas Pompey would not grant Sertorius his request to live a private citizen. Hence, the one voluntarily engaged in war, for the sake of gaining the chief command; the other involuntarily took the command, because he could not live in peace. Eumenes, therefore, in his passion for the camp, preferred ambition to safety; Sertorius was an able warrior, but employed his talents only for the safety of his person. The one was not apprised of his impending fate; the other expected his every moment. The one had the candid praise

of confidence in his friends; the other incurred the censure of weakness, for he would have fled*, but could not. The death of Sertorius did no dishonour to his life; he suffered that from his fellow-soldiers which the enemy could not have effected. Eumenes could not avoid his chains, yet, after the indignity of chains†, he wanted to live; so that he could neither escape death, nor meet it as he ought to have done; but, by having recourse to mean applications and entreaties, put his mind in the power of the man who was only master of his body.

AGESILAUS.

ARCHIDAMUS‡, the son of Xeuxidamus, after having governed the Lacedæmonians with a very respectable character, left behind him two sons; the one named Agis, whom he had by Lampito§, a woman of an illustrious family; the other much younger, named Agesilaus, whom he had by Eupolia, the daughter of Melisippidas. As the crown, by law, was to descend to Agis, Agesilaus had nothing to expect but a private station, and therefore had a common Lacedæmonian education; which, though hard in respect of diet, and full of laborious exercises, was well calculated to teach the youth obedience. Hence Simonides is said to have called that famed city *the man-subduing* Sparta, because it was the principal tendency of her discipline to make the citizens obedient and submissive to the laws; and she trained her youth as the colt is trained to the manage. The law does not lay the young princes, who are educated for the throne, under the same necessity But Agesilaus was singular in this, that, before he came to govern, he had learned to obey. Hence it was that he accommodated himself with a better grace to his subjects than any other of the kings; having added to his princely talents and inclinations a humane manner and popular civility.

* Upon notice of the intention of his enemies to destroy him after the battle, he deliberated whether he should give up the victory to Antigonus, or retire into Cappadocia.

† This does not appear from Plutarch's account of him. He only desired Antigonus either to give immediate orders for his execution, or to show his generosity in releasing him.

‡ Archidamus II.

§ Lampito, or Lampido, was sister to Archidamus by the father's side.—Vid. *Plat. Alcibiad.*

While he was yet in one of the classes or societies of boys, Lysander had that honourable attachment to him which the Spartans distinguish with the name of love. He was charmed with his ingenuous modesty: for though he had a spirit above his companions, an ambition to excel, which made him unwilling to sit down without the prize, and a vigour and impetuosity which could not be conquered or borne down; yet he was equally remarkable for his gentleness, where it was necessary to obey. At the same time it appeared that his obedience was not owing to fear, but to a principle of honour, and that, throughout his whole conduct, he dreaded disgrace more than toil.

He was lame of one leg; but that defect, during his youth, was covered by the agreeable turn of the rest of his person; and the easy and cheerful manner in which he bore it, and his being the first to rally himself upon it, always made it the less regarded. Nay, that defect made his spirit of enterprise more remarkable; for he never declined, on that account, any undertaking, however difficult or laborious.

We have no portrait or statue of him. He would not suffer any to be made while he lived, and at his death he utterly forbade it. We are only told, that he was a little man, and that he had not a commanding aspect. But a perpetual vivacity and cheerfulness, attended with a talent for raillery, which was expressed without any severity either of voice or look, made him more agreeable, even in age, than the young and the handsome. Theophrastus tells us, the *ephori* fined Archidamus for marrying a little woman. "She will bring us," said they, "a race of pigmies, instead of kings."

During the reign of Agis, Alcibiades, upon his quitting Sicily, came an exile to Lacedæmon. And he had not been there long before he was suspected of a criminal commerce with Timæa, the wife of Agis. Agis would not acknowledge the child which she had for his, but said it was the son of Alcibiades. Duris informs us, that the queen was not displeased at the supposition, and that she used to whisper to her women, the child should be called Alcibiades, not Leotychidas. He adds, that Alcibiades himself scrupled not to say, "He did not approach Timæa to gratify his appetite, but from an ambition to give kings to Sparta." However, he was obliged to fly from Sparta, lest Agis should revenge the injury. And that prince looking upon Leotychidas with an eye of suspicion, did not take notice of him as a son. Yet, in his last sickness, Leotychidas prevailed upon him, by his tears and entreaties, to acknowledge him as such before many witnesses.

Notwithstanding this public declaration, Agis was no sooner dead

than Lysander, who had vanquished the Athenians at sea, and had great power and interest in Sparta, advanced Agesilaus to the throne; alleging that Leotychidas was a bastard, and consequently had no right to it. Indeed, the generality of the citizens, knowing the virtues of Agesilaus, and that he had been educated with them in all the severities of the Spartan discipline, joined with pleasure in the scheme.

There was then at Sparta a diviner, named Diopithes, well versed in ancient prophecies, and supposed an able interpreter of every thing relating to the gods. This man insisted it was contrary to the divine will, that a lame man should sit on the throne of Sparta; and on the day the point was to be decided, he publicly read this oracle—

Beware, proud Sparta, lest a maimed empire *
Thy boasted strength impair; for other woes
Than thou beho!d'st await thee—borne away
By the strong tide of war.....

Lysander observing upon this, that if the Spartans were solicitous to act literally according to the oracle, they ought to beware of Leotychidas: for that Heaven did not consider it as a matter of importance, if the king happened to have a lame foot: the thing to be guarded against was the admission of a person who was not a genuine descendant of Hercules; for that, would make the kingdom itself lame. Agesilaus added, that Neptune had borne witness to the bastardy of Leotychidas, in throwing Agis out of his bed by an earthquake †; ten months after which, and more, Leotychidas was born, though Agis did not cohabit with Timæa during that time.

By these ways and means Agesilaus gained the diadem, and at the same time was put in possession of the private estate of Agis; Leotychidas being rejected on account of his illegitimacy. Observing, however, that his relations by the mother's side, though men of merit, were very poor, he gave a moiety of the estate among them; by which means the inheritance procured him respect and honour, instead of envy and aversion.

Xenophon tells us, that, by obedience to the laws of his country, Agesilaus gained so much power, that his will was not disputed. The case was this:—The principal authority was then in the hands of the *ephori* and the senate. The *ephori* were annual magistrates, and the senators had their office for life. They were both appointed as a barrier against the power of the kings, as we have observed in

* The two legs of the Spartan constitution were the two kings, which therefore must be in a maimed and ruined state, when one of them was gone. In fact, the consequence produced not a just and good monarch, but a tyrant.

† See Xenophon, Grecian Hist. book iii.

the life of Lycurgus. The kings, therefore, had an old and hereditary antipathy to them, and perpetual disputes subsisted between them. But Lysander took a different course. He gave up all thoughts of opposition and contention, and paid his court to them on every occasion; taking care, in all his enterprises, to set out under their auspices. If he was called, he went faster than usual: if he was upon his throne, administering justice, he rose up when the *ephori* approached: if any one of them was admitted a member of the senate, he sent him a robe and an ox*, as marks of honour. Thus, while he seemed to be adding to the dignity and importance of their body, he was privately increasing his own strength, and the authority of the crown, through their support and attachment.

In his conduct with respect to the other citizens, he behaved better as an enemy than as a friend. If he was severe to his enemies, he was not unjustly so; his friends he countenanced even in their unjust pursuits. If his enemies performed any thing extraordinary, he was ashamed not to take honourable notice of it: his friends he could not correct when they did amiss; on the contrary, it was his pleasure to support them, and go the same lengths they did; for he thought no service dishonourable which he did in the way of friendship. Nay, if his adversaries fell into any misfortune, he was the first to sympathize with them, and ready to give them his assistance, if they desired it. By these means he gained the hearts of all his people.

The *ephori* saw this, and, in their fear of his increasing power, imposed a fine upon him; alleging this as the reason, that whereas the citizens ought to be in common, he appropriated them to himself. As the writers upon physics say, that if war and discord were banished the universe, the heavenly bodies would stop their course, and all generation and motion would cease, by reason of that perfect harmony; so the great law-giver infused a spirit of ambition and contention into the Spartan constitution, as an incentive to virtue, and wished always to see some difference and dispute among the good and virtuous. He thought that general complaisance, which leads men to yield to the first proposal, without exploring each other's intentions, and without debating on the consequences, was an inert principle, and deserved not the name of harmony†. Some imagine that Homer saw this; and that he would not have made Agamemnon rejoice‡, when Ulysses and Achilles contended

* Emblems of magistracy and patriotism.

† Upon the same principle, we need not be greatly alarmed at party disputes in our own nation. They will not expire but with liberty. And such ferments are often necessary to throw off vicious humours.

‡ Odyssey, lib. viii.

in such opprobrious terms, if he had not expected that some great benefit would arise to their affairs in general from this particular quarrel among the great. This point, however, cannot be agreed to without some exception; for violent dissensions are pernicious to a state, and productive of the greatest dangers.

Agesilaus had not been long seated on the throne, before accounts were brought from Asia that the king of Persia was preparing a great fleet to dispossess the Lacedæmonians of their dominion of the sea. Lysander was very desirous to be sent again into Asia, that he might support his friends whom he had left governors and masters of the cities, and many of whom, having abused their authority to the purposes of violence and injustice, were banished or put to death by the people. He therefore persuaded Agesilaus to enter Asia with his forces, and fix the seat of war at the greatest distance from Greece, before the Persian could have finished his preparations. At the same time he instructed his friends in Asia to send deputies to Lacedæmon to desire Agesilaus might be appointed to that command.

Agesilaus received their proposals in full assembly of the people, and agreed to undertake the war, on condition they would give him thirty Spartans for his officers and counsellors, a select corps of two thousand newly enfranchised *helots*, and six thousand of the allies. All this was readily decreed through the influence of Lysander, and Agesilaus sent out with the thirty Spartans. Lysander was soon at the head of the council, not only on account of his reputation and power, but the friendship of Agesilaus, who thought the procuring him this command a greater thing than the raising him to the throne.

While his forces were assembling at Geræstus, he went with his friends to Aulis; and passing the night there, he dreamed that a person addressed him in this manner: "You are sensible, that, since Agamemnon, none has been appointed captain-general of all Greece but yourself, the king of Sparta; and you are the only person who have arrived at that honour. Since, therefore, you command the same people, and go against the same enemies with him, as well as take your departure from the same place, you ought to propitiate the goddess with the same sacrifice which he offered here before he sailed."

Agesilaus at first thought of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, whom her father offered in obedience to the soothsayers. This circumstance, however, did not give him any pain. In the morning he related the vision to his friends, and told them he would honour the goddess with what a superior Being might reasonably be supposed to take pleasure

in, and not imitate the savage ignorance of his predecessor; in consequence of which, he crowned a hind with flowers, and delivered her to his own soothsayer, with orders that he should perform the ceremony, and not the person appointed to that office by the Bœotians. The first magistrates of Bœotia, incensed at this innovation, sent their officers to insist that Agesilaus should not sacrifice contrary to the laws and customs of Bœotia. And the officers not only gave him such notice, but threw the thighs of the victim from the altar. Agesilaus was highly offended at this treatment, and departed in great wrath with the Thebans. Nor could he conceive any hopes of success after such an omen; on the contrary, he concluded his operations would be incomplete, and his expedition not answer the intention.

When he came to Ephesus, the power and interest of Lysander appeared in a very obnoxious light. The gates of that minister were continually crowded, and all applications were made to him; as if Agesilaus had only the name and badges of command, to save the forms of law, and Lysander had in fact the power, and all business were to pass through his hands. Indeed, none of the generals who were sent to Asia ever had greater sway, or were more dreaded than he; none ever served their friends more effectually, or humbled their enemies so much. These were things fresh in every one's memory; and when they compared also the plain, the mild, and popular behaviour of Agesilaus with the stern, the short, and authoritative manner of Lysander, they submitted to the latter entirely, and attended to him alone.

The other Spartans first expressed their resentment, because their attention to Lysander made them appear rather as his ministers than as counsellors to the king. Afterwards Agesilaus himself was piqued at it: for though he had no envy in his nature, or jealousy of honours paid to merit, yet he was ambitious of glory, and firm in asserting his claim to it. Besides, he was apprehensive that if any great action were performed, it would be imputed to Lysander, on account of the superior light in which he had still been considered.

The method he took to obviate it was this: his first step was to oppose the counsels of Lysander, and to pursue measures different from those for which he was most earnest. Another step was to reject the petitions of all who appeared to apply to him through the interest of that minister. In matters too, which were brought before the king in a judicial way, those against whom Lysander exerted himself were sure to gain their cause, and they for whom he appeared could scarce escape without a fine. As these things happened not casually, but constantly and of set purpose, Lysander perceived the

cause, and concealed it not from his friends. He told them, it was on his account they were disgraced, and desired them to pay their court to the king, and to those who had greater interest with him than himself. These proceedings seemed invidious, and intended to depreciate the king: Agesilaus, therefore, to mortify him still more, appointed him his carver; and we are told, he said before a large company, "Now let them go and pay their court to my carver."

Lysander, unable to bear this last instance of contempt, said, "Agesilaus, you know very well how to lessen your friends." Agesilaus answered, "I know very well who want to be greater than myself." "But perhaps," said Lysander, "that has rather been so represented to you than attempted by me. Place me, however, where I may serve you, without giving you the least umbrage."

Upon this, Agesilaus appointed him his lieutenant in the Hellespont, where he persuaded Spithridates, a Persian, in the province of Pharnabazus, to come over to the Greeks, with a considerable treasure, and two hundred horse. Yet he retained his resentment, and nourishing the remembrance of the affront he had received, considered how he might deprive the two families of the privilege of giving kings to Sparta*, and open the way to that high station to all the citizens. And it seems that he would have raised great commotions in pursuit of his revenge, if he had not been killed in his expedition into Bœotia. Thus, ambitious spirits, when they go beyond certain bounds, do much more harm than good to the community: for if Lysander was to blame, as in fact he was, in indulging an unreasonable avidity of honour, Agesilaus might have known other methods to correct the fault of a man of his character and spirit. But, under the influence of the same passion, the one knew not how to pay proper respect to his general, nor the other how to bear the imperfections of his friend.

At first Tissaphernes was afraid of Agesilaus, and undertook by treaty that the king would leave the Grecian cities to be governed by their own laws; but afterwards, thinking his strength sufficiently increased, he declared war. This was an event very agreeable to Agesilaus: he hoped great things from this expedition†; and he considered it as a circumstance which would reflect dishonour upon himself, that Xenophon could conduct ten thousand Greeks from the heart of Asia to the sea, and beat the king of Persia whenever his forces thought proper to engage him; if he, at the head of the La-

* The Eurytionidæ and the Agidæ.

† He told the Persian ambassadors, "He was much obliged to their master for the step he had taken, since, by the violation of his oath, he had made the gods enemies to Persia, and friends to Greece."

cedæmonians, who were masters both at sea and land, could not distinguish himself before the Greeks by some great and memorable stroke.

To revenge, therefore, the perjury of Tissaphernes by an artifice which justice recommended, he pretended immediately to march into Caria; and when the barbarian had drawn his forces to that quarter, he turned short, and entered Phrygia. There he took many cities, and made himself master of immense treasures; by which he showed his friends that to violate a treaty is to despise the gods; whilst to deceive an enemy is not only just but glorious, and the way to add profit to pleasure. But as he was inferior in cavalry, and the liver of the victim appeared without a head, he retired to Ephesus to raise that sort of troops which he wanted. The method he took was, to insist that every man of substance, if he did not choose to serve in person, should provide a horse and a man. Many accepted the alternative; and, instead of a parcel of indifferent combatants, such as the rich would have made, he soon got a numerous and respectable cavalry: for those who did not choose to serve at all, or not to serve as horse, hired others who wanted neither courage nor inclination. In this he professedly imitated Agamemnon, who, for a good mare, excused a dastardly rich man the service*.

One day he ordered his commissaries to sell the prisoners, but to strip them first. Their clothes found many purchasers; but as to the prisoners themselves, their skins being soft and white, by reason of their having lived so much within doors, the spectators only laughed at them, thinking they would be of no service as slaves. Whereupon Agesilaus, who stood by at the auction, said to his troops, "These are the persons whom ye fight with;" and then pointing to the rich spoils, "Those are the things ye fight for."

When the season called him into the field again, he gave it out that Lydia was his object. In this he did not deceive Tissaphernes; that general deceived himself: for, giving no heed to the declarations of Agesilaus, because he had been imposed upon by them before, he concluded he would now enter Caria, a country not convenient for cavalry, in which his strength did not lie. Agesilaus, as he

* Then Menelaus his Podargus brings,
And the fam'd courser of the king of kings;
Whom rich Echepolus (more rich than brave)
To 'scape the wars, to Agamemnon gave,
(Æthe her name) at home to end his days,
Base wealth preferring to eternal praise.—*Pope*, Il. xxiii.

Thus Scipio, when he went to Africa, ordered the Sicilians either to attend him, or to give him horses or men.

had proposed, went and sat down on the plains of Sardis, and Tissaphernes was forced to march thither in great haste with succours. The Persian, as he advanced with his cavalry, cut off a number of the Greeks, who were scattered up and down for plunder. Agesilaus, however, considered that the enemy's infantry could not yet be come up, whereas he had all his forces about him; and therefore resolved to give battle immediately. Pursuant to this resolution, he mixed his light-armed foot with the horse, and ordered them to advance swiftly to the charge, while he was bringing up the heavy-armed troops, which would not be far behind. The barbarians were soon put to flight; the Greeks pursued them to their camp, and killed great numbers.

In consequence of this success, they could pillage the king's country in full security, and had all the satisfaction to see Tissaphernes, a man of abandoned character, and one of the greatest enemies to their name and nation, properly punished: for the king immediately sent Tithraustes against him, who cut off his head. At the same time he desired Agesilaus to grant him peace, promising him large sums*, on condition that he would evacuate his dominions. Agesilaus answered "His country was the sole arbitress of peace: for his own part, he rather chose to enrich his soldiers than himself; and the great honour among the Greeks was to carry home spoils, and not presents, from their enemies." Nevertheless, to gratify Tithraustes for destroying Tissaphernes, the common enemy of the Greeks, he decamped and retired into Phrygia, taking thirty talents of that viceroy to defray the charges of his march.

As he was upon the road, he received the *scytale* from the magistrates of Lacedæmon, which invested him with the command of the navy as well as army; an honour which that city never granted to any one but himself.—He was, indeed, (as Theopompus somewhere says), confessedly the greatest and most illustrious man of his time; yet he placed his dignity rather in his virtue than his power. Notwithstanding, there was this flaw in his character; when he had the conduct of the navy given him, he committed that charge to Pisander, when there were other officers of greater age and abilities at hand. Pisander was his wife's brother, and, in compliment to her, he respected that alliance more than the public good.

He took up his own quarters in the province of Pharnabazus, where he not only lived in plenty, but raised considerable subsidies.

* He promised also to restore the Greek cities in Asia to their liberty, on condition that they paid the established tribute; and he hoped (he said) that this condescension would persuade Agesilaus to accept the peace, and to return home; the rather because Tissaphernes, who was guilty of the first breach, was punished as he deserved.

From thence he proceeded to Paphlagonia, and drew Cotys, the king of that country, into his interest, who had been some time desirous of such a connexion, on account of the virtue and honour which marked his character. Spithridates, who was the first person of consequence that came over from Pharnabazus, accompanied Agesilaus in all his expeditions, and took a share in all his dangers. This Spithridates had a son, a handsome youth, for whom Agesilaus had a particular regard, and a beautiful daughter in the flower of her age, whom he married to Cotys. Cotys gave him a thousand horse, and two thousand men, draughted from his light-armed troops, and with these he returned to Phrygia.

Agesilaus committed great ravages in that province; but Pharnabazus did not wait to oppose him, or trust his own garrisons. Instead of that, he took his most valuable things with him, and moved from place to place, to avoid a battle. Spithridates, however, watched him so narrowly, that, with the assistance of Herippidas* the Spartan, at last he made himself master of his camp and all his treasures. Herippidas made it his business to examine what part of the baggage was secreted, and compelled the barbarians to restore it; he looked, indeed, with a keen eye into every thing.—This provoked Spithridates to such a degree, that he immediately marched off with the Paphlagonians to Sardis.

There was nothing in the whole war that touched Agesilaus more nearly than this. Besides the pain it gave him to think he had lost Spithridates, and a considerable body of men with him, he was ashamed of a mark of avarice and illiberal meanness, from which he had ever studied to keep both himself and his country. These were causes of uneasiness that might be publicly acknowledged; but he had a private and more sensible one, in his attachment to the son of Spithridates; though, while he was with him, he had made it a point to combat that attachment.

One day Megabates approached to salute him, and Agesilaus declined that mark of his affection. The youth, after this, was more distant in his addresses. Then Agesilaus was sorry for the repulse he had given him, and pretended to wonder why Megabates kept at such a distance. His friends told him, he must blame himself for rejecting his former application. "He would still," said they, "be glad to pay his most obliging respects to you, but take care you do not reject them again." Agesilaus was silent some time; and when he had considered the thing, he said, "Do not mention it to him: for this second victory over myself gives me more pleasure than I should

* Herippidas was at the head of the new council of thirty sent to Agesilaus the second year of the war.

have in turning all I look upon to gold." This resolution of his held while Megabates was with him; but he was so much affected at his departure, that it is hard to say how he would have behaved, if he had found him again.

After this, Pharnabazus desired a conference with him; and Apollophanes of Cyzicus, at whose house they had been both entertained, procured an interview. Agesilaus came first to the place appointed with his friends, and sat down upon the long grass, under a shade, to wait for Pharnabazus. When the Persian grandee came, his servants spread soft skins and beautiful pieces of tapestry for him; but, upon seeing Agesilaus so seated, he was ashamed to make use of them, and placed himself carelessly upon the grass in the same manner, though his robes were delicate, and of the finest colours.

After mutual salutations, Pharnabazus opened the conference; and he had just cause of complaint against the Lacedæmonians, after the services he had done them in the Athenian war, and their late ravages in his country. Agesilaus saw the Spartans were at a loss for an answer, and kept their eyes fixed upon the ground; for they knew that Pharnabazus was injured. However, the Spartan general found an answer, which was as follows: "While we were friends to the king of Persia, we treated him and his in a friendly manner: now we are enemies, you can expect nothing from us but hostilities. Therefore, while you, Pharnabazus, choose to be a vassal to the king, we wound him through your sides.—Only be a friend and ally to the Greeks, and shake off that vassalage, and from that moment you have a right to consider these battalions, these arms and ships, in short, all that we are or have, as guardians of your possessions and your liberty, without which nothing is great or desirable among men*."

Pharnabazus then explained himself in these terms: "If the king sends another lieutenant in my room, I will be for you; but while he continues me in the government, I will, to the best of my power, repel force with force, and make reprisals upon you for him."—Agesilaus, charmed with this reply, took his hand, and, rising up with him, said, "Heaven grant that with such sentiments as these you may be our friend, and not our enemy!"

As Pharnabazus and his company were going away, his son, who was behind, ran up to Agesilaus, and said, with a smile, "Sir, I enter with you into the rites of hospitality:" at the same time he gave him a javelin which he had in his hand. Agesilaus received it; and,

* He added, "However, if we continue at war, I will, for the future, avoid your territories as much as possible, and rather forage and raise contributions in any other province."—*Xen. Grec. War*, b. iv.

delighted with his looks and kind regards, looked about for something handsome to give a youth of his princely appearance in return. His secretary Adæus happening to have a horse with magnificent furniture just by, he ordered it to be taken off and given to the young man. Nor did he forget him afterwards. In process of time this Persian was driven from his home by his brothers, and forced to take refuge in Peloponnesus. Agesilaus then took him into his protection, and served him on all occasions. The Persian had a favourite in the wrestling-ring at Athens, who wanted to be introduced at the Olympic games; but, as he was past the proper age, they did not choose to admit him*. In this case the Persian applied to Agesilaus, who, willing to oblige him in this as well as other things, procured the young man the admission he desired, though not without much difficulty.

Agesilaus, indeed, in other respects was strictly and inflexibly just; but, where a man's friends were concerned, he thought a rigid regard to justice a mere pretence. There is still extant a short letter of his to Hydrieus the Carian, which is a proof of what we have said. "If Nicias be innocent, acquit him: if he is not innocent, acquit him on my account: however, be sure to acquit him."

Such was the general character of Agesilaus as a friend. There were, indeed, times when his attachments gave way to the exigencies of the state. Once being obliged to decamp in a hurry, he was leaving a favourite sick behind him. The favourite called after him, and earnestly entreated him to come back; upon which he turned and said, "How little consistent are love and prudence!" This particular we have from Hieronymus the philosopher.

Agesilaus had been now two years at the head of the army, and was become the general subject of discourse in the upper provinces. His wisdom, his disinterestedness, his moderation, was the theme they dwelt upon with pleasure. Whenever he made an excursion, he lodged in the temples most renowned for sanctity; and whereas, on many occasions, we do not choose that men should see what we are about, he was desirous to have the gods inspectors and witnesses of his conduct. Among so many thousands of soldiers as he had, there was scarce one who had a worse or a harder bed than he. He was so fortified against heat and cold, that none was so well prepared as himself for whatever seasons the climate should produce.

The Greeks in Asia never saw a more agreeable spectacle, than when the Persian governors and generals, who had been insufferably

* Sometimes boys had a share in these exhibitions, who, after a certain age, were excluded the lists.

elated with power, and had rolled in riches and luxury, humbly submitting and paying their court to a man in a coarse cloak, and, upon one laconic word, conforming to his sentiments, or rather transforming themselves into another shape. Many thought that line of Timotheus applicable on this occasion—

MARS is the god; and Greece reveres not GOLD.

All Asia was now ready to revolt from the Persians. Agesilaus brought the cities under excellent regulations, and settled their police, without putting to death or banishing a single subject. After which he resolved to change the seat of war, and to remove it from the Grecian sea to the heart of Persia, that the king might have to fight for Ecbatana and Susa, instead of sitting at his ease there to bribe the orators, and hire the states of Greece to destroy each other. But, amidst these schemes of his, Epicydidas the Spartan came to acquaint him that Sparta was involved in a Grecian war, and that the *ephori* had sent him orders to come home and defend his own country.

Unhappy Greeks! barbarians to each other!

What better name can we give that envy which incited them to conspire and combine for their mutual destruction, at a time when Fortune had taken them upon her wings, and was carrying them against the barbarians! and yet they clipped her wings with their own hands, and brought the war home to themselves, which was happily removed into a foreign country*. I cannot, indeed, agree with Demaratus of Corinth, when he says, those Greeks fell short of great happiness who did not live to see Alexander seated on the throne of Darius.—But I think the Greeks had just cause for tears, when they considered that they left that to Alexander and the Macedonians which might have been affected by the generals whom they slew in the fields of Leuctra, Coronea, Corinth, and Arcadia.

However, of all the actions of Agesilaus, there is none which had greater propriety, or was a stronger instance of his obedience to the laws and justice to the public, than his immediate return to Sparta. Hannibal, though his affairs were in a desperate condition, and he was almost beaten out of Italy, made a difficulty of obeying the summons of his countrymen to go and defend them in a war at home.

* That corruption which brought the states of Greece to take Persian gold undoubtedly deserves censure. Yet we must take leave to observe, that the divisions and jealousies which reigned in Greece were the support of its liberties, and that Persia was not conquered, till nothing but the shadow of those liberties remained. Were there, indeed, a number of little independent states which made justice the constant rule of their conduct to each other, and which would be always ready to unite upon any alarm from a formidable enemy, they might preserve their liberties inviolate for ever.

And Alexander made a jest of the information he received, that Agis had fought a battle with Antipater: he said, "It seems, my friends, that, while we are conquering Darius here, there was a combat of mice in Arcadia." How happy then was Sparta in the respect which Agesilaus paid her, and in his reverence for the laws! No sooner was the *scytale* brought him, though in the midst of his power and good fortune, than he resigned and abandoned his flourishing prospects, sailed home, and left his great work unfinished. Such was the regret his friends as well as allies had for the loss of him, that it was a strong confutation of the saying of Demostratus the Phæacian, "That the Lacedæmonians excelled in public, and the Athenians in private characters:" for though he had great merit as a king and as a general, yet still he was a more desirable friend, and an agreeable companion.

As the Persian money had the impression of an archer, he said, "He was driven out of Asia by ten thousand of the king's archers*:" for the orators of Athens and Thebes, having been bribed with so many pieces of money, had excited their countrymen to take up arms against Sparta.

When he had crossed the Hellespont, he marched through Thrace without asking leave of any of the barbarians. He only desired to know of each people, "Whether they would let him pass as a friend or as an enemy?" All the rest received him with tokens of friendship, and showed him all the civilities in their power on his way; but the Trallians, of whom Xerxes is said to have bought a passage, demanded of Agesilaus a hundred talents of silver, and as many women. He answered the messenger ironically, "Why did not they then come to receive them?" At the same time he marched forward, and finding them drawn up to oppose him, he gave them battle, and routed them with great slaughter.

He sent some of his people to put the same question to the king of Macedon, who answered, "I will consider of it." "Let him consider," said he, "in the mean time we march." The king, surprised and awed by his spirit, desired him to pass as a friend.

The Thessalians were confederates with the enemies of Sparta, and therefore he laid waste their territories. To the city of Larissa, indeed, he offered his friendship by his ambassadors, Xenocles and Scytha; but the people seized them and put them in prison. His troops so resented this affront, that they would have had him go and lay siege to the place. Agesilaus, however, was of another mind.

* Tithraustes sent Timocrates of Rhodes into Greece with fifty talents, which he distributed at Thebes, Argos, and Corinth; but, according to Xenophon, Athens had no share in that distribution.

He said, "He would not lose one of his ambassadors for gaining all Thessaly;" and he afterwards found means to recover them by treaty. Nor are we to wonder that Agesilaus took this step, since, upon news being brought him that a great battle had been fought near Corinth, in which many brave men were suddenly taken off, but that the loss of the Spartans was small in comparison to that of the enemy, he was not elevated in the least: on the contrary, he said, with a deep sigh, "Unhappy Greece! why hast thou destroyed so many brave men, with thy own hands, who, had they lived, might have conquered all the barbarians in the world!"

However, as the Pharsalians attacked and harassed him in his march, he engaged them with five hundred horse, and put them to flight. He was so much pleased with this success, that he erected a trophy under Mount Narthacium; and he valued himself the more upon it, because, with so small a number of his own training, he had beaten people who reckoned theirs the best cavalry in Greece. Here Diphridas, one of the *ephori*, met him, and gave him orders to enter Bœotia immediately. And though his intention was to do it afterwards, when he had strengthened his army with some reinforcements, he thought it was not right to disobey the magistrates. He therefore said to those about him, "Now comes the day for which we were called out of Asia." At the same time he sent for two cohorts from the army near Corinth. And the Lacedæmonians did him the honour to cause proclamation to be made at home, that such of the youth as were inclined to go and assist the king might give in their names. All the young men in Sparta presented themselves for that service; but the magistrates selected only fifty of the ablest, and sent them.

Agesilaus, having passed the straits of Thermopylæ, and traversed Phocis, which was in friendship with the Spartans, entered Bœotia, and encamped upon the plains of Chæronea. He had scarce intrenched himself, when there happened an eclipse of the sun*. At the same time he received an account that Pisander was defeated at sea and killed by Pharnabazus and Conon. He was much afflicted with his own loss, as well as that of the public: yet, lest his army, which was going to give battle, should be discouraged at the news, he ordered his messengers to give out that Pisander was victorious. Nay, he appeared in public with a chaplet of flowers, returned solemn thanks for the pretended success, and sent portions of the sacrifice to his friends.

* This eclipse happened on the twenty-ninth of August, in the third year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad, three hundred and ninety-two years before the Christian era.

When he came up to Coronea*, and was in view of the enemy, he drew up his army. The left wing he gave to the Orchomenians, and took the right himself. The Thebans also, putting themselves in order of battle, placed themselves on the right, and the Argives on the left. Xenophon says, that this was the most furious battle in his time; and he certainly was able to judge, for he fought in it for Agesilaus, with whom he returned from Asia.

The first charge was neither violent nor lasting: the Thebans soon routed the Orchomenians, and Agesilaus the Argives. But when both parties were informed that their left wings were broken and ready for flight, both hastened to their relief. At this instant Agesilaus might have secured to himself the victory without any risk, if he would have suffered the Thebans to pass, and then have charged them in the rear†; but, borne along by his fury, and an ambition to display his valour, he attacked them in front, in the confidence of beating them upon equal terms. They received him, however, with equal vivacity, and great efforts were exerted in all quarters, especially where Agesilaus and his fifty Spartans were engaged. It was a happy circumstance that he had those volunteers, and they could not have come more seasonably: for they fought with the most determined valour, and exposed their persons to the greatest dangers in his defence; yet they could not prevent his being wounded. He was pierced through his armour in many places with spears and swords; and though they formed a ring about him, it was with difficulty they brought him off alive, after having killed numbers of the enemy, and left not a few of their own body dead upon the spot. At last, finding it impracticable to break the Theban front, they were obliged to have recourse to a manœuvre which at first they scorned: they opened their ranks, and let the Thebans pass; after which, observing that they marched in a disorderly manner, they made up again, and took them in flank and rear. They could not, however, break them. The Thebans retreated to Helicon, valuing themselves much upon the battle, because their part of the army was a full match for the Lacedæmonians.

Agesilaus, though he was much weakened by his wounds, would not retire to his tent till he had been carried through all his battalions, and had seen the dead borne off upon their arms. Meantime he was informed that a party of the enemy had taken refuge in

* In the printed text it is *Coronea*, nor have we any various reading. But undoubtedly *Chæronea*, upon the Cephisus, was the place where the battle was fought; and we must not confound it with the battle of Coronea in Thessaly, fought fifty-three years before.

† Xenophon gives another turn to the matter; for with him Agesilaus was never wrong.

the temple of the Itonian Minerva, and he gave orders that they should be dismissed in safety. Before this temple stood a trophy, which the Bœotians had formerly erected, when, under the conduct of Sparton, they had defeated the Athenians, and killed their general Tolmides*.

Early next morning, Agesilaus, willing to try whether the Thebans would renew the combat, commanded his men to wear garlands, and the music to play, while he reared and adorned a trophy in token of victory. At the same time the enemy applied to him for leave to carry off their dead; which circumstance confirmed the victory to him. He therefore granted them a truce for that purpose, and then caused himself to be carried to Delphi, where they were celebrating the Pythian games. There he ordered a solemn procession in honour of the god, and consecrated to him the tenth of the spoils he had taken in Asia. The offering amounted to a hundred talents.

Upon his return to Sparta, he was greatly beloved by the citizens, who admired the peculiar temperance of his life: for he did not, like other generals, come changed from a foreign country, nor, in fondness for the fashions he had seen there, disdain those of his own; on the contrary, he showed as much attachment to the Spartan customs, as those who had never passed the Eurotas. He changed not his repasts, his baths, the equipage of his wife, the ornaments of his armour, or the furniture of his house. He ever let his doors remain, which were so old that they seemed to be those set up by Aristodemus†. Xenophon also assures us, that his daughter's carriage was not in the least richer than those of other young ladies. These carriages, called *canthra*, and made use of by the virgins in their solemn processions, were a kind of wooden chaises, made in the form of griffins, or goat-stags‡. Xenophon has not given us the name of this daughter of Agesilaus: and Dicæarchus is greatly dissatisfied that neither her name is preserved, nor that of the mother of Epaminondas. But we find, by some Lacedæmonian inscriptions, that the wife of Agesilaus was called Cleora, and his daughters Apolia and Prolyta§. We see also at Lacedæmon the spear he fought with, which differs not from others.

* In the battle of Coronea.

† Aristodemus, the son of Hercules, and founder of the royal family of Sparta, flourished eleven hundred years before the Christian era: so that the gates of Agesilaus's palace, if set up by Aristodemus, had then stood seven hundred and eighty years.

‡ In the original *tragelaphon*. Cervorum est species tragelaphus, barba tantum, et armorum villo distans.—*Plin.*

§ Eupolia and Proauga.—*Cod. Vulcob.*

As he observed that many of the citizens valued themselves upon breeding horses for the Olympic games, he persuaded his sister Cynisca to make an attempt that way, and to try her fortune in the chariot-race in person. This he did to show the Greeks that a victory of that kind did not depend upon any extraordinary spirit or abilities, but only upon riches and expense.

Xenophon, so famed for wisdom, spent much of his time with him, and he treated him with great respect. He also desired him to send for his sons, that they might have the benefit of a Spartan education, by which they would gain the best knowledge in the world, the knowing how to command, and how to obey.

After the death of Lysander, he found out a conspiracy which that general had formed against him immediately after his return from Asia. And he was inclined to show the public what kind of man Lysander really was, by exposing an oration found among his papers, which had been composed for him by Cleon of Halicarnassus, and was to have been delivered by him to the people, in order to facilitate the innovations he was meditating in the constitution. But one of the senators having the perusal of it, and finding it a very plausible composition, advised him "not to dig Lysander out of his grave, but rather to bury the oration with him." The advice appeared reasonable, and he suppressed the paper.

As for the persons who opposed his measures most, he made no open reprisals upon them; but he found means to employ them as generals or governors. When invested with power, they soon showed what unworthy and avaricious men they were, and in consequence were called to account for their proceedings. Then he used to assist them in their distress, and laboured to get them acquitted; by which he made them friends and partisans instead of adversaries; so that at last he had no opposition to contend with: for his royal colleague Agesipolis*, being the son of an exile, very young, and of a mild and modest disposition, interfered not much in the affairs of government. Agesilaus contrived to make him yet more tractable. The two kings, when they were in Sparta, ate at the same table. Agesilaus knew that Agesipolis was open to the impressions of love as well as himself, and therefore constantly turned the conversation upon some amiable young person. He even assisted him in his views that way, and brought him at last to fix upon the same favourite with himself; for at Sparta there is nothing criminal in these attachments; on the contrary (as we have observed in the life of Lycurgus), such love is productive of the greatest modesty and honour, and its characteristic is an ambition to improve the object in virtue.

* Agesipolis was the son of Pausanias.

Agesilaus, thus powerful in Sparta, had the address to get Teleutias, his brother by the mother's side, appointed admiral; after which he marched against Corinth* with his land-forces, and took the long walls, Teleutias assisting his operations by sea. The Argives, who were then in possession of Corinth, were celebrating the Isthmian games; and Agesilaus, coming upon them as they were engaged in the sacrifice, drove them away, and seized upon all that they had prepared for the festival. The Corinthian exiles who attended him desired him to undertake the exhibition, as president; but not choosing that, he ordered them to proceed with the solemnity, and staid to guard them. But when he was gone, the Argives celebrated the games over again; and some who had gained the prize before had the same good fortune a second time; others, who were victorious then, were now in the list of the vanquished. Lysander took the opportunity to remark how great the cowardice of the Argives must be, who, while they reckoned the presidency at those games so honourable a privilege, did not dare to risk a battle for it. He was, indeed, of opinion, that a moderate regard for this sort of diversion was best, and applied himself to embellish the choirs and public exercises of his own country. When he was at Sparta, he honoured them with his presence, and supported them with great zeal and spirit, never missing any of the exercises of the young men or the virgins. As for other entertainments, so much admired by the world, he seemed not even to know them.

One day Callipedes, who had acquired great reputation among the Greeks as a tragedian, and was universally caressed, approached and paid his respects to him; after which he mixed with a pompous air in his train, expecting he would take some honourable notice of him; at last he said, "Do not you know me, Sir?" The king, casting his eyes upon him, answered slightly, "Are you not Callipedes the stage-player?" Another time, being asked to go and hear a man who mimicked the nightingale to great perfection, he refused, and said, "I have heard the nightingale herself."

Menecrates the physician, having succeeded in some desperate cases, got the surname of Jupiter; and he was so vain of the appellation, that he made use of it in a letter to the king: "Menecrates Jupiter to king Agesilaus, health." His answer began thus: "King Agesilaus to Menecrates, his senses."

* There were two expeditions of Agesilaus against Corinth. Plutarch in this place confounds them; whereas Xenophon, in his fourth book, has distinguished them very clearly. The enterprise in which Teleutias assisted did not succeed; for Iphicrates, the Athenian general, kept Corinth and its territories from feeling the effects of Agesilaus's resentment.

While he was in the territories of Corinth, he took the temple of Juno; and as he stood looking upon the soldiers who were carrying off the prisoners and the spoils, ambassadors came from Thebes with proposals of peace. He had ever hated the city, and now thinking it necessary to express his contempt for it, he pretended not to see the ambassadors, nor to hear their address, though they were before him. Heaven, however, revenged the affront. Before they were gone, news was brought him that a battalion of Spartans was cut in pieces by Iphicrates. This was one of the greatest losses his country had sustained for a long time: and besides being deprived of a number of brave men, there was this farther mortification, that their heavy-armed soldiers were beaten by the light-armed, and Lacedæmonians by mercenaries.

Agesilaus immediately marched to their assistance, but finding it too late, he returned to the temple of Juno, and acquainted the Bœotian ambassadors that he was ready to give them audience. Glad of the opportunity to return the insult, they came, but made no mention of the peace; they only desired a safe conduct to Corinth. Agesilaus, provoked at the demand, answered, "If you are desirous to see your friends in the elevation of success, to-morrow you shall do it with all the security you can desire." Accordingly the next day he laid waste the territories of Corinth, and taking them with him, advanced to the very walls. Thus having shown the ambassadors that the Corinthians did not dare to oppose him, he dismissed them. Then he collected such of his countrymen as had escaped in the late action, and marched to Lacedæmon, taking care every day to move before it was light, and to encamp after it was dark, to prevent the insults of the Arcadians, to whose aversion and envy he was no stranger.

After this, to gratify the Achæans*, he led his forces, along with theirs, into Acarnania, where he made an immense booty, and defeated the Acarnanians in a pitched battle. The Achæans desired him to stay till winter, in order to prevent the enemy from sowing their lands; but he said, "the step he should take would be the very reverse; for they would be more afraid of war when they had their fields covered with corn." The event justified his opinion: next year, as soon as an army appeared on their borders, they made peace with the Achæans.

When Conon and Pharnabazus, with the Persian fleet, had made

* The Achæans were in possession of Calydon, which before had belonged to the Ætolians. The Acarnanians, now assisted by the Athenians and Bœotians, attempted to make themselves masters of it; but the Achæans applied to the Lacedæmonians for succours, who employed Agesilaus in that business.—*Xen. Grec. Hist.* book iv.

themselves masters of the sea, they ravaged the coasts of Laconia; and the walls of Athens were rebuilt with the money which Pharnabazus supplied. The Lacedæmonians then thought proper to conclude a peace with the Persians, and sent Antalcidas to make their proposals to Tiribazus. Antalcidas on this occasion acted an infamous part to the Greeks in Asia, and delivered up those cities to the king of Persia for whose liberty Agesilaus had fought. No part of the dishonour, indeed, fell upon Agesilaus. Antalcidas was his enemy, and he hastened the peace by all the means he could devise, because he knew the war contributed to the reputation and power of the man he hated. Nevertheless, when Agesilaus was told "the Lacedæmonians were turning Medes," he said, "No, the Medes are turning Lacedæmonians." And as some of the Greeks were unwilling to be comprehended in the treaty, he forced them to accept the king's terms, by threatening them with war*.

His view in this was to weaken the Thebans; for it was one of the conditions, that the cities of Bœotia should be free and independent. The subsequent events made the matter very clear. When Phœbidas, in the most unjustifiable manner, had seized the citadel of Cadmea in time of full peace, the Greeks in general expressed their indignation; and many of the Spartans did the same, particularly those who were at variance with Agesilaus. These asked him in an angry tone, "By whose orders Phœbidas had done so unjust a thing?" hoping to bring the blame upon him. He scrupled not to say, in behalf of Phœbidas, "You should examine the tendency of the action; consider whether it is advantageous to Sparta. If its nature is such, it was glorious to do it without any orders." Yet in his discourse he was always magnifying justice, and giving her the first rank among the virtues. "Unsupported by justice," said he, "valour is good for nothing†; and, if all men were just, there would be no need of valour." If any one, in the course of conversation, happened to say, "Such is the pleasure of the great king;" he would answer, "How is he greater than I, if he is not more just?" Which implies a maxim indisputably right, that justice is the royal

* The king of Persia's terms were, that the Greek cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should remain to him; that all the other states, small and great, should be left free, excepting only Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which having been from time immemorial subject to the Athenians, should remain so; and that such as refused to embrace the peace should be compelled to admit it by force of arms.—*Xen. Ælian.* lib. v. This peace of Antalcidas was made in the year before Christ 389.

† This is not the only instance in which we find it was a maxim among the Lacedæmonians, that a man ought to be strictly just in his private capacity, but that he may take what latitude he pleases in a public one, provided his country is a gainer by it.

instrument by which we are to take the different proportions of human excellence.

After the peace was concluded, the king of Persia sent him a letter, the purport of which was to propose a private friendship, and the rights of hospitality between them; but he declined it. He said, "The public friendship was sufficient; and, while that lasted, there was no need of a private one."

Yet he did not regulate his conduct by these honourable sentiments; on the contrary, he was often led away by his ambition and resentment. Particularly, in this affair of the Thebans, he not only screened Phœbidas from punishment, but persuaded the Spartan commonwealth to join in his crime, by holding the Cadmea for themselves, and putting the Theban administration in the hands of Archias and Leontidas, who had betrayed the citadel to Phœbidas. Hence it was natural to suspect, that though Phœbidas was the instrument, the design was formed by Agesilaus, and the subsequent proceedings confirmed it beyond contradiction: for when the Athenians had expelled the garrison*, and restored the Thebans to their liberty, he declared war against the latter for putting to death Archias and Leontidas, whom he called *polemarchs*, but who, in fact, were tyrants. Cleombrotus†, who, upon the death of Agesipolis, succeeded to the throne, was sent with an army into Bœotia; for Agesilaus, who was now forty years above the age of puberty, and consequently excused from service by law, was very willing to decline this commission. Indeed, as he had lately made war upon the Phliasians in favour of exiles, he was ashamed now to appear in arms against the Thebans for tyrants.

There was then a Lacedæmonian named Sphodrias, of the party that opposed Agesilaus, lately appointed governor of Thespiæ. He wanted neither courage nor ambition, but he was governed rather by sanguine hopes than good sense and prudence. This man, fond of a great name, and reflecting how Phœbidas had distinguished himself in the lists of fame by his Theban enterprise, was persuaded it would be a much greater and more glorious performance, if, without any directions from his superiors, he could seize upon the Piræus, and deprive the Athenians of the empire of the sea by a sudden attack at land.

It is said, that this was a train laid for him by Pelopidas and Gelon, first magistrates in Bœotia‡. They sent persons to him, who pre-

* See *Xen. Grec. Hist.* l. v. whence it appears that the Cadmea was recovered by the Athenian forces.

† Cleombrotus was the youngest son of Pausanias, and brother to Agesipolis.

‡ They feared the Lacedæmonians were too strong for them, and therefore put Spho-

tended to be much in the Spartan interest, and who, by magnifying him as the only man fit for such an exploit, worked up his ambition till he undertook a thing equally unjust and detestable with the affair of the Cadmea, but conducted with less valour, and attended with less success. He hoped to have reached the Piræus in the night, but day-light overtook him upon the plains of Thriasia. And we are told, that some light appearing to the soldiers to stream from the temples of Eleusis, they were struck with a religious horror. Sphodrias himself lost his spirit of adventure, when he found his march could no longer be concealed, and having collected some trifling booty, he returned with disgrace to Thespiæ.

Hereupon the Athenians sent deputies to Sparta to complain of Sphodrias; but they found the magistrates had proceeded against him without their complaints, and that he was already under a capital prosecution. He had not dared to appear and take his trial; for he dreaded the rage of his countrymen, who were ashamed of his conduct to the Athenians, and who were willing to resent the injury as done to themselves, rather than have it thought that they had joined in so flagrant an act of injustice.

Sphodrias had a son named Cleonymus, young and handsome, and a particular favourite of Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus. Archidamus, as it is natural to suppose, shared in all the uneasiness of the young man for his father; but he knew not how to appear openly in his behalf, because Sphodrias had been a strong adversary to Agesilaus. However, as Cleonymus applied to him, and entreated him with many tears to intercede with Agesilaus, as the person whom they had most reason to dread, he undertook the commission. Three or four days passed, during which he was restrained by a reverential awe from speaking of the matter to his father; but he followed him up and down in silence. At last, when the day of trial was at hand, he summoned up courage enough to say, Cleonymus was a suppliant to him for his father. Agesilaus, knowing the attachment of his son to that youth, did not lay any injunctions upon him against it; for Cleonymus, from his infancy, had given hopes that he would one day rank with the worthiest men in Sparta. Yet he did not give him room to expect any great favour in this case: he only said, "He would consider what would be the consistent and honourable part for him to act."

Archidamus, therefore, ashamed of the inefficacy of his interposition, discontinued his visits to Cleonymus, though before he used to call upon him many times in a day. Hence the friends of Sphodrias

drias upon this act of hostility against the Athenians, in order to draw them into the quarrel.

gave up the point for lost; till an intimate acquaintance of Agesilaus, named Etymocles, in a conversation which passed between them, discovered the sentiments of that prince. He told him, "He highly disapproved that attempt of Sphodrias, yet he looked upon him as a brave man, and was sensible that Sparta had occasion for such soldiers as he." This was the way, indeed, in which Agesilaus constantly spoke of the cause, in order to oblige his son. By this Cleonymus immediately perceived with how much zeal Archidamus had served him; and the friends of Sphodrias appeared with more courage in his behalf. Agesilaus was certainly a most affectionate father. It is said, when his children were small, he would join in their sports; and a friend happening to find him one day riding among them upon a stick, he desired him "not to mention it till he was a father himself."

Sphodrias was acquitted; upon which the Athenians prepared for war. This drew the censures of the world upon Agesilaus, who, to gratify an absurd and childish inclination of his son, obstructed the course of justice, and brought his country under the reproach of such flagrant offences against the Greeks. As he found his colleague Cleombrotus disinclined to continue the war with the Thebans, he dropped the excuse the law furnished him with, though he had made use of it before, and marched himself into Bœotia. The Thebans suffered much from his operations, and he felt the same from theirs in his turn. So that Antalcidas one day, seeing him come off wounded, thus addressed him: "The Thebans pay you well for teaching them to fight, when they had neither inclination nor sufficient skill for it." It is certain the Thebans were at this time much more formidable in the field than they had ever been, after having been trained and exercised in so many wars with the Lacedæmonians. For the same reason, their ancient sage Lycurgus, in one of his three ordinances called *Rhetræ*, forbade them to go to war with the same enemy often; namely, to prevent the enemy from learning their art.

The allies of Sparta likewise complained of Agesilaus, "That it was not in any public quarrel, but from an obstinate spirit of private resentment*, that he sought to destroy the Thebans. For their part," they said, "they were wearing themselves out, without any occasion, by going in such numbers upon this or that expedition every year, at the will of a handful of Lacedæmonians." Hereupon Agesilaus, desirous to show them that the number of their warriors was not so great, ordered all the allies to sit down promiscuously on one

* This private resentment and enmity which Agesilaus entertained against the Thebans, went near to bring ruin both upon himself and his country.

side, and all the Lacedæmonians on the other. This done, the crier summoned the trades to stand up one after another: the potters first, and then the braziers, the carpenters, the masons, in short, all the mechanics. Almost all the allies rose up to answer in one branch of business or other, but not one of the Lacedæmonians; for they were forbidden to learn or exercise any manual art. Then Agesilaus smiled and said, "You see, my friends, we send more warriors into the field than you."

When he was come as far as Megara, upon his return from Thebes, as he was going up to the senate-house in the citadel*, he was seized with spasms and an acute pain in his right leg. It swelled immediately, the vessels were distended with blood, and there appeared all the signs of a violent inflammation. A Syracusan physician opened a vein below the ancle; upon which the pain abated; but the blood came so fast, that it was not stopped without great difficulty, nor till he fainted away, and his life was in danger. He was carried to Lacedæmon in a weak condition, and continued a long time incapable of service.

In the mean time the Spartans met with several checks both by sea and land. The most considerable loss was at Leuctra†, which was the first pitched battle the Thebans gained against them. Before the last-mentioned action, all parties were disposed to peace, and the states of Greece sent their deputies to Lacedæmon to treat of it. Among these was Epaminondas, who was celebrated for his erudition and philosophy, but had as yet given no proofs of his capacity for commanding armies. He saw the other deputies were awed by the presence of Agesilaus, and he was the only one who preserved a proper dignity and freedom both in his manner and in his propositions. He made a speech in favour not only of the Thebans, but of Greece in general; in which he showed that war tended to aggrandize Sparta at the expense of the other states, and insisted that the peace should be founded upon justice and equality; because then only it would be lasting, when all were put upon an equal footing.

Agesilaus, perceiving that the Greeks listened to him with wonder and great attention, asked him, "Whether he thought it just and

* Xenophon (Hellan. 337, 12. Ed. St.) says, it was as he was going from the temple of Venus to the senate-house.

† Some manuscripts have it *Tegyra;* but there is no necessity to alter the received reading, though Palmer insists so much upon it; for that of Leuctra was certainly the first pitched battle in which the Thebans defeated the Athenians; and they effected it at the first career. Besides, it appears from Xenophon (Hellan. 349, 25.) that Agesilaus was not then recovered of the sickness mentioned in the text.

equitable that the cities of Bœotia should be declared free and independent?" Epaminondas, with great readiness and spirit, answered him with another question, "Do you think it reasonable that all the cities of Laconia should be declared independent?" Agesilaus, incensed at this answer, started up, and insisted upon his declaring peremptorily, "Whether he agreed to a perfect independence for Bœotia?" and Epaminondas replied as before, "On condition you put Laconia in the same state." Agesilaus, now exasperated to the last degree, and glad of a pretence against the Thebans, struck their name out of the treaty, and declared war against them upon the spot. After the rest of the deputies had signed such points as they could settle amicably, he dismissed them; leaving others of a more difficult nature to be decided by the sword.

As Cleombrotus had then an army in Phocis, the *ephori* sent him orders to march against the Thebans. At the same time they sent their commissaries to assemble the allies, who were ill inclined to the war, and considered it as a great burden upon them, though they durst not contradict or oppose the Lacedæmonians. Many inauspicious signs and prodigies appeared, as we have observed in the life of Epaminondas; and Protheus*, the Spartan, opposed the war to the utmost of his power. But Agesilaus could not be driven from his purpose: he prevailed to have hostilities commenced, in hopes, that while the rest of Greece was in a state of freedom, and in alliance with Sparta, and the Thebans only excepted, he should have an excellent opportunity to chastise them. That the war was undertaken to gratify his resentment, rather than upon rational motives, appears from hence; the treaty was concluded at Lacedæmon on the fourteenth of *June*, and the Lacedæmonians were defeated at Leuctra on the fifth of *July*; which was only twenty days after. A thousand citizens of Lacedæmon were killed there, among whom were their king Cleombrotus and the flower of their army, who fell by his side. The beautiful Cleonymus, the son of Sphodrias, was of the number: he was struck down three several times, as he was fighting in defence of his prince, and rose up as often; and at last was killed with his sword in his hand†.

* Protheus proposed that the Spartans should disband their army according to their engagement; that all the states should carry their contributions to the temple of Apollo, to be employed only in making war upon such as should oppose the liberty of the cities. This, he said, would give the cause the sanction of Heaven, and the states of Greece would at all times be ready to embark in it. But the Spartans only laughed at this advice; for, as Xenophon adds, "It looked as if the gods were already urging on the Lacedæmonians to their ruin."

† Epaminondas placed his best troops in one wing, and those he least depended on in the other. The former he commanded in person; to the latter he gave directions,

After the Lacedæmonians had received this unexpected blow, and the Thebans were crowned with more glorious success than Greeks had ever boasted in a battle with Greeks, the spirit and dignity of the vanquished was, notwithstanding, more to be admired and applauded than that of the conquerors. And indeed, if, as Xenophon says, "Men of merit, in their convivial conversations, let fall some expressions that deserve to be remarked and preserved, certainly the noble behaviour and the expressions of such persons, when struggling with adversity, claim our notice much more." When the Spartans received the news of the overthrow at Leuctra, it happened that they were celebrating a festival, and the city was full of strangers; for the troops of young men and maidens were at their exercises in the theatre. The *ephori*, though they immediately perceived that their affairs were ruined, and that they had lost the empire of Greece, would not suffer the sports to break off, nor any of the ceremonies or decorations of the festival to be omitted; but having sent the names of the killed to their respective families, they staid to see the exercises, the dances, and all other parts of the exhibition concluded*.

Next morning the names of the killed, and of those who survived the battle, being perfectly ascertained, the fathers and other relations of the dead appeared in public, and embraced each other with a cheerful air and a generous pride; while the relations of the survivors shut themselves up, as in time of mourning. And if any one was forced to go out upon business, he showed all the tokens of sorrow and humiliation both in his speech and countenance. The difference was still more remarkable among the matrons. They who expected to receive their sons alive from the battle were melancholy

that when they had found the enemy's charge too heavy, they should retire leisurely, so as to expose to them a sloping front. Cleombrotus and Archidamus advanced to the charge with great vigour; but, as they pressed on the Theban wing which retired, they gave Epaminondas an opportunity of charging them both in flank and front; which he did with so much bravery, that the Spartans began to give way, especially after Cleombrotus was slain, whose dead body, however, they recovered. At length they were totally defeated, chiefly by the skill and conduct of the Theban general. Four thousand Spartans were killed on the field of battle; whereas the Thebans did not lose above three hundred. Such was the fatal battle of Leuctra, wherein the Spartans lost their superiority in Greece, which they had held near five hundred years.

* But where was the merit of all this? What could such a conduct have for its support, but either insensibility or affectation? If they found any reason to rejoice in the glorious deaths of their friends and fellow-citizens, certainly the ruin of the state was an object sufficiently serious to call them from the pursuits of festivity! But, *Quos Jupiter perdere prius dementat:* The infatuation of ambition and jealousy drew upon them the Theban war, and it seemed to last upon them, even when they had felt its fatal consequences.

and silent; whereas those who had an account that their sons were slain repaired immediately to the temples to return thanks, and visited each other with all the marks of joy and elevation.

The people, who were now deserted by their allies, and expected that Epaminondas, in the pride of victory, would enter Peloponnesus, called to mind the oracle, which they applied again to the lameness of Agesilaus. The scruples they had on this occasion discouraged them extremely, and they were afraid the divine displeasure had brought upon them the late calamity, for expelling a sound man from the throne, and preferring a lame one, in spite of the extraordinary warnings Heaven had given them against it. Nevertheless, in regard of his virtue, his authority, and renown, they looked upon him as the only man who could retrieve their affairs; for, besides marching under his banners as their prince and general, they applied to him in every internal disorder of the commonwealth. At present they were at a loss what to do with those who had fled from the battle. The Lacedæmonians call such persons *tresantas**. In this case they did not choose to set such marks of disgrace upon them as the laws directed, because they were so numerous and powerful, that there was reason to apprehend it might occasion an insurrection: for such persons are not only excluded all offices, but it is infamous to intermarry with them: any man that meets them is at liberty to strike them: they are obliged to appear in a forlorn manner, and in a vile habit, with patches of divers colours; and to wear their beards half shaved and half unshaved. To put so rigid a law as this in execution, at a time when the offenders were so numerous, and when the commonwealth had so much occasion for soldiers, was both impolitic and dangerous.

In this perplexity they had recourse to Agesilaus, and invested him with new powers of legislation: but he, without making any addition, retrenchment, or change, went into the assembly, and told the Lacedæmonians, "The laws should sleep that day, and resume their authority the day following, and retain it for ever." By this means he preserved to the state its laws entire, as well as the obnoxious persons from infamy. Then, in order to raise the youth out of the depression and melancholy under which they laboured, he entered Arcadia at the head of them. He avoided a battle, indeed, with great care, but he took a little town of the Mantineans, and ravaged the flat country. This restored Sparta to her spirits in some degree, and gave her reason to hope that she was not absolutely lost.

Soon after this, Epaminondas and his allies entered Laconia. His

* That is, *persons governed by their fears.*

infantry amounted to forty thousand men, exclusive of the light-armed, and those who, without arms, followed only for plunder: for, if the whole were reckoned, there were not fewer than seventy thousand that poured into that country. Full six hundred years were elapsed since the first establishment of the Dorians in Lacedæmon, and this was the first time, in all that long period, they had seen an enemy in their territories; none ever dared to set foot in them before. But now a new scene of hostilities appeared; the confederates advanced without resistance, laying all waste with fire and sword as far as the Eurotas, and the very suburbs of Sparta: for, as Theopompus informs us, Agesilaus would not suffer the Lacedæmonians to engage with such an impetuous torrent of war: he contented himself with placing his best infantry in the middle of the city, and the other important posts, and bore the menaces and insults of the Thebans, who called him out by name, as the fire-brand which had lighted up the war, and bade him fight for his country, upon which he had brought so many misfortunes.

Agesilaus was equally disturbed at the tumult and disorder within the city, the outcries of the old men, who moved backwards and forwards, expressing their grief and indignation, and the wild behaviour of the women, who were terrified even to madness at the shouts of the enemy, and the flames which ascended around them. He was in pain, too, for his reputation. Sparta was a great and powerful state at his accession, and he now saw her glory wither, and his own boasts come to nothing. It seems he had often said, "No Spartan woman ever saw the smoke of an enemy's camp." In like manner, when an Athenian disputed with Antalcidas on the subject of valour, and said, "We have often driven you from the banks of the Cephisus," Antalcidas answered, "But we never drove you from the banks of the Eurotas." Near akin to this was the repartee of a Spartan of less note to a man of Argos, who said, "Many of you sleep on the plains of Argos." The Spartan answered, "But not one of you sleeps on the plains of Lacedæmon."

Some say Antalcidas was then one of the *ephori*, and that he conveyed his children to Cythera, in fear that Sparta would be taken. As the enemy prepared to pass the Eurotas, in order to attack the town itself, Agesilaus relinquished the other posts, and drew up all his forces on an eminence in the middle of the city. It happened that the river was much swoln with the snow, which had fallen in great quantities, and the cold was more troublesome to the Thebans than the rapidity of the current; yet Epaminondas forded it at the head of his infantry. As he was passing it, somebody pointed him

out to Agesilaus, who, after having viewed him for some time, only let fall this expression, "O adventurous man!" All the ambition of Epaminondas was to come to an engagement in the city, and to erect a trophy there; but, finding he could not draw down Agesilaus from the heights, he decamped and laid waste the country.

There had long been a disaffected party in Lacedæmon, and now about two hundred of that party leagued together, and seized upon a strong post, called the *Issorium*, in which stood the temple of Diana. The Lacedæmonians wanted to have the place stormed immediately: but Agesilaus, apprehensive of an insurrection in their favour, took his cloke and one servant with him, and told them aloud, "That they had mistaken their orders. I did not order you," said he, "to take post here, nor all in any one place, but some there (pointing to another place), and some in other quarters." When they heard this, they were happy in thinking their design was not discovered; and they came out, and went to several posts, as he directed them. At the same time he lodged another corps in the *Issorium*, and took about fifteen of the mutineers, and put them to death in the night.

Soon after this, he discovered another and much greater conspiracy of Spartans, who met privately in a house belonging to one of them, to consider of means to change the form of government. It was dangerous either to bring them to a trial in a time of so much trouble, or to let their cabals pass without notice. Agesilaus, therefore, having consulted with the *ephori*, put them to death without the formality of a trial, though no Spartan had ever suffered in that manner before.

As many of the neighbouring burghers and of the *helots*, who were inlisted, slunk away from the town, and deserted to the enemy, and this greatly discouraged his forces, he ordered his servants to go early in the morning to their quarters, and where they found any had deserted, to hide their arms, that their numbers might not be known.

Historians do not agree as to the time when the Thebans quitted Laconia. Some say the winter soon forced them to retire; the Arcadians being impatient of a campaign at that season, and falling off in a very disorderly manner; others affirm that the Thebans staid full three months; in which time they laid waste almost all the country. Theopompus writes, that at the very juncture the governors of Bœotia had sent them orders to return, there came a Spartan, named Phrixus on the part of Agesilaus, and gave them ten talents to leave Laconia: so that, according to him, they not only executed all that they intended, but had money from the enemy to defray the expenses

of their return. For my part, I cannot conceive how Theopompus came to be acquainted with this particular, which other historians knew nothing of.

It is universally agreed, however, that Agesilaus saved Sparta by controlling his native passions of obstinacy and ambition, and pursuing no measures but what were safe. He could not, indeed, after the late blow, restore her to her former glory and power. As healthy bodies, long accustomed to a strict and regular diet, often find one deviation from that regimen fatal, so one miscarriage brought that flourishing state to decay. Nor is it to be wondered at: their constitution was admirably formed for peace, for virtue, and harmony; but when they wanted to add to their dominions by force of arms, and to make acquisitions which Lycurgus thought unnecessary to their happiness, they split upon that rock he had warned them to avoid.

Agesilaus now declined the service on account of his great age. But his son Archidamus, having received some succours from Dionysius the Sicilian tyrant, fought the Arcadians, and gained that which is called *the tearless battle;* for he killed great numbers of the enemy, without losing a man himself.

Nothing could afford a greater proof of the weakness of Sparta than this victory. Before, it had been so common and so natural a thing for Spartans to conquer, that on such occasions they offered no greater sacrifice than a cock; the combatants were not elated, nor those who received the tidings of victory overjoyed. Even when that great battle was fought at Mantinea, which Thucydides has so well described, the *ephori* presented the person who brought them the first news of their success with nothing but a mess of meat from the public table: but now, when an account of this battle was brought, and Archidamus approached the town, they were not able to contain themselves. First his father advanced to meet him with tears of joy, and after him the magistrates. Multitudes of old men and of women flocked to the river, stretching out their hands, and blessing the gods, as if Sparta had washed off her late unworthy stains, and seen her glory stream out afresh. Till that hour the men were so much ashamed of the loss they had sustained, that, it is said, they could not even carry it with an unembarrassed countenance to the women.

When Epaminondas re-established Messene, and the ancient inhabitants returned to it from all quarters, the Spartans had not courage to oppose him in the field. But it gave them great concern, and they could not look upon Agesilaus without anger, when they considered that in his reign they had lost a country full as extensive

as Laconia, and superior in fertility to all the provinces of Greece; a country whose revenues they had long called their own. For this reason, Agesilaus rejected the peace which the Thebans offered him; not choosing formally to give up to them what they were in fact possessed of. But while he was contending for what he could not recover, he was near losing Sparta itself through the superior generalship of his adversary. The Mantineans had separated again from their alliance with Thebes, and called in the Lacedæmonians to their assistance. Epaminondas, being apprised that Agesilaus was upon his march to Mantinea, decamped from Tegæa in the night, unknown to the Mantineans, and took a different road to Lacedæmon from that Agesilaus was upon; so that nothing was more likely than that he would have come upon the city in this defenceless state, and have taken it with ease. But Euthynus of Thespine, as Callisthenes relates it, or some Cretan, according to Xenophon, informed Agesilaus of the design, who sent a horseman to alarm the city, and not long after entered it himself.

In a little time the Thebans passed the Eurotas, and attacked the town. Agesilaus defended it with a vigour above his years. He saw that this was not the time (as it had been) for safe and cautious measures, but rather for the boldest and most desperate efforts; insomuch that the means in which he had never before placed any confidence, or made the least use of, staved off the present danger, and snatched the town out of the hands of Epaminondas. He erected a trophy upon the occasion, and showed the children and the women how gloriously the Spartans rewarded their country for their education. Archidamus greatly distinguished himself that day both by his courage and agility, flying through the bye-lanes to meet the enemy where they pressed the hardest, and every where repulsing them with his little band.

But Isadus, the son of Phœbidas, was the most extraordinary and striking spectacle, not only to his countrymen, but to the enemy. He was tall and beautiful in his person, and just growing from a boy into a man, which is the time the human flower has the greatest charm. He was without either arms or clothes, naked and newly anointed with oil; only he had a spear in one hand and a sword in the other. In this condition he rushed out of his house; and having made his way through the combatants, he dealt his deadly blows among the enemy's ranks, striking down every man he engaged with: yet he received not one wound himself; whether it was that Heaven preserved him in regard to his valour, or whether he appeared to his adversaries as something more than human. It is said, the *ephori*

honoured him with a chaplet for the great things he had performed, but at the same time fined him a thousand drachmas for daring to appear without his armour.

Some days after this, there was another battle before Mantinea. Epaminondas, after having routed the first battalions, was very eager in the pursuit, when a Spartan, named Anticrates, turned short, and gave him a wound with a spear, according to Dioscorides, or, as others say, with a sword*. And, indeed, the descendants of Anticrates are to this day called *machæriones, swordsmen*, in Lacedæmon. This action appeared so great, and was so acceptable to the Spartans, on account of their fear of Epaminondas, that they decreed great honours and rewards to Anticrates, and an exemption from taxes to his posterity; one of which, named Callicrates†, now enjoys that privilege.

After this battle, and the death of Epaminondas, the Greeks concluded a peace: but Agesilaus, under pretence that the Messenians were not a state, insisted that they should not be comprehended in the treaty. All the rest, however, admitted them to take the oath as one of the states; and the Lacedæmonians withdrew, intending to continue the war, in hopes of recovering Messenia. Agesilaus could not, therefore, be considered but as violent and obstinate in his temper, and insatiably fond of hostilities, since he took every method to obstruct the general peace, and to protract the war; though at the same time, through want of money, he was forced to borrow of his friends, and to demand unreasonable subsidies of the people. This was at a time, too, when he had the fairest opportunity to extricate himself from all his distresses. Besides, after he had let slip the power, which never before was at such a height, lost so many cities, and seen his country deprived of the superiority both at sea and land, should he have wrangled about the property and the revenues of Messene?

He still lost more reputation by taking a command under Tachos, the Egyptian chief. It was not thought suitable to one of the greatest characters in Greece, a man who had filled the whole world with his renown, to hire out his person, to give his name and his interest for a pecuniary consideration, and to act as captain of a band of mercenaries, for a barbarian, a rebel against the king his master. Had he, now he was upwards of eighty, and his body full of wounds and scars, accepted again of the appointment of captain-general, to fight for the liberties of Greece, his ambition, at that time of day,

* Diodorus Siculus attributes this action to Grillus, the son of Xenophon, who, he says, was killed immediately after. But Plutarch's account seems better grounded.

† Near five hundred years after.

would not have been entirely unexceptionable; for even honourable pursuits must have their times and seasons to give them a propriety; or rather, propriety, and the avoiding of all extremes, is the characteristic which distinguishes honourable pursuits from the dishonourable. But Agesilaus was not moved by this consideration, nor did he think any public service unworthy of him, he thought it much more unbecoming to lead an inactive life at home, and to sit down and wait till death should strike his blow. He therefore raised a body of mercenaries, and fitted out a fleet, with the money which Tachos had sent him, and then set sail, taking with him thirty Spartans for his counsellors, as formerly.

Upon his arrival in Egypt, all the great officers of the kingdom came immediately to pay their court to him. Indeed, the name and character of Agesilaus had raised great expectations in the Egyptians in general, and they crowded to the shore to get a sight of him; but when they beheld no pomp or grandeur of appearance, and saw only a little old man, and in mean attire, seated on the grass by the sea side, they could not help regarding the thing in a ridiculous light, and observing that this was the very thing represented in the fable*, "The mountain had brought forth a mouse." They were still more surprised at his want of politeness, when they brought him such presents as were commonly made to strangers of distinction, and he took only the flour, the veal, and the geese, and refused the pasties, the sweetmeats, and perfumes; and when they pressed him to accept them, he said, "They might carry them to the *helots*." Theophrastus tells us, he was pleased with the *papyrus*, on account of its thin and pliant texture, which made it very proper for chaplets; and, when he left Egypt, he asked the king for some of it.

Tachos was preparing for the war, and Agesilaus, upon joining him, was greatly disappointed to find he had not the command of all the forces given him, but only that of the mercenaries. Chabrias, the Athenian, was admiral: Tachos, however, reserved to himself the chief direction both at sea and land. This was the first disagreeable circumstance that occurred to Agesilaus; and others soon followed. The vanity and insolence of the Egyptian gave him great pain, but he was forced to bear them. He consented to sail with him against the Phœnicians, and, contrary to his dignity and nature, submitted to the barbarian, till he could find an opportunity to shake off his yoke. That opportunity soon presented itself. Nectanabis, cousin to Tachos, who commanded part of the forces, revolted, and was proclaimed king by the Egyptians.

* Athenæus makes Tachos say this, and Agesilaus answer, "You will find me a lion by and by."

In consequence of this, Nectanabis sent ambassadors to Agesilaus to entreat his assistance. He made the same application to Chabrias, and promised them both great rewards. Tachos was apprised of these proceedings, and begged of them not to abandon him. Chabrias listened to his request, and endeavoured also to appease the resentment of Agesilaus, and keep him to the cause he had embarked in. Agesilaus answered, "As for you, Chabrias, you came hither as a volunteer, and therefore may act as you think proper; but I was sent by my country, upon the application of the Egyptians for a general. It would not then be right to commence hostilities against the people to whom I was sent as an assistant, except Sparta should give me such orders."—At the same time, he sent some of his officers home with instructions to accuse Tachos, and to defend the cause of Nectanabis. The two rival kings also applied to the Lacedæmonians; the one as an ancient friend and ally, the other as one who had a greater regard for Sparta, and would give her more valuable proofs of his attachment.

The Lacedæmonians gave the Egyptian deputies the hearing, and this public answer, "That they should leave the business to the care of Agesilaus." But their private instructions to him were, "to do what should appear most advantageous to Sparta." Agesilaus had no sooner received this order, than he withdrew with his mercenaries, and went over to Nectanabis, covering this strange and scandalous proceeding with the pretence of acting in the best manner for his country*: when that slight veil is taken off, its right name is treachery and base desertion. It is true, the Lacedæmonians, by placing a regard to the advantage of their country in the first rank of honour and virtue, left themselves no criterion of justice but the aggrandizement of Sparta.

Tachos, thus abandoned by the mercenaries, took to flight. But, at the same time, there rose up in Mendes another competitor to dispute the crown with Nectanabis; and that competitor advanced with a hundred thousand men, whom he had soon assembled. Nectanabis, to encourage Agesilaus, represented to him, that though the numbers of the enemy were great, they were only a mixed multitude, and many of them mechanics, who were to be despised for their utter

* Xenophon has succeeded well enough in defending Agesilaus with respect to his undertaking the expeditions into Egypt. He represents him pleased with the hopes of making Tachos some return for his many services to the Lacedæmonians, of restoring, through his means, the Greek cities in Asia to their liberty, and of revenging the ill offices done the Spartans by the king of Persia. But it was in vain for that historian to attempt to exculpate him with respect to his deserting Tachos, which Plutarch justly treats as an act of treachery.

ignorance of war. "It is not their numbers," said Agesilaus, "that I fear, but that ignorance and inexperience you mention, which renders them incapable of being practised upon by art or stratagem; for those can only be exercised with success upon such as, having skill enough to suspect the designs of their enemy, form schemes to countermine him, and in the mean time are caught by new contrivances. But he who has neither expectation nor suspicion of that sort, gives his adversary no more opportunity than he who stands still gives to a wrestler."

Soon after, the adventurer of Mendes sent persons to sound Agesilaus. This alarmed Nectanabis: and when Agesilaus advised him to give battle immediately, and not to protract the war with men who had seen no service, but who, by the advantage of numbers, might draw a line of circumvallation about his trenches, and prevent him in most of his operations, then his fears and suspicions increased, and put him upon the expedient of retiring into a large and well-fortified town. Agesilaus could not well digest this instance of distrust; yet he was ashamed to change sides again, and at last return without effecting any thing. He therefore followed his standard, and entered the town with him.

However, when the enemy came up, and began to open their trenches, in order to enclose him, the Egyptian, afraid of a siege, was inclined to come immediately to an engagement; and the Greeks were of his opinion, because there was no great quantity of provisions in the place. But Agesilaus opposed it; and the Egyptians, on that account, looked upon him in a worse light than before, not scrupling to call him a traitor to their king. These censures he now bore with patience, because he was waiting a favourable moment for putting in execution a design he had formed.

The design was this: the enemy, as we have observed, were drawing a deep trench round the walls, with an intent to shut up Nectanabis. When they had proceeded so far in the work that the two ends were almost ready to meet, as soon as night came on, Agesilaus ordered the Greeks to arm, and then went to the Egyptian, and said, "Now is the time, young man, for you to save yourself, which I did not choose to speak of sooner, lest it should be divulged and lost. The enemy, with their own hands, have worked out your security, by labouring so long upon the trench, that the part which is finished will prevent our suffering by their numbers, and the space which is left puts it in our power to fight them upon equal terms. Come on then; now show your courage; sally out along with us with the utmost vigour, and save both yourself and your army. The enemy will not dare to stand us in front, and our flanks are secured by the

trench." Nectanabis now admiring his capacity, put himself in the middle of the Greeks, and, advancing to the charge, easily routed all that opposed him.

Agesilaus having thus gained the prince's confidence, availed himself once more of the same stratagem, as a wrestler sometimes uses the same sleight twice in one day. By sometimes pretending to fly, and sometimes facing about, he drew the enemy's whole army into a narrow place, enclosed with two ditches that were very deep and full of water. When he saw them thus entangled, he advanced to the charge with a front equal to theirs, and secured by the nature of the ground against being surrounded. The consequence was, that they made but little resistance; numbers were killed, and the rest fled, and were entirely put to the rout.

The Egyptian, thus successful in his affairs, and firmly established in his kingdom, had a grateful sense of the services of Agesilaus, and pressed him to spend the winter with him. But he hastened his return to Sparta, on account of the war she had upon her hands at home; for he knew that her finances were low, though at the same time, she found it necessary to employ a body of mercenaries.—Nectanabis dismissed him with great marks of honour, and besides other presents, furnished him with two hundred and thirty talents of silver, for the expenses of the Grecian war. But, as it was winter, he met with a storm, which drove him upon a desert shore in Africa, called the *Haven of Menelaus*, and there he died, at the age of eighty-four years, of which he had reigned forty-one in Lacedæmon. About thirty years of that time he made the greatest figure, both as to reputation and power, being looked upon as commander in chief, and, as it were, king of Greece, till the battle of Leuctra.

It was the custom of the Spartans to bury persons of ordinary rank in the place where they expired, when they happened to die in a foreign country, but to carry the corpses of their kings home; and as the attendants of Agesilaus had not honey to preserve the body, they embalmed it with melted wax, and so conveyed it to Lacedæmon. His son Archidamus succeeded to the crown, which descended in his family to Agis, the fifth from Agesilaus. This Agis, the third of that name, was assassinated by Leonidas, for attempting to restore the ancient discipline of Sparta.

POMPEY.

THE people of Rome appear from the first to have been affected towards Pompey much in the same manner as Prometheus in Æschylus, was towards Hercules, when, after that hero had delivered him from his chains, he says,

The sire I hated, but the son I love*.

For never did the Romans entertain a stronger and more rancorous hatred for any general than for Strabo, the father of Pompey. While he lived, indeed, they were afraid of his abilities as a soldier, for he had great talents for war; but upon his death, which happened by a stroke of lightning, they dragged his corpse from the bier, on the way to the funeral pile, and treated it with the greatest indignity. On the other hand, no man ever experienced from the same Romans an attachment more early begun, more disinterested in all the stages of his prosperity, or more constant and faithful in the decline of his fortune than Pompey.

The sole cause of their aversion to the father was his insatiable avarice; but there were many causes of their affection for the son; his temperate way of living, his application to martial exercises, his eloquent and persuasive address, his strict honour and fidelity, and the easiness of access to him upon all occasions; for no man was ever less importunate in asking favours, or more gracious in conferring them. When he gave, it was without arrogance; and when he received, it was with dignity.

In his youth he had a very engaging countenance, which spoke for him before he opened his lips. Yet that grace of aspect was not unattended with dignity, and amidst his youthful bloom there was a venerable and princely air. His hair naturally curled a little before, which, together with the shining moisture and quick turn of his eye, produced a stronger likeness of Alexander the Great, than that which appeared in the statues of that prince: so that some seriously gave him the name of Alexander, and he did not refuse it; others applied it to him by way of ridicule. And Lucius Philippus†, a man of consular dignity, as he was one day pleading for him, said, "It was no wonder if Philip was a lover of Alexander."

* Of the tragedy of *Prometheus Released*, from which this line is taken, we have only some fragments remaining. Jupiter had chained Prometheus to the rocks of Caucasus, and Hercules, the son of Jupiter, released him.

† Lucius Marcus Philippus, one of the greatest orators of his time. He was father-in-law to Augustus, having married his mother Attia. Horace speaks of him, lib. i. ep. 7.

We are told that Flora the courtesan took a pleasure, in her old age, in speaking of the commerce she had with Pompey; and she used to say, she could never quit his embraces without giving him a bite. She added, that Geminius, one of Pompey's acquaintance, had a passion for her, and gave her much trouble with his solicitations. At last she told him, she could not consent on account of Pompey. Upon which he applied to Pompey for his permission, and he gave it him, but never approached her afterwards, though he seemed to retain a regard for her. She bore the loss of him, not with the slight uneasiness of a prostitute, but was long sick through sorrow and regret. It is said that Flora was so celebrated for her beauty and fine bloom, that when Cæcilius Metellus adorned the temple of Castor and Pollux with statues and paintings, he gave her picture a place among them.

Demetrius, one of Pompey's freedmen, who had great interest with him, and who died worth four thousand talents, had a wife of irresistible beauty. Pompey, on that account, behaved to her with less politeness than was natural to him, that he might not appear to be caught by her charms: But though he took his measures with so much care and caution in this respect, he could not escape the censure of his enemies, who accused him of a commerce with married women, and said he often neglected or gave up points essential to the public, to gratify his mistresses.

As to the simplicity of his diet, there is a remarkable saying of his upon record. In a great illness, when his appetite was almost gone, the physician ordered him a thrush. His servants, upon inquiry, found there was not one to be had for money, for the season was past. They were informed, however, that Lucullus had them all the year in his menageries. This being reported to Pompey, he said, "Does Pompey's life depend upon the luxury of Lucullus?" Then, without any regard to the physician, he ate something that was easy to be had. But this happened at a later period in life.

While he was very young, and served under his father, who was carrying on the war against Cinna*, one Lucius Terentius was his comrade, and they slept in the same tent. This Terentius, gained by Cinna's money, undertook to assassinate Pompey, while others set fire to the general's tent. Pompey got information of this when he was at supper, and it did not put him in the least confusion. He drank more freely, and caressed Terentius more than usual; but, when they were to have gone to rest, he stole out of the tent, and

* In the year of Rome six hundred and sixty-six. And as Pompey was born the same year with Cicero, viz. in the year of Rome six hundred and forty-seven, he must, in this war with Cinna, have been nineteen years old.

went and planted a guard about his father. This done, he waited quietly for the event. Terentius, as soon as he thought Pompey was asleep, drew his sword, and stabbed the coverlets of the bed in many places, imagining that he was in it.

Immediately after this there was a great mutiny in the camp. The soldiers, who hated their general, were determined to go over to the enemy, and began to strike their tents and take up their arms. The general, dreading the tumult, did not dare to make his appearance: but Pompey was every where; he begged of them with tears to stay, and at last threw himself upon his face in the gate-way: there he lay weeping, and bidding them, if they would go out, tread upon him. Upon this, they were ashamed to proceed, and all, except eight hundred, returned, and reconciled themselves to their general.

After the death of Strabo, a charge was laid that he had converted the public money to his own use, and Pompey, as his heir, was obliged to answer it. Upon inquiry, he found that Alexander, one of the enfranchised slaves, had secreted most of the money; and he took care to inform the magistrates of the particulars. He was accused, however, himself, of having taken some hunting-nets and books out of the spoils of Asculum; and, it is true, his father gave them to him when he took the place; but he lost them at the return of Cinna to Rome, when that general's creatures broke into and pillaged his house. In this affair he maintained the combat well with his adversary at the bar, and showed an acuteness and firmness above his years; which gained him so much applause, that Antistius the prætor, who had the hearing of the cause, conceived an affection for him, and offered him his daughter in marriage. The proposal accordingly was made to his friends. Pompey accepted it, and the treaty was concluded privately. The people, however, had some notion of the thing, from the pains which Antistius took for Pompey; and at last, when he pronounced the sentence, in the name of all the judges, by which Pompey was acquitted, the multitude, as it were, upon a signal given, broke out in the old marriage acclamation of *Talasio*.

The origin of the term is said to have been this: When the principal Romans seized the daughters of the Sabines, who were come to see the games they were celebrating to entrap them, some herdsmen and shepherds laid hold of a virgin remarkably tall and handsome; and, lest she should be taken from them, as they carried her off, they cried all the way they went, *Talasio*. Talasius was a young man, universally beloved and admired; therefore all who heard them, delighted with the intention, joined in the cry, and accompanied them with plaudits. They tell us the marriage of Talasius proved

fortunate, and thence all bridegrooms, by way of mirth, were welcomed with that acclamation. This is the most probable account I can find of the term*.

Pompey, in a little time married Antistia, and afterwards repaired to Cinna's camp. But finding some unjust charges laid against them there, he took the first private opportunity to withdraw. As he was nowhere to be found, a rumour prevailed in the army, that Cinna had put the young man to death: upon which, numbers who hated Cinna, and could no longer bear with his cruelties, attacked his quarters. He fled for his life; and being overtaken by one of the inferior officers, who pursued him with a drawn sword, he fell upon his knees, and offered him his ring, which was of no small value. The officer answered with great ferocity, "I am not come to sign a contract, but to punish an impious and lawless tyrant;" and then killed him upon the spot.

Such was the end of Cinna: after whom Carbo, a tyrant, still more savage, took the reins of government. It was not long, however, before Sylla returned to Italy, to the great satisfaction of most of the Romans, who in their present unhappy circumstances, thought the change of their master no small advantage. To such a desperate state had their calamities brought them, that, no longer hoping for liberty, they sought only the most tolerable servitude.

At that time Pompey was in the Picene, whither he had retired, partly because he had lands there, but more on account of an old attachment which the cities in that district had to his family. As he observed that the best and most considerable of the citizens left their houses, and took refuge in Sylla's camp as in a port, he resolved to do the same. At the same time, he thought it did not become him to go like a fugitive who wanted protection, but rather in a respectable manner, at the head of an army. He therefore tried what levies he could make in the Picene†, and the people readily repaired to his standard, rejecting the applications of Carbo. On this occasion, one Vindius happening to say, "Pompey is just come from under the hands of the pedagogue, and all on a sudden is become a demagogue among you," they were so provoked that they fell upon him and cut him in pieces.

Thus Pompey, at the age of twenty-three, without a commission from any superior authority, erected himself into a general: and having placed his tribunal in the most public part of the great city of Auximum, by a formal decree commanded the Ventidii, two brothers,

* See more of this in the Life of Romulus.

† Now the March of Ancona.

who opposed him in behalf of Carbo, to depart the city: he inlisted soldiers, he appointed tribunes, centurions, and other officers, according to the established custom. He did the same in all the neighbouring cities; for the partisans of Carbo retired and gave place to him, and the rest were glad to range themselves under his banners; so that in a little time he raised three complete legions, and furnished himself with provisions, beasts of burden, carriages; in short, with the whole apparatus of war.

In this form he moved towards Sylla, not by hasty marches, nor as if he wanted to conceal himself; for he stopped by the way to harass the enemy, and attempted to draw off from Carbo all the parts of Italy through which he passed. At last, three generals of the opposite party, Carinna, Cœlius, and Brutus, came against him all at once, not in front, or in one body, but they hemmed him in with their three armies, in hopes to demolish him entirely.

Pompey, far from being terrified, assembled all his forces, and charged the army of Brutus at the head of his cavalry. The Gaulish horse on the enemy's side sustained the first shock; but Pompey attacked the foremost of them, who was a man of prodigious strength, and brought him down with a push of his spear. The rest immediately fled, and threw the infantry into such disorder, that the whole was soon put to flight. This produced so great a quarrel among the three generals, that they parted, and took separate routes; in consequence of which the cities, concluding that the fears of the enemy had made them part, adopted the interests of Pompey.

Not long after, Scipio the consul advanced to engage him: but, before the infantry were near enough to discharge their lances, Scipio's soldiers saluted those of Pompey, and came over to them. Scipio, therefore, was forced to fly. At last Carbo sent a large body of cavalry against Pompey, near the river Arsis. He gave them so warm a reception, that they were soon broken, and in the pursuit drove them upon impracticable ground; so that, finding it impossible to escape, they surrendered themselves with their arms and horses.

Sylla had not yet been informed of these transactions; but upon the first news of Pompey's being engaged with so many adversaries, and such respectable generals, he dreaded the consequence, and marched with all expedition to his assistance. Pompey, having intelligence of his approach, ordered his officers to see that the troops were armed and drawn up in such a manner as to make the handsomest and most gallant appearance before the commander-in-chief; for he expected great honours from him, and he obtained greater. Sylla no sooner saw Pompey advancing to meet him with an army in

excellent condition, both as to age and size of the men, and the spirits which success had given them, than he alighted; and being saluted of course by Pompey as *imperator*, he returned his salutation with the same title; though no one imagined that he would have honoured a young man, not yet admitted into the senate, with a title for which he was contending with the Scipios and the Marii. The rest of his behaviour was as respectable as that in the first interview: he used to rise up and uncover his head whenever Pompey came to him; which he was rarely observed to do for any other, though he had a number of persons of distinction about him.

Pompey was not elated with these honours: on the contrary, when Sylla wanted to send him into Gaul, where Metellus had done nothing worthy of the forces under his direction, he said, "It was not right to take the command from a man who was his superior both in age and character; but if Metellus should desire his assistance in the conduct of the war, it was at his service." Metellus accepted the proposal, and wrote to him to come; whereupon he entered Gaul, and not only signalized his own valour and capacity, but excited once more the spirit of adventure in Metellus, which was almost extinguished with age; just as brass in a state of fusion is said to melt a cold plate, sooner than fire itself. But as it is not usual, when a champion has distinguished himself in the lists, and gained the prize in all the games, to record or to take any notice of the performances of his younger years; so the actions of Pompey in this period, though extraordinary in themselves, yet, being eclipsed by the number and importance of his later expeditions, I shall forbear to mention, lest, by dwelling upon his first essays, I should not leave myself room for those greater and more critical events which mark his character and turn of mind.

After Sylla had made himself master of Italy, and was declared dictator, he rewarded his principal officers with riches and honours, making them liberal grants of whatever they applied for. But he was most struck with the excellent qualities of Pompey, and was persuaded that he owed more to his services than those of any other man. He therefore resolved, if possible, to take him into his alliance; and, as his wife Metella was perfectly of his opinion, they persuaded Pompey to divorce Antistia, and to marry Æmilia, the daughter-in-law of Sylla, whom Metella had by Scaurus, and who was at that time pregnant by another marriage.

Nothing could be more tyrannical than this new contract. It was suitable, indeed, to the times of Sylla, but it ill became the character of Pompey to take Æmilia, pregnant as she was, from another, and bring her into his house, and at the same time to repudiate Antistia,

distressed as she must be for a father whom she had lately lost on account of this cruel husband: for Antistius was killed in the senate-house, because it was thought his regard for Pompey had attached him to the cause of Sylla. And her mother, upon this divorce, laid violent hands upon herself. This was an additional scene of misery in that tragical marriage; as was also the fate of Æmilia in Pompey's house, who died there in childbed.

Soon after this Sylla received an account that Perpenna had made himself master of Sicily, where he afforded an asylum to the party which opposed the reigning powers. Carbo was hovering with a fleet about that island; Domitius had entered Africa, and many other persons of great distinction, who had escaped the fury of the proscriptions by flight, had taken refuge there. Pompey was sent against them with a considerable armament. He soon forced Perpenna to quit the island; and having recovered the cities, which had been much harassed by the armies that were there before his, he behaved to them all with great humanity, except the Mamertines, who were seated in Messina. That people had refused to appear before his tribunal, and to acknowledge his jurisdiction, alleging that they stood excused by an ancient privilege granted them by the Romans. He answered, "Will you never have done with citing laws and privileges to men who wear swords?" His behaviour, too, to Carbo in his misfortunes appeared inhuman: for if it was necessary, as perhaps it was, to put him to death, he should have done it immediately, and then it would have been the work of him that gave orders for it; but, instead of that, he caused a Roman, who had been honoured with three consulships, to be brought in chains before his tribunal, where he sat in judgment on him, to the regret of all the spectators, and ordered him to be led off to execution. When they were carrying him off, and he beheld the sword drawn, he was so much disordered at it, that he was forced to beg a moment's respite, and a private place for the necessities of nature.

Caius Oppius*, the friend of Cæsar, writes, that Pompey likewise treated Quintus Valerius, with inhumanity: for, knowing him to be a man of letters, and that few were to be compared to him in point of knowledge, he took him (he says) aside, and after he had walked with him till he had satisfied himself upon several points of learning, commanded his servants to take him to the block. But we must be very cautious how we give credit to Oppius, when he speaks

* The same who wrote an account of the Spanish war. He was also a biographer; but his works of that kind are lost. He was mean enough to write a treatise to show that Cæsario was not the son of Cæsar.

of the friends and enemies of Cæsar. Pompey, indeed, was under the necessity of punishing the principal enemies of Sylla, particularly when they were taken publicly; but others he suffered to escape, and even assisted some in getting off.

He had resolved to chastise the Himereans for attempting to support his enemies, when the orator Sthenis told him, "He would act unjustly, if he passed by the person that was guilty, and punished the innocent." Pompey asked him, "Who was the guilty person?" and he answered, "I am the man: I persuaded my friends, and compelled my enemies, to take the measures they did." Pompey, delighted with his frank confession and noble spirit, forgave him first, and afterwards all the people of Himera. Being informed that his soldiers committed great disorders in their excursions, he sealed up their swords, and if any of them broke the seal, he took care to have them punished.

While he was making these and other regulations in Sicily, he received a decree of the senate, and letters from Sylla, in which he was commanded to cross over to Africa, and to carry on the war with the utmost vigour against Domitius, who had assembled a much more powerful army than that which Marius carried not long before from Africa to Italy, when he made himself master of Rome, and of a fugitive became a tyrant. Pompey soon finished his preparations for this expedition; and leaving the command in Sicily to Memmius, his sister's husband, he set sail with a hundred and twenty armed vessels, and eight hundred store ships, laden with provisions, arms, money, and machines of war. Part of his fleet landed at Utica, and part at Carthage; immediately after which, seven thousand of the enemy came over to him; and he had brought with him six legions complete.

On his arrival, he met with a whimsical adventure: Some of his soldiers, it seems, found a treasure, and shared considerable sums. The thing getting air, the rest of the troops concluded that the place was full of money, which the Carthaginians had hid there in some time of public distress. Pompey, therefore, could make no use of them for several days, as they were searching for treasures; and he had nothing to do but walk about and amuse himself with the sight of so many thousands digging and turning up the ground. At last they gave up the point, and bade him lead them wherever he pleased, for they were sufficiently punished for their folly.

Domitius advanced to meet him, and put his troops in order of battle. There happened to be a channel between them, craggy, and difficult to pass. In the morning, it began, moreover, to rain, and the wind blew violently; insomuch that Domitius, not imagining

there would be any action that day, ordered his army to retire: but Pompey looked upon this as his opportunity, and he passed the defile with the utmost expedition. The enemy stood upon their defence, but it was in a disorderly and tumultuous manner, and the resistance they made was neither general nor uniform; besides the wind and rain beat in their faces. The storm incommoded the Romans too, for they could not well distinguish each other. Nay, Pompey himself was in danger of being killed by a soldier, who asked him the word, and received not a speedy answer. At length, however, he routed the enemy with great slaughter; not above three thousand of them escaping out of twenty thousand. The soldiers then saluted Pompey *imperator*, but he said he would not accept that title, while the enemy's camp remained untouched; therefore if they chose to confer such an honour upon him, they must first make themselves masters of the intrenchments.

At that instant they advanced with great fury against them.—Pompey fought without his helmet, for fear of such an accident as he had just escaped. The camp was taken, and Domitius slain; in consequence of which, most of the cities immediately submitted, and the rest were taken by assault. He took Jarbas, one of the confederates of Domitius, prisoner, and bestowed his crown on Hiempsal. Advancing with the same tide of fortune, and while his army had all the spirits inspired by success, he entered Numidia, in which he continued his march for several days, and subdued all that came in his way. Thus he revived the terror of the Roman name, which the barbarians had begun to disregard. Nay, he chose not to leave the savage beasts in the deserts without giving them a specimen of the Roman valour and success: accordingly he spent a few days in hunting lions and elephants. The whole time he passed in Africa, they tell us, was not above forty days; in which he defeated the enemy, reduced the whole country, and brought the affairs of its kings under proper regulations, though he was only in his twenty-fourth year.

Upon his return to Utica, he received letters from Sylla, in which he was ordered to send home the rest of his army, and to wait there, with only one legion, for a successor. This gave him a great deal of uneasiness, which he kept to himself, but the army expressed their indignation aloud, insomuch, that when he entreated them to return to Italy, they launched out into abusive terms against Sylla, and declared they would never abandon Pompey, nor suffer him to trust a tyrant. At first he endeavoured to pacify them with mild representations; and when he found those had no effect, he descended from the tribunal, and retired to his tent in tears. However, they went

and took him thence, and placed him again upon the tribunal, where they spent great part of the day; they insisting that he should stay and keep the command, and he in persuading them to obey Sylla's orders, and to form no new faction. At last, seeing no end of their clamours and importunity, he assured them, with an oath, "That he would kill himself if they attempted to force him:" and even this hardly brought them to desist.

The first news that Sylla heard was, that Pompey had revolted; upon which he said to his friends, "Then it is my fate to have to contend with boys in my old age." This he said, because Marius, who was very young, had brought him into so much trouble and danger. But when he received true information of the affair, and observed that all the people flocked out to receive him, and to conduct him home with marks of great regard, he resolved to exceed them in his regards, if possible. He therefore hastened to meet him, and embracing him in the most affectionate manner, saluted him aloud by the surname of *Magnus*, or *the Great*, at the same time he ordered all about him to give him the same appellation. Others say it was given him by the whole army in Africa, but did not generally obtain till it was authorized by Sylla. It is certain he was the last to take it himself, and he did not make use of it till a long time after, when he was sent into Spain with the dignity of proconsul, against Sertorius. Then he began to write himself in his letters, and in all his edicts, *Pompey the Great;* for the world was accustomed to the name, and it was no longer invidious. In this respect we may justly admire the wisdom of the ancient Romans, who bestowed on their great men such honourable names and titles, not only for military achievements, but for the great qualities and arts which adorn civil life. Thus the people gave the surname of *Maximus* to Valerius*, for reconciling them to the senate after a violent dissension; and to Fabius Rullus, for expelling some persons descended of enfranchised slaves†, who had been admitted into the senate on account of their opulent fortunes.

When Pompey arrived at Rome, he demanded a triumph, in which he was opposed by Sylla. The latter alleged, "That the laws did not allow that honour to any person who was not either consul or

* This was Marcus Valerius, the brother of Valerius Publicola, who was dictator.

† It was not his expelling the descendants of enfranchised slaves the senate, nor yet his glorious victories, which procured Fabius the surname of Maximus; but his reducing the populace of Rome into four tribes, who before were dispersed among all the tribes, and by that means had too much influence in elections and other public affairs. These were called *tribus urbanæ*.—*Liv.* ix. 46.

prætor*. Hence it was that the first Scipio, when he returned victorious from greater wars and conflicts with the Carthaginians in Spain, did not demand a triumph; for he was neither consul nor prætor." He added, "That if Pompey, who was yet little better than a beardless youth, and who was not of age to be admitted into the senate, should enter the city in triumph, it would bring an *odium* both upon the dictator's power, and those honours of his friend." These arguments Sylla insisted on, to show him he would not allow of his triumph, and that in case he persisted, he would chastise his obstinacy.

Pompey, not in the least intimidated, bade him consider, "That more worshipped the rising, than the setting sun;" intimating that his power was increasing, and Sylla's upon the decline. Sylla did not well hear what he said, but perceiving by the looks and gestures of the company that they were struck with the expression, he asked what it was. When he was told it, he admired the spirit of Pompey, and cried, "Let him triumph! Let him triumph!"

As Pompey perceived a strong spirit of envy and jealousy on this occasion, it is said, that to mortify those who gave into it the more, he resolved to have his chariot drawn by four elephants; for he had brought a number from Africa, which he had taken from the kings of that country: but finding the gate too narrow, he gave up that design, and contented himself with horses.

His soldiers, not having obtained all they expected, were inclined to disturb the procession, but he took no pains to satisfy them: he said, "He had rather give up his triumph, than submit to flatter them." Whereupon Servilius, one of the most considerable men in Rome, and one who had been most vigorous in opposing the triumph, declared, "He now found Pompey really *the Great*, and worthy of a triumph."

There is no doubt that he might then have been easily admitted a senator, if he had desired it; but his ambition was to pursue honour in a more uncommon track. It would have been nothing strange, if Pompey had been a senator before the age fixed for it; but it was a very extraordinary instance of honour to lead up a triumph before he was a senator: and it contributed not a little to gain him the affections of the multitude; the people were delighted to see him, after his triumph, class with the equestrian order.

Sylla was not without uneasiness at finding him advance so fast in reputation and power; yet he could not think of preventing it, till

* Livy (lib. xxxi.) tells us, the senate refused L. Cornelius Lentulus a triumph for the same reason, though they thought his achievements worthy of that honour.

with a high hand, and entirely against his will, Pompey raised Lepidus* to the consulship, by assisting him with all his interest, in the election. Then Sylla, seeing him conducted home by the people through the *forum*, thus addressed him: "I see, young man, you are proud of your victory. And undoubtedly it was a great and extraordinary thing, by your management of the people, to obtain for Lepidus, the worst man in Rome, the return before Catulus, one of the worthiest and the best. But awake, I charge you, and be upon your guard; for you have now made your adversary greater than yourself."

The displeasure Sylla entertained in his heart against Pompey, appeared most plainly by his will. He left considerable legacies to his friends, and appointed them guardians to his son, but he never once mentioned Pompey. The latter, notwithstanding, bore this with great temper and moderation; and when Lepidus and others opposed his being buried in the *Campus Martius*, and his having the honours of a public funeral, he interposed, and by his presence not only secured, but did honour to the procession.

Sylla's predictions were verified soon after his death. Lepidus wanted to usurp the authority of a dictator: and his proceedings were not indirect, or veiled with specious pretences: he immediately took up arms, and assembled the disaffected remains of the factions which Sylla could not entirely suppress. As for his colleague Catulus, the uncorrupted part of the senate and people were attached to him, and, in point of prudence and justice, there was not a man in Rome who had a greater character; but he was more able to direct the civil government than the operations of war. This crisis, therefore, called for Pompey, and he did not deliberate which side he should take. He joined the honest party, and was declared general against Lepidus, who by this time had reduced great part of Italy, and was master of Cisalpine Gaul, where Brutus acted for him with a considerable force.

When Pompey took the field, he easily made his way in other parts, but he lay a long time before Mutina, which was defended by Brutus. Meanwhile Lepidus advanced by hasty marches to Rome, and sitting down before it, demanded a second consulship. The inhabitants were greatly alarmed at his numbers; but their fears were dissipated by a letter from Pompey, in which he assured them he had terminated the war, without striking a blow: for Brutus, whether he betrayed his army, or they betrayed him, surrendered

* Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who, by Pompey's interest, was declared consul with Q. Lutatius Catulus, in the year of Rome 675.

himself to Pompey; and having a party of horse given him as an escort, retired to a little town upon the Po. Pompey, however, sent Geminius the next day to despatch him; which brought no small stain upon his character. Immediately after Brutus came over to him, he had informed the senate by letter, it was a measure that general had voluntarily adopted; and yet on the morrow he put him to death, and wrote other letters containing heavy charges against him. This was the father of that Brutus, who, together with Cassius, slew Cæsar: but the son did not resemble the father, either in war or in his death, as appears from the life we have given of him.—Lepidus, being soon driven out of Italy, fled into Sardinia, where he died of grief, not in consequence of the ruin of his affairs, but of meeting with a billet (as we are told), by which he discovered that his wife had dishonoured his bed.

At that time, Sertorius, an officer very different from Lepidus, was in possession of Spain, and not a little formidable to Rome itself; all the remains of the civil wars being collected in him, just as in a dangerous disease all the vicious humours flow to a distempered part. He had already defeated several generals of less distinction, and he was then engaged with Metellus Pius, a man of great character in general, and particularly in war; but age seemed to have abated that vigour which is necessary for seizing and making the best advantage of critical occasions. On the other hand, nothing could exceed the ardour and expedition with which Sertorius snatched those opportunities from him. He came on in the most daring manner, and more like a captain of banditti than a commander of regular forces; annoying with ambuscades, and other unforeseen alarms, a champion who proceeded by the common rules, and whose skill lay in the management of heavy-armed forces.

At this juncture Pompey, having an army without employment, endeavoured to prevail with the senate to send him to the assistance of Metellus. Meantime Catulus ordered him to disband his forces; but he found various pretences for remaining in arms in the neighbourhood of Rome; till at last, upon the motion of Lucius Philippus, he obtained the command he wanted. On this occasion, we are told, one of the senators, somewhat surprised at the motion, asked him who made it, whether his meaning was to send out Pompey [*pro consule*] as the representative of a consul? "No," answered he, "but [*pro consulibus*] as the representative of both consuls;" intimating by this the incapacity of the consuls of that year.

When Pompey arrived in Spain, new hopes were excited, as is usual upon the appearance of a new general of reputation; and such of the Spanish nations as were not very firmly attached to Sertorius

began to change their opinions, and to go over to the Romans. Sertorius then expressed himself in a very insolent and contemptuous manner with respect to Pompey: he said, "He should want no other weapons than a rod and ferula to chastise the boy with, were it not that he feared the old woman," meaning Metellus. But in fact it was Pompey he was afraid of, and on his account he carried on his operations with much greater caution: for Metellus gave into a course of luxury and pleasure, which no one could have expected, and changed the simplicity of a soldier's life for a life of pomp and parade. Hence Pompey gained additional honour and interest: for he cultivated plainness and frugality more than ever: though he had not, in that respect, much to correct in himself, being naturally sober and regular in his desires.

The war appeared in many forms: but nothing touched Pompey so nearly as the loss of Lauron, which Sertorius took before his eyes. Pompey thought he had blocked up the enemy, and spoke of it in high terms, when suddenly he found himself surrounded, and, being afraid to move, had the mortification to see the city laid in ashes in his presence. However, in an engagement near Valentia, he defeated Herennius and Perpenna, officers of considerable rank, who had taken part with Sertorius, and acted as his lieutenants, and killed above ten thousand of their men.

Elated with this advantage, he hastened to attack Sertorius, that Metellus might have no share in the victory. He found him near the river Sucro, and they engaged near the close of day. Both were afraid Metellus should come up, Pompey wanting to fight alone, and Sertorius to have but one general to fight with. The issue of the battle was doubtful; one wing in each army being victorious. But of the two generals Sertorius gained the greatest honour, for he routed the battalions that opposed him. As for Pompey, he was attacked on horseback by one of the enemy's infantry, a man of uncommon size. While they were close engaged with their swords, the strokes happened to light on each other's hand, but with different success; Pompey received only a slight wound, and he lopped off the other's hand. Numbers then fell upon Pompey, for his troops in that quarter were already broken; but he escaped, beyond all expectation, by quitting his horse, with gold trappings and other valuable furniture, to the barbarians, who quarrelled and came to blows about dividing the spoil.

Next morning at break of day, both drew up again, to give the finishing stroke to the victory, to which both laid claim: but, upon Metellus coming up, Sertorius retired, and his army dispersed. Nothing was more common than for his forces to disperse in that man-

ner, and afterwards to knit again; so that Sertorius was often seen wandering alone, and as often advancing again at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men, like a torrent swelled with sudden rains.

After the battle, Pompey went to wait on Metellus; and, upon approaching him, he ordered his *lictors* to lower the *fasces*, by way of compliment to Metellus, as his superior; but Metellus would not suffer it; and, indeed, in all respects he behaved to Pompey with great politeness, taking nothing upon him on account of his consular dignity, or his being the older man, except to give the word, when they encamped together. And very often they had separate camps; for the enemy, by his artful and various measures, by making his appearance at different places almost at the same instant, and, by drawing them from one action to another, obliged them to divide. He cut off their provisions, he laid waste the country, he made himself master of the sea; the consequence of which was, that they were both forced to quit their own provinces, and to go upon those of others for supplies.

Pompey, having exhausted most of his own fortune in support of the war, applied to the senate for money to pay the troops, declaring he would return with his army to Italy, if they did not send it him. Lucullus, who was then consul, though he was upon ill terms with Pompey, took care to furnish him with the money as soon as possible; because he wanted to be employed himself in the Mithridatic war, and he was afraid to give Pompey a pretext to leave Sertorius, and to solicit the command against Mithridates, which was a more honourable, and yet appeared a less difficult commission.

Meantime Sertorius was assassinated by his own officers*; and Perpenna, who was at the head of the conspirators, undertook to supply his place. He had indeed the same troops, the same magazines and supplies, but he had not the same understanding to make a proper use of them. Pompey immediately took the field, and having intelligence that Perpenna was greatly embarrassed as to the measures he should take, he threw out ten cohorts as a bait for him, with orders to spread themselves over the plain. When he found it took, and that Perpenna was busied in the pursuit of that handful of men, he suddenly made his appearance with the main body, attacked the enemy, and routed him entirely. Most of the officers fell in the battle; Perpenna himself was taken prisoner, and brought to Pompey, who commanded him to be put to death. Nevertheless, Pompey is not to be accused of ingratitude, nor are we to suppose

* It was three years after the consulate of Lucullus that Sertorius was assassinated.

him (as some will have it) forgetful of the services he had received from that officer in Sicily; on the contrary, he acted with a wisdom and dignity of mind that proved very salutary to the public. Perpenna having got the papers of Sertorius into his hands, showed letters, by which the most powerful men in Rome, who were desirous to raise new commotions, and overturn the establishment, had invited Sertorius into Italy: but Pompey, fearing those letters might excite greater wars than he was then finishing, put Perpenna to death, and burnt the papers without reading them. He staid just long enough in Spain to compose the troubles, and to remove such uneasinesses as might tend to break the peace; after which he marched back to Italy, where he arrived, as fortune would have it, when the *Servile* war was at the height.

Crassus, who had the command in that war, upon the arrival of Pompey, who, he feared, might snatch the laurels out of his hand, resolved to come to battle, however hazardous it might prove. He succeeded, and killed twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy. Yet fortune, in some sort, interweaved this with the honours of Pompey; for he killed five thousand of the slaves, whom he fell in with as they fled after the battle. Immediately upon this, to be beforehand with Crassus, he wrote to the senate, "That Crassus had beaten the gladiators in a pitched battle, but that it was *he* who had cut up the war by the roots." The Romans took a pleasure in speaking of this one among another, on account of their regard for Pompey; which was such, that no part of the success in Spain against Sertorius was ascribed by a man of them, either in jest or earnest, to any but Pompey.

Yet these honours, and this high veneration for the man were mixed with some fears and jealousies that he would not disband his army; but, treading in the steps of Sylla, raise himself by the sword to sovereign power, and maintain himself in it as Sylla had done. Hence the number of those that went out of fear to meet him, and congratulate him on his return, was equal to that of those who went out of love. But when he had removed this suspicion, by declaring that he would dismiss his troops immediately after the triumph, there remained only one more subject for envious tongues; which was, that he paid more attention to the commons than to the senate; and whereas Sylla had destroyed the authority of the tribunes, he was determined to re-establish it, in order to gain the affections of the people. This was true: for there never was any thing they had so much set their hearts upon, or longed for so extravagantly, as to see the tribunitial power put in their hands again: so that Pompey looked upon it as a peculiar happiness that he had an opportunity

to bring that affair about; knowing that if any one should be before-hand with him in this design, he should never find any means of making so agreeable a return for the kind regards of the people.

A second triumph was decreed him*, together with the consulship: but these were not considered as the most extraordinary instances of his power: the strongest proof of his greatness was, that Crassus, the richest, the most eloquent, and most powerful man in the administration, who used to look down upon Pompey, and all the world, did not venture to solicit the consulship without first asking Pompey's leave. Pompey, who had long wished for an opportunity to lay an obligation upon him, received the application with pleasure, and made great interest with the people in his behalf, declaring he should take their giving him Crassus for a colleague, as kindly as their favour to himself.

Yet, when they were elected consuls, they disagreed in every thing, and were embroiled in all their measures. Crassus had most interest with the senate, and Pompey with the people; for he had restored them the tribunitial power, and had suffered a law to be made, that judges should again be appointed out of the equestrian order†.—However, the most agreeable spectacle of all to the people was Pompey himself, when he went to claim his exemption from serving in the wars. It was the custom for a Roman knight, when he had served the time ordered by law, to lead his horse into the *forum*, before the two magistrates called censors; and after having given account of the generals and other officers under whom he had made his campaigns, and of his own actions in them, to demand his discharge. On these occasions they received proper marks of honour or disgrace, according to their behaviour.

Gellius and Lentulus were then censors, and had taken their seats in a manner that became their dignity, to review the whole equestrian order, when Pompey was seen at a distance, with all the badges of his office as consul, leading his horse by the bridle. As soon as he was near enough to be observed by the censors, he ordered his *lictors* to make an opening, and advanced, with his horse in hand, to the foot of the tribunal. The people were struck with admiration, and a profound silence took place: at the same time a

* He triumphed towards the end of the year of Rome 682, and at the same time was declared consul for the year ensuing. This was a peculiar honour, to gain the consulate without first bearing the subordinate offices; but his two triumphs, and his great services, excused that deviation from the common rules.

† L. Aurelius Cotta carried that point when he was prætor; and Plutarch says *again*, because Caius Gracchus had conveyed that privilege to the knights fifty years before.

joy, mingled with reverence, was visible in the countenances of the censors. The senior censor then addressed him as follows: "Pompey the Great, I demand of you whether you have served all the campaigns required by law?" He answered with a loud voice, "I have served them all; and all under myself, as general." The people were so charmed with this answer, that there was no end of their acclamations. At last the censors rose up, and conducted Pompey to his house, to indulge the multitude, who followed him with the loudest plaudits.

When the end of the consulship approached, and his difference with Crassus was increasing daily, Caius Aurelius*, a man who was of the equestrian order, but had never intermeddled with state affairs, one day, when the people were met in full assembly, ascended the *rostra*, and said, "Jupiter had appeared to him in a dream, and commanded him to acquaint the consuls, that they must take care to be reconciled, before they laid down their office." Pompey stood still, and held his peace; but Crassus went and gave him his hand, and saluted him in a friendly manner; at the same time he addressed the people as follows: "I think, my fellow citizens; there is nothing dishonourable or mean in making the first advances to Pompey, whom you scrupled not to dignify with the name of *the Great*, when he was yet but a beardless youth, and for whom you voted two triumphs before he was a senator." Thus reconciled, they laid down the consulship.

Crassus continued his former manner of life; but Pompey now seldom chose to plead the causes of those that applied to him, and by degrees he left the bar. Indeed, he seldom appeared in public, and when he did, it was always with a great train of friends and attendants; so that it was not easy either to speak to him or see him but in the midst of a crowd. He took pleasure in having a number of retainers about him, because he thought it gave him an air of greatness and majesty; and he was persuaded that dignity should be kept from being soiled by the familiarity, and indeed by the very touch of the many. For those who are raised to greatness by arms, and know not how to descend again to the equality required in a republic, are very liable to fall into contempt when they resume the robe of peace. The soldier is desirous to preserve the rank in the *forum* which he had in the field; and he who cannot distinguish himself in the field, thinks it intolerable to give place in the administration too. When, therefore, the latter has got the man who shone in camps and triumphs into the assemblies at home, and finds him attempting to maintain

* Ovatius Aurelius.

the same pre-eminence there, of course he endeavours to humble him; whereas, if the warrior pretends not to take the lead in domestic councils, he is readily allowed the palm of military glory. This soon appeared from the subsequent events.

The power of the pirates had its foundation in Cilicia. Their progress was the more dangerous, because at first it was little taken notice of. In the Mithridatic war they assumed new confidence and courage, on account of some services they had rendered the king.—After this, the Romans being engaged in civil wars at the very gates of their capital, the sea was left unguarded, and the pirates by degrees attempted higher things; they not only attacked ships, but islands and maritime towns. Many persons, distinguished for their wealth, their birth, and their capacity, embarked with them, and assisted in their depredations, as if their employment had been worthy the ambition of men of honour. They had in various places arsenals, ports, and watch-towers, all strongly fortified. Their fleets were not only extremely well manned, supplied with skilful pilots, and fitted for their business by their lightness and celerity, but there was a parade of vanity about them, more mortifying than their strength, in gilded sterns, purple canopies, and plated oars, as if they took a pride, and triumphed in their villany. Music resounded, and drunken revels were exhibited on every coast. Here generals were made prisoners, there the cities the pirates had taken were paying their ransom, all to the great disgrace of the Roman power. The number of their galleys amounted to a thousand, and the cities they were masters of, to four thousand.

Temples, which had stood inviolably sacred till that time, they plundered. They ruined the temple of Apollo at Claros; that where he was worshipped under the title of Didymæus*; that of the Cabiri in Samothrace; that of Ceres† at Hermione; that of Æsculapius at Epidaurus; those of Neptune in the Isthmus, at Tænarus, and in Calauria; those of Apollo at Actium, and in the isle of Leucas; those of Juno at Samos, Argos, and the promontory of Lacinium‡.

They likewise offered strange sacrifices; those of Olympus I

* So called from Didyme, in the territories of Miletus.

† Pausanias *(in Laconic.)* tells us the Lacedæmonians worshipped Ceres under the name of *Chthonia;* and *(in Corinthiac.)* he gives us the reason of her having that name: "The Argives say, that Chthonia, the daughter of Colontas, having been saved out of a conflagration by Ceres, and conveyed to Hermione, built a temple to that goddess, who was worshipped there under the name of Chthonia."

‡ The printed text gives us the erroneous reading of *Leucanium,* but two manuscripts give us *Lacinium.* Livy often mentions Juno *Lacinia.*

mean*; and they celebrated certain secret mysteries, among which those of Mithra continue to this day†, being originally instituted by them. They not only insulted the Romans at sea, but infested the great roads, and plundered the villas near the coast: they carried off Sextilius and Bellinus, two prætors, in their purple robes, with all their servants and *lictors;* they seized the daughter of Antony, a man who had been honoured with a triumph, as she was going to her country-house, and he was forced to pay a large ransom for her.

But the most contemptuous circumstance of all was, that when they had taken a prisoner, and he cried out that he was a Roman, and told them his name, they pretended to be struck with terror, smote their thighs, and fell upon their knees to ask him pardon.—The poor man, seeing them thus humble themselves before him, thought them in earnest, and said he would forgive them; for some were so officious as to put on his shoes, and others to help him on with his gown, that his quality might no more be mistaken.—When they had carried on this farce, and enjoyed it for some time, they let a ladder down into the sea, and bade him go in peace; and if he refused to do it, they pushed him off the deck and drowned him.

Their power extended over the whole Tuscan sea, so that the Romans found their trade and navigation entirely cut off; the consequence of which was, that their markets were not supplied, and they had reason to apprehend a famine. This, at last, put them upon sending Pompey to clear the seas of pirates. Gabinius, one of Pompey's intimate friends, proposed the decree‡, which created him, not admiral, but monarch, and invested him with absolute power. The decree gave him the empire of the sea as far as the Pillars of Hercules, and of the land four hundred furlongs from the coasts. There were few parts of the Roman empire which this commission did not take in; and the most considerable of the barbarous nations, and most powerful kings, were, moreover, comprehended in it. Besides this, he was empowered to choose out of the senators fifteen lieutenants to act under him in such districts and

* Not on Mount Olympus, but in the city of Olympus, near Phaselis, in Pamphylia, which was one of the receptacles of the pirates. What sort of sacrifices they used to offer there is not known.

† According to Herodotus, the Persians worshipped Venus under the name of Mithres, or Mithra; but the sun is worshipped in that country.

‡ This law was made in the year of Rome 686. The crafty tribune, when he proposed it, did not name Pompey. Pompey was now in the thirty-ninth year of his age. His friend Gabinius, as appears from Cicero, was a man of infamous character.

with such authority as he should appoint. He was to take from the quæstors, and other public receivers, what money he pleased, and equip a fleet of two hundred sail. The number of marine forces, of mariners and rowers, was left entirely to his discretion.

When this decree was read in the assembly, the people received it with inconceivable pleasure. The most respectable part of the senate saw, indeed, that such an absolute and unlimited power was above envy, but they considered it as a real object of fear. They therefore all, except Cæsar, opposed its passing into a law. He was for it, not out of regard for Pompey, but to insinuate himself into the good graces of the people, which he had long been courting. The rest were very severe in their expressions against Pompey; and one of the consuls venturing to say*, "If he imitates Romulus, he will not escape his fate," was in danger of being pulled in pieces by the populace.

It is true, when Catulus rose up to speak against the law, out of reverence for his person, they listened to him with great attention. After he had freely given Pompey the honour that was his due, and said much in his praise, he advised them to spare him, and not to expose such a man to so many dangers; "for where will you find another," said he, "if you lose him?" They answered with one voice, "Yourself." Finding his arguments had no effect, he retired. Then Roscius mounted the rostrum, but not a man would give ear to him. However, he made signs to them with his fingers, that they should not appoint Pompey alone, but give him a colleague. Incensed at the proposal, they set up such a shout, that a crow, which was flying over the *forum*, was stunned with the force of it, and fell down among the crowd. Hence we may conclude, that when birds fall on such occasions, it is not because the air is so divided with the shock as to leave a *vacuum*, but rather because the sound strikes them like a blow, when it ascends with such force, and produces so violent an agitation.

The assembly broke up that day without coming to any resolution. When the day came that they were to give their suffrages, Pompey retired into the country; and, on receiving information that the decree was passed, he returned to the city by night, to prevent the envy which the multitudes of people coming to meet him would have excited. Next morning at break of day he made his appearance, and attended the sacrifice. After which he summoned an assembly, and obtained a grant of almost as much more as the first decree had given him. He was empowered to fit out five hundred galleys, and

* The consuls of this year were Calpurnius Piso and Acilius Glabrio.

to raise an army of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. Twenty-four senators were selected, who had all been generals or prætors, and were appointed his lieutenants; and he had two quæstors given him. As the price of provisions fell immediately, the people were greatly pleased, and it gave them occasion to say, "The very name of Pompey had terminated the war."

However, in pursuance of his charge, he divided the whole Mediterranean into thirteen parts, appointing a lieutenant for each, and assigning him a squadron. By thus stationing his fleets in all quarters, he enclosed the pirates as it were in a net, took great numbers of them, and brought them into harbour. Such of their vessels as had dispersed and made off in time, or could escape the general chace, retired to Cilicia, like so many bees into a hive. Against these he proposed to go himself with sixty of his best gallies; but first he resolved to clear the Tuscan sea, and the coasts of Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, of all piratical adventurers; which he effected in forty days, by his own indefatigable endeavours, and those of his lieutenants. But as the consul Piso was indulging his malignity at home, in wasting his stores and discharging his seamen, he sent his fleet round to Brundusium, and went himself by land through Tuscany to Rome.

As soon as the people were informed of his approach, they went in crowds to receive him, in the same manner as they had done a few days before to conduct him on his way. Their extraordinary joy was owing to the speed with which he had executed his commission, so far beyond all expectation, and to the superabundant plenty which reigned in the markets. For this reason Piso was in danger of being deposed from the consulship: and Gabinius had a decree ready drawn up for that purpose, but Pompey would not suffer him to propose it: on the contrary, his speech to the people was full of candour and moderation; and when he had provided such things as he wanted, he went to Brundusium, and put to sea again. Though he was straitened for time, and in his haste sailed by many cities without calling, yet he stopped at Athens. He entered the town, and sacrificed to the gods; after which he addressed the people, and then prepared to re-embark immediately. As he went out of the gate, he observed two inscriptions, each comprised in one line.

That within the gate was—

But know thyself a man, and be a god.

That without—

We wish'd, we saw; we lov'd, and we ador'd.

Some of the pirates, who yet traversed the seas, made their submission; and as he treated them in a humane manner, when he had

them and their ships in his power, others entertained hopes of mercy, and, avoiding the other officers, surrendered themselves to Pompey, together with their wives and children. He spared them all; and it was principally by their means that he found out and took a number who were guilty of unpardonable crimes, and therefore had concealed themselves.

Still, however, there remained a great number, and indeed the most powerful part of these corsairs, who sent their families, treasures, and all useless hands, into castles and fortified towns upon Mount Taurus. Then they manned their ships, and waited for Pompey at Coracesium, in Cilicia. A battle ensued, and the pirates were defeated; after which they retired into the fort. But they had not been long besieged before they capitulated, and surrendered themselves, together with the cities and islands which they had conquered and fortified, and which by their works, as well as situation, were almost impregnable. Thus the war was finished, and the whole force of the pirates destroyed, within three months at the farthest.

Besides the other vessels, Pompey took ninety ships with beaks of brass; and the prisoners amounted to twenty thousand. He did not choose to put them to death, and at the same time he thought it wrong to suffer them to disperse, because they were not only numerous, but warlike and necessitous, and therefore would probably knit again, and give future trouble. He reflected, that man by nature is neither a savage nor an unsocial creature, and when he becomes so, it is by vices contrary to nature; yet even then he may be humanized by changing his place of abode, and accustoming him to a new manner of life, as beasts that are naturally wild put off their fierceness when they are kept in a domestic way. For this reason he determined to remove the pirates to a great distance from the sea, and bring them to taste the sweets of civil life, by living in cities, and by the culture of the ground. He placed some of them in the little towns of Cilicia, which were almost desolate, and which received them with pleasure, because at the same time he gave them an additional proportion of lands. He repaired the city of Soli*, which had lately been dismantled and deprived of its inhabitants by Tigranes, king of Armenia, and peopled it with a number of these corsairs. The remainder, which was a considerable body, he planted in Dyma, a city of Achaia, which, though it had a large and fruitful territory, was in want of inhabitants.

Such as looked upon Pompey with envy found fault with these pro-

* He called it after his own name Pompeiopolis.

ceedings; but his conduct with respect to Metellus in Crete was not agreeable to his best friends. This was a relation of that Metellus who commanded in conjunction with Pompey in Spain, and he had been sent into Crete some time before Pompey was employed in this war; for Crete was the second nursery of pirates after Cilicia. Metellus had destroyed many nests of them there, and the remainder, who were besieged by him at this time, addressed themselves to Pompey as suppliants, and invited him into the island, as included in his commission, and falling within the distance he had a right to carry his arms from the sea. He listened to their application, and by letter enjoined Metellus to take no farther steps in the war. At the same time, he ordered the cities of Crete not to obey Metellus, but Lucius Octavius, one of his own lieutenants, whom he sent to take the command.

Octavius went in among the besieged, and fought on their side; a circumstance which rendered Pompey not only odious, but ridiculous: for what could be more absurd than to suffer himself to be so blinded by his envy and jealousy of Metellus, as to lend his name and authority to a crew of profligate wretches, to be used as a kind of amulet to defend them? Achilles was not thought to behave like a man, but like a frantic youth carried away by an extravagant passion for fame, when he made signs to his troops not to touch Hector,

> Lest some strong arm should snatch the glorious prize
> Before Pelides.....

But Pompey fought for the common enemies of mankind, in order to deprive a prætor, who was labouring to destroy them, of the honours of a triumph. Metellus, however, pursued his operations till he took the pirates; and put them all to death. As for Octavius, he exposed him in the camp as an object of contempt, and loaded him with reproaches, after which he dismissed him.

When news was brought to Rome that the war with the pirates was finished, and that Pompey was bestowing his leisure upon visiting the cities, Manilius, one of the tribunes of the people, proposed a decree, which gave him all the provinces and forces under the command of Lucullus, adding likewise Bithynia, which was then governed by Glabrio. It directed him to carry on the war against Mithridates and Tigranes; for which purpose he was also to retain his naval command. This was subjecting at once the whole Roman empire to one man: for the provinces which the former decree did not give him, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, the Upper Colchis, and Armenia, were granted by this, together with all the forces which under Lucullus had defeated Mithridates and Tigranes.

By this law Lucullus was deprived of the honours he had dearly earned, and had a person to succeed him in his triumph, rather than in the war. But that was not the thing which affected the patricians most: they were persuaded, indeed, that Lucullus was treated with injustice and ingratitude; but it was a much more painful circumstance to think of a power in the hands of Pompey which they could call nothing but a tyranny*. They therefore exhorted and encouraged each other to oppose the law, and maintain their liberty: yet when the time came, their fear of the people prevailed, and no one spoke on the occasion but Catulus. He urged many arguments against the bill; and when he found they had no effect upon the commons, he addressed himself to the senators, and called upon them many times from the *rostrum*, "To seek some mountain, as their ancestors had done, some rock whither they might fly for the preservation of liberty."

We are told, however, that the bill was passed by all the tribes†, and almost the same universal authority conferred upon Pompey in his absence, which Sylla did not gain but by the sword, and by carrying war into the bowels of his country. When Pompey received the letters which notified his high promotion, and his friends, who happened to be by, congratulated him on the occasion, he is said to have knit his brows, smote his thigh, and expressed himself as if he was already overburdened and wearied with the weight of power‡: "Alas! is there no end of my conflicts? How much better would it have been to be one of the undistinguished many, than to be perpetually engaged in war? Shall I never be able to fly from envy to a rural retreat, to domestic happiness, and conjugal endearments?" Even his friends were unable to bear the dissimulation of this speech. They knew that the flame of his native ambition and lust of power was blown up to a greater height by the difference he had with Lucullus, and that he rejoiced the more in the present preference on that account.

His actions soon unmasked the man. He caused public notice to

* "We have then got at last," said they, "a sovereign; the republic is changed into a monarchy; the services of Lucullus, the honour of Glabrio and Marcius, two zealous and worthy senators, are to be sacrificed to the promotion of Pompey. Sylla never carried his tyranny so far."

† Two great men spoke in favour of the law, namely, Cicero and Cæsar. The former aimed at the consulate, which Pompey's party could more easily procure him than that of Catulus and the senate. As for Cæsar, he was delighted to see the people insensibly lose that republican spirit and love of liberty, which might one day obstruct the vast designs he had already formed.

‡ Is it possible to read this without recollecting the similar character of our Richard the Third.

be given in all places within his commission, that the Roman troops were to repair to him, as well as the kings and princes their allies.—Wherever he went he annulled the acts of Lucullus, remitting the fines he had imposed, and taking away the rewards he had given. In short, he omitted no means to show the partizans of that general that all his authority was gone.

Lucullus, of course, complained of this treatment, and their common friends were of opinion that it would be best for them to come to an interview; accordingly they met in Galatia. As they had both given distinguished proofs of millitary merit, the *lictors* had entwined the rods of each with laurel. Lucullus had marched through a country full of flourishing groves, but Pompey's route was dry and barren, without the ornament or advantage of woods. His laurels, therefore, were parched and withered; which the servants of Lucullus no sooner observed, than they freely supplied them with fresh ones, and crowned his *fasces* with them. This seemed to be an omen that Pompey would bear away the honours and rewards of Lucullus's victories. Lucullus had been consul before Pompey, and was the older man, but Pompey's two triumphs gave him the advantage in point of dignity.

Their interview had at first the face of great politeness and civility. They began with mutual compliments and congratulations; but they soon lost sight even of candour and moderation; they proceeded to abusive language; Pompey reproaching Lucullus with avarice, and Lucullus accusing Pompey of an insatiable lust of power; insomuch that their friends found it difficult to prevent violence. After this, Lucullus gave his friends and followers lands in Galatia, as a conquered country, and made other considerable grants. But Pompey, who encamped at a little distance from him, declared he would not suffer his orders to be carried into execution, and seduced all his soldiers, except sixteen hundred, who he knew were so mutinous, that they would be as unserviceable to him as they had been ill-affected to their old general. Nay, he scrupled not to disparage the conduct of Lucullus, and to represent his actions in a despicable light. "The battles of Lucullus," he said, "were only mock battles, and he had fought with nothing but the shadows of kings; but that it was left for *him* to contend with real strength and well-disciplined armies; since Mithridates had betaken himself to swords and shields, and knew how to make proper use of his cavalry."

On the other hand, Lucullus defended himself by observing, "That it was nothing new to Pompey to fight with phantoms and shadows of war: for like a dastardly bird, he had been accustomed to

prey upon those whom he had not killed, and to tear the poor remains of a dying opposition. Thus he had arrogated to himself the conquest of Sertorius, of Lepidus, and Spartacus, which originally belonged to Metellus, to Catulus, and Crassus. Consequently he did not wonder that he was come to claim the honour of finishing the wars of Armenia and Pontus after he had thrust himself into the triumph over the fugitive slaves."

In a little time Lucullus departed for Rome; and Pompey having secured the sea from Phœnicia to the Bosphorus, marched in quest of Mithridates, who had an army of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, but durst not stand an engagement. That prince was in possession of a strong and secure post upon a mountain, which he quitted upon Pompey's approach, because it was destitute of water. Pompey encamped in the same place; and conjecturing, from the nature of the plants and the crevices in the mountain, that springs might be found, he ordered a number of wells to be dug, and the camp was in a short time plentifully supplied with water*. He was not a little surprised that this did not occur to Mithridates during the whole time of his encampment there.

After this Pompey followed him to his new camp, and drew a line of circumvallation round him. Mithridates stood a siege of forty-five days, after which he found means to steal off with his best troops, having first killed all the sick, and such as could be of no service. Pompey overtook him near the Euphrates, and encamped over against him; but fearing he might pass the river unperceived, he drew out his troops at midnight. At that time Mithridates is said to have had a dream, prefigurative of what was to befal him. He thought he was upon the Pontic sea, sailing with a favourable wind, and in sight of the Bosphorus; so that he felicitated his friends in the ship, like a man perfectly safe, and already in harbour. But suddenly he beheld himself in the most destitute condition, swimming upon a piece of wreck. While he was in all the agitation which this dream produced, his friends awaked him, and told him that Pompey was at hand. He was now under a necessity of fighting for his camp, and his generals drew up the forces with all possible expedition.

Pompey, seeing them prepared, was loth to risk a battle in the dark. He thought it sufficient to surround them, so as to prevent their flight; and what inclined him still more to wait for day-light, was the consideration that his troops were much better than the enemy's. However, the oldest of his officers entreated him to

* Paulus Æmilius had done the same thing long before, in the Macedonian war.

proceed immediately to the attack, and at last prevailed. It was not indeed very dark; for the moon, though near her setting, gave light enough to distinguish objects. But it was a great disadvantage to the king's troops that the moon was so low, and on the backs of the Romans; because she projected their shadows so far before them, that the enemy could form no just estimate of the distances, but, thinking them at hand, threw their javelins before they could do the least execution.

The Romans, perceiving their mistake, advanced to the charge with all the alarm of voices. The enemy were in such a consternation that they made not the least stand, and in their flight vast numbers were slain. They lost above ten thousand men, and their camp was taken. As for Mithridates, he broke through the Romans with eight hundred horse, in the beginning of the engagement. That corps, however, did not follow him far before they dispersed, and left him with only three of his people; one of which was his concubine Hypsicratia, a woman of such a masculine and daring spirit, that the king used to call her Hypsicrates. She then rode a Persian horse, and was dressed in a man's habit, of the fashion of that nation. She complained not in the least of the length of the march; and, besides that fatigue, she waited on the king, and took care of his horse, till they reached the castle of Inora*, where the king's treasure, and his most valuable moveables were deposited. Mithridates took out thence many rich robes, and bestowed them on those who repaired to him after their flight.—He furnished each of his friends, too, with a quantity of poison, that none of them against their will, might come alive into the enemy's hands.

From Inora his design was to go to Tigranes in Armenia: but Tigranes had given up the cause, and set a price of no less than a hundred talents upon his head. He therefore changed his route, and having passed the head of the Euphrates, directed his flight through Colchis.

In the mean time Pompey entered Armenia upon the invitation of young Tigranes, who had revolted from his father, and was gone to meet the Roman general at the river Araxes. This river takes its rise near the source of the Euphrates, but bends its course eastward, and empties itself into the Caspian sea. Pompey and young Tigranes in their march, received the homage of the cities through which they passed. As for Tigranes the father, he had been lately defeated by Lucullus; and now, being informed that Pompey was of a mild and

* It seems, from a passage in Strabo (b. xii.), that, instead of *Inora*, we should read *Sinoria*: for that was one of the many fortresses Mithridates had built between the Greater and the Less Armenia.

humane disposition, he received a Roman garrison into his capital, and, taking his friends and relations with him, went to surrender himself. As he rode up to the intrenchments, two of Pompey's *lictors* came and ordered him to dismount, and enter on foot; assuring him that no man was ever seen on horseback in a Roman camp. Tigranes obeyed, and even took off his sword, and gave it them. As soon as he came before Pompey, he pulled off his diadem, and attempted to lay it at his feet. What was still worse, he was going to prostrate himself, and embrace his knees: but Pompey preventing it, took him by the hand, and placed him on one side of him, and his son on the other. Then addressing himself to the father, he said, "As to what you had lost before, you lost it to Lucullus. It was he who took from you Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophene: but what you kept till my time I will restore you, on condition you pay the Romans a fine of six thousand talents for the injury you have done them. Your son I will make king of Sophene."

Tigranes thought himself so happy in these terms, and in finding that the Romans saluted him king, that in the joy of his heart he promised every private soldier half a *mina*, every centurion ten *minas*, and every tribune a talent. But his son was little pleased at the determination; and when he was invited to supper, he said, "He had no need of such honours from Pompey, for he could find another Roman." Upon this he was bound, and reserved in chains for the triumph. Not long after Phraätes, king of Parthia, sent to demand the young prince as his son-in-law, and to propose that the Euphrates should be the boundary between him and the Roman empire.—Pompey answered, "That Tigranes was certainly nearer to his father than his father-in-law; and as for the boundary, justice should direct it."

When he had despatched this affair, he left Afranius to take care of Armenia, and marched himself to the countries bordering on Mount Caucasus, through which he must necessarily pass in search of Mithridates. The Albanians and Iberians are the principal nations in those parts. The Iberian territories touch upon the Moschian mountains and the kingdom of Pontus; the Albanians stretch more to the east, and extend to the Caspian sea. The Albanians at first granted Pompey a passage; but as winter overtook him in their dominions, they took the opportunity of the *Saturnalia*, which the Romans observe religiously, to assemble their forces, to the number of forty thousand men, with a resolution to attack them; and for that purpose passed the Cyrnus*. The Cyrnus rises in the Iberian

* Strabo and Pliny call this river *Cyrus*, and so Plutarch probably wrote it.

mountains, and being joined in its course by the Araxes from Armenia, it discharges itself by twelve mouths into the Caspian sea. Some say the Araxes does not run into it*, but has a separate channel, and empties itself near it into the same sea.

Pompey suffered them to pass the river, though it was in his power to have hindered it; and when they were all got over, he attacked and routed them, and killed great numbers on the spot. Their king sent ambassadors to speak for mercy; upon which Pompey forgave him the violence he had offered, and entered into alliance with him. This done, he marched against the Iberians, who were equally numerous, and more warlike, and who were very desirous to signalize their zeal for Mithridates, by repulsing Pompey. The Iberians were never subject to the Medes or Persians: they escaped even the Macedonian yoke, because Alexander was obliged to leave Hyrcania in haste. Pompey, however, defeated this people too in a great battle, in which he killed no less than nine thousand, and took above ten thousand prisoners.

After this he threw himself into Colchis; and Servilius came and joined him, at the mouth of the Phasis, with the fleet appointed to guard the Euxine sea. The pursuit of Mithridates was attended with great difficulties; for he had concealed himself among the nations settled about the Bosphorus and the Palus Mæotis. Besides, news was brought Pompey that the Albanians had revolted, and taken up arms again. The desire of revenge determined him to march back and chastise them: but it was with infinite trouble and danger that he passed the Cyrnus again, the barbarians having fenced it on their side with pallisades all along the banks; and when he was over he had a large country to traverse, which afforded no water. This last difficulty he provided against, by filling ten thousand bottles; and pursuing his march, he found the enemy drawn up on the banks of the river Abas†, to the number of sixty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, but many of them ill-armed, and provided with nothing of the defensive kind but skins of beasts.

They were commanded by the king's brother, named Cosis, who at the beginning of the battle, singled out Pompey, and rushing in upon him, struck his javelin into the joints of his breast-plate.—Pompey, in return, run him through with his spear, and laid him dead on the spot. It is said, that the Amazons came to the assistance of the barbarians, from the mountains near the river Thermodon, and

* This is Strabo's opinion, in which he is followed by the modern geographers.

† This river takes its rise in the mountains of Albania, and falls into the Caspian sea. Ptolemy calls it *Albanus*.

fought in this battle. The Romans, among the plunder of the field, did, indeed, meet with bucklers in the form of a half moon, and such buskins as the Amazons wore; but there was not the body of a woman found among the dead. They inhabit that part of Mount Caucasus which stretches towards the Hyrcanian sea, and are not next neighbours to the Albanians*; for Gelæ and Leges lie between; but they meet that people, and spend two months with them every year on the banks of the Thermodon: after which they retire to their own country, where they live without the company of men.

After this action, Pompey designed to make his way to the Caspian sea, and march by its coasts into Hyrcania; but he found the number of venomous serpents so troublesome, that he was forced to return, when three days march more would have carried him as far as he proposed. The next route he took was into Armenia the Less, where he gave audience to ambassadors from the kings of the Elymæans† and Medes, and dismissed them with letters expressive of his regard. Meantime the king of Parthia had entered Gordyene, and was doing infinite damage to the subjects of Tigranes. Against him Pompey sent Afranius, who put him to the rout, and pursued him as far as the province of Arbelis.

Among all the concubines of Mithridates that were brought before Pompey, he touched not one, but sent them to their parents or husbands; for most of them were either daughters or wives of the great officers and principal persons of the kingdom. But Stratonice, who was the first favourite, and had the care of a fort where the best part of the king's treasure was lodged, was the daughter of a poor old musician. She sung one evening to Mithridates at an entertainment, and he was so much pleased with her, that he took her to his bed that night, and sent the old man home in no very good humour, because he had taken his daughter, without condescending to speak one kind word to him. But, when he waked next morning, he saw tables covered with vessels of gold and silver, a great retinue of eunuchs and pages, who offered him choice of rich robes, and before his gate a horse, with such magnificent furniture as is provided for those who are called the king's friends. All this he thought nothing but an insult and burlesque upon him, and therefore prepared for

* The Albanian forces, according to Strabo, were numerous, but ill-disciplined. Their offensive weapons were darts and arrows, and their defensive armour was made of the skins of beasts.

† Strabo (lib. xvi.) places the Elymæans in that part of Assyria which borders upon Media, and mentions three provinces belonging to them, Gabiane, Messabatice, and Corbiane. He adds that they were powerful enough to refuse submission to the king of Parthia.

flight; but the servants stopped him, and assured him that the king had given him the house of a rich nobleman lately deceased, and that what he saw was only the first fruits—a small earnest of the fortune he intended him. At last he suffered himself to be persuaded that the scene was not visionary; he put on the purple, and mounted the horse, and, as he rode through the city, cried out, "All this is mine." The inhabitants, of course, laughed at him; and he told them, "They should not be surprised at this behaviour of his, but rather wonder that he did not throw stones at them."

From such a glorious source sprung STRATONICE:

She surrendered to Pompey the castle, and made him many magnificent presents; however, he took nothing but what might be an ornament to the solemnities of religion, and add lustre to his triumph. The rest he desired she would keep for her own enjoyment. In like manner when the king of Iberia sent him a bedstead, a table, and a throne, all of massy gold, and begged of him to accept them as a mark of his regard, he bade the quæstors apply them to the purposes of the public revenue.

In the castle of Cænon he found the private papers of Mithridates, and he read them with some pleasure, because they discovered that prince's real character. From these memoirs it appeared that he had taken off many persons by poison, among whom were his own son Ariarathes, and Alcæus of Sardis. His pique against the latter took its rise merely from his having better horses for the race than he. There were also interpretations both of his own dreams and those of his wives, and the lascivious letters which had passed between him and Monime. Theophanes pretends to say, that there was found among those papers a memorial composed by Rutilius*, exhorting Mithridates to massacre all the Romans in Asia: but most people believe this was a malicious invention of Theophanes, to blacken Rutilius, whom probably he hated, because he was a perfect contrast to him; or it might be invented by Pompey, whose father was represented in Rutilius's histories, as one of the worst of men.

From Cænon Pompey marched to Amisus, where his infatuating ambition put him upon very obnoxious measures. He had censured Lucullus much for disposing of provinces at a time when the war was alive, and for bestowing other considerable gifts and honours, which conquerors use to grant after their wars are absolutely

* P. Rutilius Rufus was consul in the year of Rome 649. Cicero gives him a great character. He was afterwards banished into Asia, and when Sylla recalled him, he refused to return. He wrote a Roman history in Greek, which Appian made great use of.

terminated; and yet when Mithridates was master of the Bosphorus, and had assembled a very respectable army again, the same Pompey did the very thing he had censured. As if he had finished the whole, he disposed of governments, and distributed other rewards among his friends. On that occasion many princes and generals, and among them twelve barbarian kings, appeared before him; and to gratify those princes, when he wrote to the king of Parthia, he refused to give him the title of King of Kings, by which he was usually addressed.

He was passionately desirous to recover Syria, and, passing from thence through Arabia, to penetrate to the Red sea, that he might go on conquering every way to the ocean which surrounds the world. In Africa he was the first whose conquests extended to the Great sea; in Spain he stretched the Roman dominions to the Atlantic; and in his late pursuit of the Albanians, he wanted but little of reaching the Hyrcanian sea. In order, therefore, to take the Red sea too into the circle of his wars, he began his march; the rather, because he saw it difficult to hunt out Mithridates with a regular force, and that he was much harder to deal with in his flight than in battle. For this reason, he said, "He would leave him a stronger enemy than the Romans to cope with, which was famine." In pursuance of this intention, he ordered a number of ships to cruize about, and prevent any vessels from entering the Bosphorus with provisions; and that death should be the punishment for such as were taken in the attempt.

As he was upon his march with the best part of his army, he found the bodies of those Romans who fell in the unfortunate battle between Triarius* and Mithridates, still uninterred. He gave them an honourable burial; and the omission of it seems to have contributed, not a little, to the aversion the army had for Lucullus.

Proceeding in the execution of his plan, he subdued the Arabians about Mount Amanus, by his lieutenant Afranius, and descended himself into Syria, which he converted into a Roman province, because it had no lawful king†. He reduced Judea, and took its

* Triarius was defeated by Mithridates three years before Pompey's march into Syria. He had twenty-three tribunes, and a hundred and fifty centurions killed in that battle, and his camp was taken.

† Pompey took the temple of Jerusalem, killing no less than twelve thousand Jews in the action. He entered the temple contrary to their law, but had the moderation not to touch any of the holy utensils, or the treasure belonging to it. Aristobulus presented him with a golden vine, valued at five hundred talents, which he afterwards consecrated in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

king Aristobulus, prisoner. He founded some cities, and set others free, punishing the tyrants who had enslaved them. But most of his time was spent in administering justice, and in deciding the disputes between cities and princes. Where he could not go himself he sent his friends. The Armenians and Parthians, for instance, having referred the difference they had about some territory, to his decision, he sent three arbitrators to settle the affair. His reputation as to power was great, and it was equally respectable as to virtue and moderation. This was the thing which palliated most of his faults, and those of his ministers. He knew not how to restrain or punish the offences of those he employed, but he gave so gracious a reception to those who came to complain of them, that they went away not ill-satisfied with all they had suffered from their avarice and oppression.

His first favourite was Demetrius, his enfranchised slave, a young man, who in other respects did not want understanding, but who made an insolent use of his good fortune. They tell us this story of him: Cato, the philosopher, then a young man, but already celebrated for his virtue and greatness of mind, went to see Antioch, when Pompey was not there. According to custom, he travelled on foot, but his friends accompanied him on horseback. When he approached the city, he saw a great number of people before the gates, all in white, and on the way a troop of young men ranged on one side, and of boys on the other. This gave the philosopher pain; for he thought it a compliment intended him, which he did not want. However, he ordered his friends to alight, and walk with him. As soon as they were near enough to be spoke with, the master of the ceremonies, with a crown on his head, and a staff of office in his hand, came up and asked them, "Where they had left Demetrius, and when he might be expected?" Cato's companions laughed, but Cato said only, "Alas, poor city!" and so passed on.

Indeed, others might the better endure the insolence of Demetrius, because Pompey bore with it himself. Very often, when Pompey was waiting to receive company, Demetrius seated himself in a disrespectful manner at table, with his cap of liberty pulled over his ears. Before his return to Italy, he had purchased the pleasantest villas about Rome, with magnificent apartments for entertaining his friends; and some of the most elegant and expensive gardens were known by his name; yet Pompey himself was satisfied with an indifferent house till his third triumph. Afterwards he built that celebrated and beautiful theatre in Rome; and, as an appendage to it, built himself a house much handsomer than the former, but not

ostentatiously great; for he who came to be master of it after him, at his first entrance was surprised, and asked, "Where was the room in which Pompey the Great used to sup?" Such is the account we have of these matters.

The king of Arabia Petræa had hitherto considered the Romans in no formidable light, but he was really afraid of Pompey, and sent letters to acquaint him that he was ready to obey all his commands. Pompey, to try the sincerity of his professions, marched against Petra. Many blamed this expedition, looking upon it as no better than a pretext to be excused pursuing Mithridates, against whom they would have had him turn, as against the ancient enemy of Rome; and an enemy who, according to all accounts, had so far recovered his strength, as to propose marching through Scythia and Pæonia into Italy. On the other hand, Pompey was of opinion that it was much easier to ruin him when at the head of an army, than to take him in his flight, and therefore would not amuse himself with a fruitless pursuit, but rather chose to wait for a new emergency, and, in the mean time, to turn his arms to another quarter.

Fortune soon resolved the doubt. He had advanced near Petra, and encamped for that day, and was taking some exercise on horseback, without the trenches, when messengers arrived from Pontus; and it was plain they brought good news, because the points of their spears were crowned with laurel. The soldiers seeing this, gathered about Pompey, who was inclined to finish his exercise before he opened the packet; but they were so earnest in their entreaties, that they prevailed upon him to alight and take it. He entered the camp with it in his hand; and as there was no tribunal ready, and the soldiers were too impatient to raise one of turf, which was the common method, they piled a number of pack-saddles one upon another, upon which Pompey mounted, and gave them this information: "Mithridates is dead. He killed himself upon the revolt of his son Pharnaces. And Pharnaces has seized all that belonged to his father; which he declares he has done for himself and the Romans."

At this news the army, as might be expected, gave a loose to their joy, which they expressed in sacrifices to the gods, and in reciprocal entertainments, as if ten thousand of their enemies had been slain in Mithridates. Pompey having thus brought the campaign, and the whole war, to a conclusion so happy, and so far beyond his hopes, immediately quitted Arabia, traversed the provinces between that and Galatia with great rapidity, and soon arrived at Amisus. There he found many presents from Pharnaces, and

several corpses of the royal family, among which was that of Mithridates. The face of that prince could not be easily known, because the embalmers had not taken out the brain, and by the corruption of that the features were disfigured. Yet some that were curious to examine it distinguished it by the scars. As for Pompey, he would not see the body, but, to propitiate the avenging deity*, sent it to Sinope. However, he looked upon and admired the magnificence of his habit, and the size and beauty of his arms. The scabbard of the sword, which cost four hundred talents, was stolen by one Publius, who sold it to Ariarathes; and Caius, the foster-brother of Mithridates, took the diadem, which was of most exquisite workmanship, and gave it privately to Faustus, the son of Sylla, who had begged it of him. This escaped the knowledge of Pompey, but Pharnaces discovering it afterwards, punished the persons guilty of the theft.

Pompey having thoroughly settled the affairs of Asia, proceeded in his return to Rome with more pomp and solemnity. When he arrived at Mitylene, he declared it a free city, for the sake of Theophanes, who was born there. He was present at the anniversary exercises of the poets, whose sole subject that year was the actions of Pompey. And he was so much pleased with their theatre, that he took a plan of it, with a design to build one like it at Rome, but greater and more noble. When he came to Rhodes, he attended the declamations of all the sophists, and presented each of them with a talent. Posidonius committed the discourse to writing, which he made before him against the position of Hermagoras, another professor of rhetoric, concerning *invention* in general†. He behaved with equal munificence to the philosophers of Athens, and gave the people fifty talents for the repair of their city.

He hoped to return to Italy the greatest and happiest of men, and that his family would meet his affection with equal ardour. But the deity whose care it is always to mix some portion of evil with the highest and most splendid favours of fortune, had been long preparing him a sad welcome in his house. Mucia‡, in his absence, had

* Nemesis.

† Hermagoras was for reducing *invention* under two general heads, the reason of the process, and the state of the question; which limitation Cicero disapproved as much as his master Posidonius.—Vide *Cicer. de Invent. Rhetor.* lib. 1. This Posidonius, who is of Apamea, is not to be confounded with Posidonius of Alexandria, the disciple of Zeno.

‡ Mucia was sister to Metellus Celer, and to Metellus Nepos. She was debauched by Cæsar; for which reason, when Pompey married Cæsar's daughter, all the world blamed him for turning off a wife by whom he had three children, to espouse the daugh-

dishonoured his bed. While he was at a distance he disregarded the report; but, upon his approach to Italy, and a more mature examination into the affair, he sent her a divorce, without assigning his reasons either then or afterwards. The true reason is to be found in Cicero's epistles.

People talked variously at Rome concerning Pompey's intentions. Many disturbed themselves at the thought that he would march with his army immediately to Rome, and make himself sole and absolute master there. Crassus took his children and money, and withdrew; whether it was that he had some real apprehensions, or rather that he chose to countenance the calumny, and add force to the sting of envy; the latter seems the more probable. But Pompey had no sooner set foot in Italy, than he called an assembly of his soldiers, and, after a kind and suitable address, ordered them to disperse in their respective cities, and attend to their own affairs till his triumph, on which occasion they were to repair to him again.

As soon as it was known that his troops were disbanded, an astonishing change appeared in the face of things. The cities, seeing Pompey the Great unarmed, and attended by a few friends, as if he was returning only from a common tour, poured out their inhabitants after him, who conducted him to Rome with the sincerest pleasure, and with a much greater force than that which he had dismissed; so that there would have been no need of the army, if he had formed any designs against the state.

As the law did not permit him to enter the city before his triumph, he desired the senate to defer the election of consuls on his account, that he might by his presence support the interest of Piso. But Cato opposed it, and the motion miscarried. Pompey, admiring the liberty and firmness with which Cato maintained the rights and customs of his country, at a time when no other man would appear so openly for them, determined to gain him if possible; and as Cato had two nieces, he offered to marry the one, and asked the other for his son. Cato, however, suspected the bait, and looked upon the proposed alliance as a means intended to corrupt his integrity. He therefore refused it, to the great regret of his wife and sister, who could not but be displeased at his rejecting such advances from Pompey the Great. Meantime Pompey being desirous to get the consulship for Afranius, distributed money for that purpose among the tribes, and the voters went to receive it in Pompey's own gar-

ter of a man whom he had often, with a sigh, called his Ægisthus. Mucia's disloyalty must have been very public, since Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, says, the divorce of Mucia meets with general approbation.—Lib. i, ep. xii.

dens. The thing was so public, that Pompey was much censured for making that office venal which he had obtained by his great actions, and opening a way to the highest honour in the state to those who had money, but wanted merit. Cato then observed to the ladies of his family, that they must all have shared in this disgrace, if they had accepted Pompey's alliance; upon which they acknowledged he was a better judge than they of honour and propriety.

The triumph was so great, that though it was divided into two days, the time was far from being sufficient for displaying what was prepared to be carried in procession; there remained still enough to adorn another triumph. At the head of the show appeared the titles of the conquered nations; Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, the Iberians, the Albanians, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Palestine, Judæa, Arabia, the pirates subdued both by sea and land. In these countries, it was mentioned that there were not less than a thousand castles, and near nine hundred cities, taken; eight hundred galleys taken from the pirates; and thirty-nine desolate cities re-peopled. On the face of the tablets it appeared besides, that whereas the revenues of the Roman empire before these conquests amounted to but fifty millions of drachmas, by the new acquisitions they were advanced to eighty-five millions; and that Pompey had brought into the public treasury, in money and in gold and silver vessels, to the value of twenty thousand talents, besides what he had distributed among the soldiers, of whom he that received least had fifteen hundred drachmas to his share. The captives who walked in the procession (not to mention the chiefs of the pirates) were the son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, together with his wife and daughter; Zosima, the wife of Tigranes himself; Aristobulus, king of Judæa; the sister of Mithridates, with her five sons; and some Scythian women. The hostages of the Albanians and Iberians, and of the king of Commagene, also appeared in the train; and as many trophies were exhibited as Pompey had gained victories, either in person or by his lieutenants, the number of which was not small.

But the most honourable circumstance, and what no other Roman could boast, was, that his third triumph was over the third quarter of the world, after his former triumphs had been over the other two. Others before him had been honoured with three triumphs; but his first triumph was over Africa, his second over Europe, and his third over Asia; so that the three seemed to declare him conqueror of the world.

Those who desire to make the parallel between him and Alexander

agree in all respects, tell us, he was at this time not quite thirty-four, whereas, in fact, he was entering upon his fortieth year*. Happy had it been for him, if he had ended his days while he was blest with Alexander's good fortune! The rest of his life, every instance of success brought its proportion of envy, and every miscarriage was irretrievable: for the authority which he had gained by his merit he employed for others in a way not very honourable; and his reputation consequently sinking, as they grew in strength, he was insensibly ruined by the weight of his own power. As it happens in a siege, every strong work that is taken adds to the besieger's force; so Cæsar, when raised by the influence of Pompey, turned that power, which enabled him to trample upon his country, upon Pompey himself. It happened in this manner:—

Lucullus, who had been treated so unworthily by Pompey in Asia, upon his return to Rome, met with the most honourable reception from the senate; and they gave him still greater marks of their esteem after the arrival of Pompey; endeavouring to awake his ambition, and prevail with him to attempt the lead in the administration. But his spirit and active powers were by this time on the decline; he had given himself up to the pleasures of ease, and the enjoyments of wealth. However, he bore up against Pompey with some vigour at first, and got his acts confirmed, which his adversary had annulled; having a majority in the senate through the assistance of Cato.

Pompey, thus worsted in the senate, had recourse to the tribunes of the people, and to the young plebeians. Clodius, the most daring and profligate of them all, received him with open arms, but at the same time subjected him to all the humours of the populace. He made him dangle after him in the *forum* in a manner far beneath his dignity, and insisted upon his supporting every bill that he proposed, and every speech that he made, to flatter and ingratiate himself with the people: and, as if the connexion with him had been an honour, instead of a disgrace, he demanded still higher wages; that Pompey should give up Cicero, who had ever been his fast friend, and of the greatest use to him in the administration: and these wages he obtained; for when Cicero came to be in danger, and requested Pompey's assistance, he refused to see him, and, shutting his gates against those that came to intercede for him, went out at a back door. Cicero, therefore, dreading the issue of the trial, departed privately from Rome.

* It should be forty-sixth year. Pompey was born in the beginning of the month of August, in the year of Rome 647, and his triumph was in the same month, in the year of Rome 692.

At this time Cæsar, returning from his province*, undertook an affair which rendered him very popular at present, and in its consequences gained him power, but proved a great prejudice to Pompey and to the whole commonwealth. He was then soliciting his first consulship, and Crassus and Pompey being at variance, he perceived that if he should join the one, the other would be his enemy of course, he therefore set himself to reconcile them; a thing which seemed honourable in itself, and calculated for the public good; but the intention was insidious, though deep laid, and covered with the most refined policy: for while the power of the state was divided, it kept it in an equilibrium, as the burden of a ship, when properly distributed, keeps it from inclining to one side more than another; but when the power came to be all collected into one part, having nothing to counterbalance it, it overset and destroyed the commonwealth. Hence it was, that when some were observing that the constitution was ruined by the difference which happened afterwards between Cæsar and Pompey, Cato said, "You are under a great mistake: it was not their late disagreement, but their former union and connexion, which gave the constitution the first and greatest blow."

To this union Cæsar owed his consulship: and he was no sooner appointed than he began to make his court to the indigent part of the people, by proposing laws for sending out colonies, and for the distribution of lands; by which he descended from the dignity of a consul, and in some sort took upon him the office of a tribune. His colleague Bibulus opposed him, and Cato prepared to support Bibulus in the most strenuous manner; when Cæsar placed Pompey by him upon the tribunal, and asked him, before the whole assembly, "Whether he approved his laws?" and upon his answering in the affirmative, he put this farther question, "Then, if any one shall with violence oppose these laws, will you come to the assistance of the people?" Pompey answered, "I will certainly come; and against those who threaten to take the sword, I will bring both sword and buckler."

Pompey, till that day, had never said any thing so obnoxious; and his friends could only say, by way of apology, that it was an expression which had escaped him. But it appeared by the subsequent event that he was then entirely at Cæsar's devotion: for within a few days, to the surprise of all the world, he married Julia, Cæsar's

* It was not at the time of Cicero's going into exile that Cæsar returned from his province of Spain, which he had governed, with the title of prætor, but two years before. Cæsar returned in the year of Rome 693, and Cicero quitted Rome in the year 695.

daughter, who had been promised to Cæpio, and was upon the point of being married to him. To appease the resentment of Cæpio, he gave him his own daughter, who had been before contracted to Faustus, the son of Sylla; and Cæsar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso.

Pompey then filled the city with soldiers, and carried every thing with open force. Upon Bibulus the consul's making his appearance in the *forum*, together with Lucullus and Cato, the soldiers suddenly fell upon him, and broke his *fasces*. Nay, one of them had the impudence to empty a basket of dung upon the head of Bibulus; and two tribunes of the people, who accompanied him, were wounded. The *forum* thus cleared of all opposition, the law passed for the division of lands. The people, caught by this bait, became tame and tractable in all respects, and, without questioning the expediency of any of their measures, silently gave their suffrages to whatever was proposed. The acts of Pompey, which Lucullus had contested, were confirmed; and the two Gauls, on this and the other side the Alps, and Illyria, were allotted to Cæsar for five years, with four complete legions. At the same time Piso, Cæsar's father-in law, and Gabinius, one of the most abandoned flatterers of Pompey, were pitched upon as consuls for the ensuing year.

Bibulus, finding matters thus carried, shut himself up in his house, and for the eight following months remained inattentive to the functions of his office*; contenting himself with publishing manifestoes full of bitter invectives against Pompey and Cæsar. Cato, on this occasion, as if inspired with a spirit of prophesy, announced in full senate the calamities which would befal the commonwealth and Pompey himself. Lucullus, for his part, gave up all thoughts of state affairs, and betook himself to repose, as if age had disqualified him for the concerns of government: upon which Pompey observed, "That it was more unseasonable for an old man to give himself up to luxury than to bear a public employment." Yet, notwithstanding this observation, he soon suffered himself to be effeminated by the love of a young woman; he gave up his time to her; he spent the day with her in his villas and gardens, to the entire neglect of public affairs, insomuch that Clodius the tribune began to despise him, and to engage in the boldest designs against him: for after he had banished Cicero, and sent Cato to Cyprus, under pretence of giving him the command in that island, when Cæsar was gone upon his expedition into Gaul, and the tribune found the people entirely devoted to

* Hence the wits of Rome, instead of saying, such a thing happened in the consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus, said, it happened in the consulship of Julius and Cæsar.

him, because he flattered their inclinations in all the measures he took, he attempted to annul some of Pompey's ordinances; he took his prisoner Tigranes from him, kept him in his own custody, and impeached some of his friends, in order to try in them the strength of Pompey's interest. At last, when Pompey appeared against one of these prosecutions, Clodius having a crew of profligate and insolent wretches about him, ascended an eminence, and put the following questions, "Who is the licentious lord of Rome? Who is the man that seeks for a man? Who scratches his head with one finger*?" And his creatures, like a chorus instructed in their part, on his shaking his gown, answered aloud to every question, *Pompey*†.

These things gave Pompey uneasiness, because it was a new thing to him to be spoken ill of, and he was entirely unexperienced in that sort of war. That which afflicted him most was his perceiving that the senate were pleased to see him the object of reproach, and punished for his desertion of Cicero. But when parties ran so high that they came to blows in the *forum*, and several were wounded on both sides, and one of the servants of Clodius was observed to creep in among the crowd towards Pompey with a drawn sword in his hand, he was furnished with an excuse for not attending the public assemblies. Besides, he was really afraid to stand the impudence of Clodius, and all the torrent of abuse that might be expected from him, and therefore made his appearance no more during his tribuneship, but consulted in private with his friends how to disarm the anger of the senate, and the valuable part of the citizens. Culleo advised him to repudiate Julia, and to exchange the friendship of Cæsar for that of the senate; but he would not hearken to the proposal. Others proposed that he should recal Cicero, who was not only an avowed enemy to Clodius, but the favourite of the senate; and he agreed to that overture. Accordingly, with a strong body of his retainers, he conducted Cicero's brother into the *forum*, who was to apply to the people in his behalf, and after a scuffle, in which several were wounded, and some slain, he overpowered Clodius, and obtained a decree for the restoration of Cicero. Immediately upon his return, the orator reconciled the senate to Pompey, and by effectually recommending the law which was to intrust him with the care of supplying Rome with corn‡, he made Pompey once more master of the

* *Uno scalpere digito* was likewise a proverbial expression for a Roman *petit maitre*.

† Plutarch does not here keep exactly to the order of time. This happened in the year of Rome 697, as appears from Dio (book xxxix.); that is, two years after what he is going to mention concerning that tribune's slave being taken with a sword.

‡ The law also gave Pompey pro-consular authority for five years, both in and out of Italy.—*Dio*, lib. xxxix.

Roman empire, both by sea and land; for by this law the ports, the markets, the disposal of provisions, in a word, the whole business of the merchant and the husbandman, were brought under his jurisdiction.

Clodius, on the other hand, alleged, "That the law was not made on account of the real scarcity of provisions, but that an artificial scarcity was caused for the sake of procuring the law, and that Pompey, by a new commission, might bring his power to life again, which was sunk, as it were, in a *deliquium*." Others say, it was the contrivance of the consul Spinther, to procure Pompey a superior employment, that he might himself be sent to re-establish Ptolemy in his kingdom*.

However, the tribune Canidius brought in a bill, the purport of which was, that Pompey should be sent without an army, and with only two *lictors*, to reconcile the Alexandrians to their king. Pompey did not appear displeased at the bill; but the senate threw it out, under the honourable pretence of not hazarding his person. Nevertheless, papers were found scattered in the *forum* and before the senate-house, importing that Ptolemy himself desired that Pompey might be employed to act for him instead of Spinther. Timagenes pretends that Ptolemy left Egypt, without any necessity, at the persuasion of Theophanes, who was desirous to give Pompey new occasions to enrich himself, and the honour of new commands: but the baseness of Theophanes does not so much support this story, as the disposition of Pompey discredits it; for there was nothing so mean and illiberal in his ambition.

The whole care of providing and importing corn being committed to Pompey, he sent his deputies and agents into various parts, and went in person into Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, where he collected great quantities. When he was upon the point of re-embarking, a violent wind sprung up, and the mariners made a difficulty of putting to sea; but he was the first to go on board, and he ordered them to weigh anchor with these decisive words, "It is necessary to go; is it not necessary to live?" His success was answerable to his spirit and intrepidity: he filled the markets with corn, and covered the sea with his ships, insomuch that the overplus afforded a supply to foreigners; and from Rome, as from a fountain, plenty flowed over the world.

In the mean time, the wars in Gaul lifted Cæsar to the first sphere of greatness. The scene of action was at a great distance from

* Ptolemy Auletes, the son of Ptolemy Lathyrus, hated by his subjects, and forced to fly, applied to the consul Spinther, who was to have the province of Cilicia, to re-establish him in his kingdom.—*Dio, ubi supra.*

Rome, and he seemed to be wholly engaged with the Belgæ, the Suevi, and the Britons; but his genius all the while was privately at work among the people of Rome, and he was undermining Pompey in his most essential interests. His war with the barbarians was not his principal object: he exercised his army, indeed, in those expeditions, as he would have done his own body, in hunting and other diversions of the field, by which he prepared them for higher conflicts, and rendered them not only formidable, but invincible.

The gold and silver, and other rich spoils which he took from the enemy in great abundance, he sent to Rome; and by distributing them freely among the ædiles, prætors, consuls, and their wives, he gained a great party. Consequently, when he passed the Alps, and wintered at Lucca, among the crowd of men and women who hastened to pay their respects to him, there were two hundred senators, Pompey and Crassus of the number; and there were no fewer than a hundred and twenty proconsuls and prætors, whose *fasces* were to be seen at the gates of Cæsar. He made it his business in general to give them hopes of great things, and his money was at their devotion; but he entered into a treaty with Crassus and Pompey, by which it was agreed that they should apply for the consulship, and that Cæsar should assist them, by sending a great number of his soldiers to vote at the election. As soon as they were chosen, they were to share the provinces, and take the command of armies according to their pleasure, only confirming Cæsar in the possession of what he had for five years more.

As soon as this treaty got air, the principal persons in Rome were highly offended at it. Marcellinus, then consul, planted himself amidst the people, and asked Pompey and Crassus, "Whether they intended to stand for the consulship?" Pompey spoke first, and said, "Perpaps he might, and perhaps he might not*." Crassus answered with more moderation, "He should do what might appear most expedient for the commonwealth." As Marcellinus continued the discourse against Pompey, and seemed to bear hard upon him, Pompey said, "Where is the honour of that man who has neither gratitude nor respect for him who made him an orator, who rescued him from want, and raised him to affluence?"

Others declined soliciting the consulship, but Lucius Domitius

* Dio makes him return an answer more suitable to his character—"It is not on account of the virtuous and the good that I desire any share in the magistracy, but that I may be able to restrain the ill-disposed and the seditious."

was persuaded and encouraged by Cato not to give it up: "For the dispute," he told him, "was not for the consulship, but in defence of liberty against tyrants." Pompey and his adherents saw the vigour with which Cato acted, and that all the senate was on his side; consequently they were afraid that, so supported, he might bring over the uncorrupted part of the people. They resolved, therefore, not to suffer Domitius to enter the *forum*, and sent a party of men, well armed, who killed Melitus, the torch-bearer, and put the rest to flight. Cato retired the last, and not till after he had received a wound in his right elbow in defending Domitius.

Thus they obtained the consulship by violence, and the rest of their measures were not conducted with more moderation: for, in the first place, when the people were going to choose Cato prætor, at the instant their suffrages were to be taken, Pompey dismissed the assembly, pretending that he had seen an inauspicious flight of birds*. Afterwards the tribes, corrupted with money, declared Antius and Vatinius prætors. Then, in pursuance of their agreement with Cæsar, they put Trebonius, one of the tribunes, on proposing a decree, by which the government of the Gauls was continued for five years more to Cæsar; Syria, and the command against the Parthians, were given to Crassus; and Pompey was to have all Africa and both the Spains, with four legions, two of which he lent to Cæsar, at his request, for the war in Gaul.

Crassus, upon the expiration of his consulship, repaired to his province. Pompey, remaining at Rome, opened his theatre; and, to make the dedication more magnificent, exhibited a variety of gymnastic games, entertainments of music, and battles with wild beasts, in which were killed five hundred lions; but the battle of elephants afforded the most astonishing spectacle†. These things gained him the love and admiration of the public; but he incurred their displeasure again, by leaving his provinces and armies entirely to his friends and lieutenants, and roving about Italy with his wife,

* This was making religion merely an engine of state, and it often proved a very convenient one for the purposes of ambition. Clodius, though otherwise one of the vilest tribunes that ever existed, was very right in attempting to put a stop to that means of dismissing an assembly. He preferred a bill, that no magistrate should make any observations on the heavens while the people were assembled.

† Dio says, the elephants fought with armed men. There were no less than eighteen of them: and he adds, that some of them seemed to appeal with piteous cries, to the people, who, in compassion, saved their lives. If we may believe him, an oath had been taken, before they left Africa, that no injury should be done them.

from one villa to another. Whether it was his passion for her, or her's for him, that kept him so much with her, is uncertain; for the latter has been supposed to be the case, and nothing was more talked of than the fondness of that young woman for her husband, though at that age his person could hardly be any great object of desire.—But the charm of his fidelity was the cause, together with his conversation, which, notwithstanding his natural gravity, was particularly agreeable to the women, if we may allow the courtesan Flora to be a sufficient evidence. This strong attachment of Julia appeared on occasion of an election of ædiles: the people came to blows, and some were killed so near Pompey, that he was covered with blood, and forced to change his clothes. There was a great crowd and tumult about his door, when his servants went home with the bloody robe; and Julia, who was with child, happening to see it, fainted away, and was with difficulty recovered. However, such was her terror, and the agitation of her spirits, that she miscarried. After this, those who complained most of Pompey's connexion with Cæsar could not find fault with his love of Julia. She was pregnant afterwards, and brought him a daughter, but unfortunately died in childbed; nor did the child long survive her. Pompey was preparing to bury her near a seat of his at Alba, but the people seized the corpse, and interred it in the *Campus Martius*. This they did more out of regard to the young woman than either to Pompey or Cæsar; yet, in the honours they did her remains, their attachment to Cæsar, though at a distance, had a greater share than any respect for Pompey, who was on the spot.

Immediately after Julia's death, the people of Rome were in great agitation, and there was nothing in their speeches and actions which did not tend to a rupture. The alliance, which rather covered than restrained the ambition of the two great competitors for power, was now no more. To add to the misfortune, news was brought soon after that Crassus was slain by the Parthians; and in him another great obstacle to a civil war was removed. Out of fear of him, they had both kept some measures with each other: but when fortune had carried off the champion who could take up the conqueror, we may say with the comic poet,

> ..... High spirit of emprise
> Elates each chief; they oil their brawny limbs,
> And dip their hands in dust.—

So little able is fortune to fill the capacities of the human mind, when such a weight of power and extent of command could not satisfy the ambition of two men. They had heard and read that the

gods had divided the universe into three shares*, and each was content with that which fell to his lot, and yet these men could not think the Roman empire sufficient for two of them.

Yet Pompey, in an address to the people at that time, told them, "He had received every commission they had honoured him with, sooner than he expected himself, and laid it down sooner than was expected by the world." And indeed, the dismission of his troops always bore witness to the truth of that assertion. But now, being persuaded that Cæsar would not disband his army, he endeavoured to fortify himself against him by great employments at home, and this without attempting any other innovation: for he would not appear to distrust him; on the contrary, he rather affected to despise him. However, when he saw the great offices of state not disposed of agreeably to his desire, but that the people were influenced, and his adversaries preferred for money, he thought it would best serve his cause to suffer anarchy to prevail. In consequence of the reigning disorders, a dictator was much talked of. Lucilius, one of the tribunes, was the first who ventured to propose it in form to the people, and he exhorted them to choose Pompey dictator. Cato opposed it so effectually, that the tribune was in danger of being deposed. Many of Pompey's friends then stood up in defence of the purity of his intentions, and declared, he neither asked nor wished for the dictatorship. Cato, upon this, paid the highest compliments to Pompey, and entreated him to assist in the support of order and of the constitution. Pompey could not but accede to such a proposal, and Domitius and Messala were elected consuls†.

The same anarchy and confusion afterwards took place again, and

* Plutarch alludes here to a passage in the fifteenth book of the Iliad, where Neptune says to Iris,

> "Assign'd by lot our triple rule we know;
> Infernal Pluto sways the shades below;
> O'er the wide clouds, and o'er the starry plain,
> Ethereal Jove extends his high domain;
> My court beneath the hoary waves I keep,
> And hush the roarings of the sacred deep."—*Pope.*

† In the year of Rome 700. Such corruption now prevailed among the Romans, that candidates for the curule offices brought their money openly to the place of election, where they distributed it, without blushing, among the heads of factions; and those who received it employed force and violence in favour of those persons who paid them; so that scarce any office was disposed of but what had been disputed with the sword, and cost the lives of many citizens.

numbers began to talk more boldly of setting up a dictator. Cato, now fearing he should be overborne, was of opinion it were better to give Pompey some office whose authority was limited by law, than to invest him with absolute power. Bibulus, though Pompey's declared enemy, moved in full senate that he should be appointed sole consul: "For by that means," said he, "the commonwealth will either recover from her disorder, or, if she must serve, will serve a man of the greatest merit." The whole house was surprised at the motion; and when Cato rose up, it was expected he would oppose it. A profound silence ensued, and he said, "He should never have been the first to propose such an expedient, but as it was proposed by another, he thought it advisable to embrace it; for he thought any kind of government better than anarchy, and knew no man fitter to rule than Pompey, in a time of so much trouble." The senate came into his opinion, and a decree was issued, that Pompey should be appointed sole consul, and that if he should have need of a colleague, he might choose one himself, provided it were not before the expiration of two months.

Pompey being declared sole consul by the *Interrex* Sulpitius, made his compliments to Cato, acknowledged himself much indebted to his support, and desired his assistance and advice in the cabinet, as to the measures to be pursued in his administration. Cato made answer, "That Pompey was not under the least obligation to him; for what he had said was not out of regard to him, but to his country. If you apply to me," continued he, "I shall give you my advice in private; if not, I shall inform you of my sentiments in public."—Such was Cato, and the same on all occasions.

Pompey then went into the city, and married Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio*. She was not a virgin, but a widow, having been married, when very young, to Publius, the son of Crassus, who was lately killed in the Parthian expedition. This woman had many charms besides her beauty. She was well versed in polite literature; she played upon the lyre, and understood geometry; and she had made considerable improvements by the precepts of philosophy. What is more, she had nothing of that petulance and affectation which such studies are apt to produce in women of her age. And her father's family and reputation were unexceptionable.

Many, however, were displeased with this match, on account of the disproportion of years; they thought Cornelia would have been more suitable to his son than to him. Those that were capable of deeper reflection thought the concerns of the commonwealth neg-

* The son of Scipio Nasica, but adopted into the family of the Metelli.

lected, which in a distressful case had chosen him for its physician, and confided in him alone. It grieved them to see him crowned with garlands, and offering sacrifice amidst the festivities of marriage, when he ought to have considered his consulship as a public calamity, since it would never have been given him in a manner so contrary to the laws, had his country been in a prosperous situation.

His first step was to bring those to account who gained offices and employments by bribery and corruption, and he made laws by which the proceedings in their trials were to be regulated. In other respects he behaved with great dignity and honour, and restored security, order, and tranquillity to the courts of judicature, by presiding there in person, with a band of soldiers. But when Scipio, his father-in-law, came to be impeached, he sent for the three hundred and sixty judges to his house, and desired their assistance. The accuser, seeing Scipio conducted out of the *forum* to his house, by the judges themselves, dropped the prosecution. This again exposed Pompey to censure; but he was censured still more, when, after having made a law against encomiums on persons accused, he broke it himself, by appearing for Plancus, and attempting to embellish his character. Cato, who happened to be one of the judges, stopped his ear, declaring, "It was not right for him to hear such embellishment, contrary to law." Cato, therefore, was objected to, and set aside before sentence was passed. Plancus, however, was condemned by the other judges, to the great confusion of Pompey*.

A few days after, Hypsæus, a man of consular dignity, being under a criminal prosecution, watched Pompey's going from the bath to supper, and embraced his knees in the most suppliant manner; but Pompey passed with disdain, and all the answer he gave him was, "That his importunities served only to spoil his supper." This partial and unequal behaviour was justly the object of reproach: but all the rest of his conduct merited praise; and he had the happiness to re-establish good order in the commonwealth. He took his father-in-law for his colleague the remaining five months. His governments were continued to him for four years more, and he was allowed a thousand talents a-year for the subsistence and pay of his troops.

Cæsar's friends laid hold on this occasion to represent that some consideration should be had of him, too, and his many great and

* Cicero, who managed the impeachment, was much delighted with the success of his eloquence, as appears from his epistle to Marius, lib. vii. ep. 2.

laborious services for his country. They said, he certainly deserved either another consulship, or to have the term of his commission prolonged; that he might keep the command in the provinces he had conquered, and enjoy undisturbed the honours he had won; and that no successor might rob him of the fruit of his labours, or the glory of his actions. A dispute arising upon the affair, Pompey, as if inclined to fence against the odium to which Cæsar might be exposed by this demand, said he had letters from Cæsar, in which he declared himself willing to accept a successor, and to give up the command in Gaul; only he thought it reasonable that he should be permitted, though absent, to stand for the consulship*. Cato opposed this with all his force, and insisted, "That Cæsar should lay down his arms, and return as a private man, if he had any favour to ask of his country." And as Pompey did not labour the point, but easily acquiesced, it was suspected that he had no real friendship for Cæsar. This appeared more clearly, when he sent for the two legions which he had lent him, under pretence of wanting them for the Parthian war. Cæsar, though he well knew for what purpose the legions were demanded, sent them home, laden with rich presents.

After this, Pompey had a dangerous illness at Naples, of which, however, he recovered. Praxagoras then advised the Neapolitans to offer sacrifices to the gods, in gratitude for his recovery. The neighbouring cities followed their example; and the humour spreading itself over Italy, there was not a town or village which did not solemnize the occasion with festivals. No place could afford room for the crowds that came in from all quarters to meet him; the high roads, the villages, the ports, were filled with sacrifices and entertainments. Many received him with garlands on their heads, and torches in their hands, and as they conducted him on his way, strewed it with flowers. His returning with such pomp afforded a glorious spectacle; but it is said to have been one of the principal causes of the civil war: for the joy he conceived on this occasion, added to the high opinion he had of his achievements, intoxicated him so far, that bidding adieu to the caution and prudence which had put his good fortune, and the glory of his actions upon a sure footing, he gave into the most extravagant presumption, and even contempt of Cæsar; insomuch that he declared, "He had no need of arms, nor any extraordinary preparations against him, since he could pull him down with much more ease than he had set him up."

* There was a law against any absent person's being admitted a candidate, but Pompey had added a clause which empowered the people to except any man by name from personal attendance.

Besides, when Appius returned from Gaul with the legions which had been lent to Cæsar, he endeavoured to disparage the actions of that general, and to represent him in a mean light. "Pompey," he said, "knew not his own strength and the influence of his name, if he sought any other defence against Cæsar, upon whom his own forces would turn as soon as they saw the former; such was their hatred of the one, and their affection for the other."

Pompey was so much elated at this account, and his confidence made him so extremely negligent, that he laughed at those who seemed to fear the war. And when they said, that if Cæsar should advance in a hostile manner to Rome, they did not see what forces they had to oppose him, he bade them, with an open and smiling countenance, give themselves no pain: "For if in Italy," said he, "I do but stamp upon the ground, an army will appear."

Meantime Cæsar was exerting himself greatly. He was now at no great distance from Italy, and not only sent his soldiers to vote in the elections, but, by private pecuniary applications, corrupted many of the magistrates. Paulus, the consul, was of the number, and he had fifteen hundred talents* for changing sides: so were also Curio, one of the tribunes of the people, for whom he paid off an immense debt, and Mark Antony, who, out of friendship for Curio, had stood engaged with him for the debt.

It is said, that when one of Cæsar's officers, who stood before the senate-house, waiting the issue of the debates, was informed that they would not give Cæsar a longer term in his command, he laid his hand upon his sword, and said, "But this shall give it."

Indeed, all the actions and preparations of his general tended that way; though Curio's demands in behalf of Cæsar seemed more plausible. He proposed, that either Pompey should likewise be obliged to dismiss his forces, or Cæsar suffered to keep his. "If they are both reduced to a private station," said he, "they will agree upon reasonable terms; or, if each retains his respective power, they will be satisfied: But he who weakens the one, without doing the same by the other, must double that force which he fears will subvert the government†."

* £310,685 sterling. With this money he built the stately *Basilica*, that afterwards bore his name.

† Cornelius Scipio, one of Pompey's friends, remonstrated that, in the present case, a great difference was to be made between the proconsul of Spain, and the proconsul of Gaul, since the term of the former was not expired, whereas that of the latter was.

Hereupon Marcellus the consul called Cæsar a public robber, and insisted that he should be declared an enemy to the state, if he did not lay down his arms. However, Curio, together with Antony and Piso, prevailed that a further inquiry should be made into the sense of the senate. He first proposed that such as were of opinion, "That Cæsar should disband his army, and Pompey keep his," should draw to one side of the house, and there appeared a majority for that motion. Then he proposed, that the number of those should be taken, whose sense it was, "That both should lay down their arms, and neither remain in command;" upon which question Pompey had only twenty-two, and Curio all the rest*. Curio, proud of his victory, ran in transports of joy to the assembly of the people, who received him with the loudest plaudits, and crowned him with flowers. Pompey was not present at the debate in the house; for the commander of an army is not allowed to enter the city; but Marcellus rose up and said, "I will no longer sit to hear the matter canvassed; but as I see ten legions have already passed the Alps, I will send a man to oppose them in behalf of my country."

Upon this the city went into mourning, as in a time of public calamity. Marcellus walked through the *forum*, followed by the senate, and when he was in sight of Pompey without the gate, he said, "Pompey, I charge you to assist your country; for which purpose you shall make use of the troops you have, and levy what new ones you please." Lentulus, one of the consuls elect for the next year, said the same. But when Pompey came to make the new levies, some absolutely refused to enlist; others gave in their names in small numbers, and with no spirit; and the greatest part cried out, "A peace! A peace!" For Antony, notwithstanding the injunctions of the senate to the contrary, had read a letter of Cæsar's to the people, well calculated to gain them. He proposed that both Pompey and he should resign their governments and dismiss their forces, and then come and give account of their conduct to the people.

Lentulus, who by this time had entered upon his office, would not assemble the senate; for Cicero, who was now returned from his government in Cilicia, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation. He proposed that Cæsar should give up Gaul, and disband the greatest part of his army, and keeping only two legions and the province of Illyricum, wait for another consulship. As Pompey

* Dio, on the contrary affirms that, upon this question, the senate were almost unanimous for Pompey; only two voting for Cæsar, viz. Marcus Cæcilius and Curio.

received this proposal very ill, Cæsar's friends were persuaded to agree that he should keep only one of those two legions: but Lentulus was against it, and Cato cried out, "That Pompey was committing a second error, in suffering himself to be so imposed upon." The reconciliation, therefore, did not take effect.

At the same time news was brought that Cæsar had seized Ariminum, a considerable city in Italy, and that he was marching directly towards Rome with all his forces. The last circumstance indeed, was not true. He advanced with only three hundred horse, and five thousand foot; the rest of his forces were on the other side the Alps, and he would not wait for them, choosing rather to put his adversaries in confusion by a sudden and unexpected attack, than to fight them when better prepared. When he came to the river Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province, he stood silent a long time, weighing with himself the greatness of his enterprise. At last, like one who plunges down from the top of a precipice into a gulf of immense depth, he silenced his reason, and shut his eyes against the danger; and crying out, in the Greek language, "The die is cast," he marched over with his army.

Upon the first report of this at Rome, the city was in greater disorder and astonishment than had ever been known. The senate and the magistrates ran immediately to Pompey. Tullus asked him*, what forces he had ready for the war; and as he hesitated in his answer, and only said at last, in a tone of no great assurance, "That he had the two legions lately sent him back by Cæsar, and that out of the new levies he believed he should shortly be able to make up a body of thirty thousand men;" Tullus exclaimed, "O Pompey, you have deceived us!" and gave it as his opinion, that ambassadors should immediately be despatched to Cæsar. Then one Favonius, a man otherwise of no ill character, but who, by an insolent brutality, affected to imitate the noble freedom of Cato, bade Pompey, "stamp upon the ground, and call forth the armies he had promised."

Pompey bore this ill-timed reproach with great mildness; and when Cato put him in mind of the warnings he had given him as to Cæsar from the first, he said, "Cato, indeed, had spoken more like a prophet, and *he* had acted more like a friend." Cato then advised that Pompey should not only be appointed general, but invested with a discretionary power; adding that, "those who were the authors of great evils knew best how to cure them." So saying, he set out for his provinces of Sicily, and the other great officers departed for their's.

Almost all Italy was now in motion, and nothing could be more

* Lucius Volcatius Tullus.

perplexed than the whole face of things. Those who lived out of Rome fled to it from all quarters, and those who lived in it abandoned it as fast.—These saw, that in such a tempestuous and disorderly state of affairs, the well-disposed part of the city wanted strength, and that the ill-disposed were so refractory that they could not be managed by the magistrates. The terrors of the people could not be removed, and no one would suffer Pompey to lay a plan of action for himself. According to the passion wherewith each was actuated, whether fear, sorrow, or doubt, they endeavoured to inspire him with the same; insomuch that he adopted different measures the same day. He could gain no certain intelligence of the enemy's motions, because every man brought him the report he happened to take up, and was angry if it did not meet with credit.

Pompey at last caused it to be declared by an edict in form, that the commonwealth was in danger, and no peace to be expected. After which, he signified that he should look upon those who remained in the city as the partisans of Cæsar; and then quitted it in the dusk of the evening. The consuls also fled, without offering the sacrifices which their customs required before a war. However, in this great extremity, Pompey could not but be considered as happy in the affections of his countrymen. Though many blamed the war, there was not a man who hated the general: nay, the number of those who followed him out of attachment to his person was greater than that of the adventurers in the cause of liberty.

A few days after, Cæsar arrived at Rome. When he was in possession of the city, he behaved with great moderation in many respects, and composed, in a good measure, the minds of its remaining inhabitants. Only when Metellus, one of the tribunes of the people, forbade him to touch the money in the public treasury, he threatened him with death, adding an expression more terrible than the threat itself, "That it was easier for him to do it than to say it." Metellus being thus frightened off, Cæsar took what sums he wanted, and then went in pursuit of Pompey, hastening to drive him out of Italy, before his forces could arrive from Spain.

Pompey, who was master of Brundusium, and had a sufficient number of transports, desired the consuls to embark without loss of time, and sent them before him with thirty cohorts to Dyrrachium. At the same time he sent his father-in-law Scipio, and his son Cnæus, into Syria, to provide ships of war. He had well secured the gates of the city, and planted the lightest of his slingers and archers upon the walls; and having now ordered the Brundusians to keep within doors, he caused a number of trenches to be cut, and sharp stakes to be driven into them, and then covered with earth, in all the streets,

except two which led down to the sea. In three days all his other troops were embarked without interruption; and then he suddenly gave the signal to those who guarded the walls; in consequence of which, they ran swiftly down to the harbour, and got on board. Thus having his whole complement, he set sail, and crossed the sea to Dyrrachium.

When Cæsar came and saw the walls left destitute of defence*, he concluded that Pompey had taken to flight, and, in his eagerness to pursue, would certainly have fallen upon the sharp stakes in the trenches, had not the Brundusians informed him of them. He then avoided the streets, and took a circuit round the town, by which he discovered that all the vessels were set out, except two that had not many soldiers on board.

This manœuvre of Pompey was commonly reckoned among the greatest acts of generalship. Cæsar, however, could not help wondering that his adversary, who was in possession of a fortified town, and expected his forces from Spain, and at the same time was master of the sea, should give up Italy in such a manner. Cicero†, too, blamed him for imitating the conduct of Themistocles, rather than that of Pericles, when the posture of his affairs more resembled the circumstances of the latter. On the other hand, the steps which Cæsar took showed he was afraid of having the war drawn out to any length: for, having taken Numerius‡, a friend of Pompey's, he had sent him to Brundusium with offers of coming to an accommodation upon reasonable terms: but Numerius, instead of returning with an answer, sailed away with Pompey.

Cæsar thus made himself master of all Italy in sixty days without the least bloodshed, and he would have been glad to have gone immediately in pursuit of Pompey: but as he was in want of shipping, he gave up that design for the present, and marched to Spain, with an intent to gain the forces there.

In the mean time Pompey assembled a great army; and at sea he was altogether invincible: for he had five hundred ships of war, and the number of his lighter vessels was still greater. As for his land-forces, he had seven thousand horse, the flower of Rome and Italy§,

* Cæsar besieged the place nine days, during which he not only invested it on the land-side, but undertook to shut up the port by a *flaccado* of his own invention. However, before the work could be completed, Pompey made his escape.

† Ep. to Atticus, vii. 11.

‡ Cæsar calls him *Cn. Magius*. He was master of Pompey's board of works.

§ Cæsar, on the contrary, says, that this body of horse was almost entirely composed of strangers. "There were six hundred Galatians, five hundred Cappadocians, as many Thracians, two hundred Macedonians, five hundred Gauls or Germans, eight hundred

all men of family, fortune, and courage. His infantry, though numerous, was a mixture of raw undisciplined soldiers: he therefore exercised them during his stay at Berœa, where he was by no means idle, but went through all the exercises of a soldier, as if he had been in the flower of his age. It inspired his troops with new courage, when they saw Pompey the Great, at the age of fifty-eight, going through the whole military discipline, in heavy armour, on foot; and then mounting his horse, drawing his sword with ease when at full speed, and as dexterously sheathing it again. As to the javelin, he threw it not only with great exactness, but with such force, that few of the young men could dart it to a greater distance.

Many kings and princes repaired to his camp, and the number of Roman officers who had commanded armies was so great, that it was sufficient to make up a complete senate. Labienus*, who had been honoured with Cæsar's friendship, and served under him in Gaul, now joined Pompey. Even Brutus, the son of that Brutus who was killed by him not very fairly in the Cisalpine Gaul†, a man of spirit, who had never spoken to Pompey before, because he considered him as the murderer of his father, now ranged himself under his banners as the defender of the liberties of his country. Cicero, too, though he had written and advised otherwise, was ashamed not to appear in the number of those who hazarded their lives for Rome. Tidius Sextius, though extremely old, and maimed of one leg, repaired, among the rest, to his standard in Macedonia; and though others only laughed at the poor appearance he made, Pompey no sooner cast his eyes upon him than he rose up, and ran to meet him; considering it as a great proof of the justice of his cause, that, in spite of age and weakness, persons should come and seek danger with him, rather than stay at home in safety.

But after Pompey had assembled his senate, and, at the motion of

raised out of his own estates, or out of his own retinue;" and so of the rest, whom he particularly mentions, and tells us to what countries they belonged.

* It seemed very strange, says Dio, that Labienus should abandon Cæsar, who had loaded him with honours, and given him the command of all the forces on the other side of the Alps, while he was at Rome. But he gives this reason for it: "Labienus, elated with his immense wealth, and proud of his preferments, forgot himself to such a degree as to assume a character very unbecoming a person in his circumstances. He was even for putting himself upon an equality with Cæsar, who thereupon grew cool towards him, and treated him with some reserve, which Labienus resented, and went over to Pompey."

† The former English translator renders this *Galatia*. He ought to have remembered that this Brutus was killed by Geminius, in a village near the Po, by Pompey's order, after he had accepted his submission, if not promised him his life. The authors of the Universal History, have copied the error.

Cato, a decree was made, "That no Roman should be killed, except in battle, nor any city that was subject to the Romans be plundered," Pompey's party gained ground daily. Those who lived at too great a distance, or were too weak to take a share in the war, interested themselves in the cause as much as they were able, and with words at least, contended for it; looking upon those as enemies both to the gods and men, who did not wish that Pompey might conquer.

Not but that Cæsar made a merciful use of his victories. He had lately made himself master of Pompey's forces in Spain, and though it was not without a battle, he dismissed the officers, and incorporated the troops with his own. After this, he passed the Alps again, and marched through Italy to Brundusium, where he arrived at the time of the winter solstice. There he crossed the sea, and landed at Oricum; from whence he despatched Vibullius*, one of Pompey's friends, whom he had brought prisoner thither, with proposals of a conference between him and Pompey, "in which they should agree to disband their armies within three days, renew their friendship, confirm it with solemn oaths, and then both return to Italy."

Pompey took this overture for another snare, and therefore drew down in haste to the sea, and secured all the forts and places of strength for land-forces, as well as all the ports and other commodious stations for shipping; so that there was not a wind that blew, which did not bring him either provisions, or troops, or money. On the other hand, Cæsar was reduced to such straits, both by sea and land, that he was under the necessity of seeking a battle. Accordingly, he attacked Pompey's intrenchments, and bade him defiance daily. In most of these attacks and skirmishes he had the advantage, but one day he was in danger of losing his whole army: Pompey fought with so much valour that he put Cæsar's whole detachment to flight, after having killed two thousand of them upon the spot; but was either unable, or afraid to pursue his blow, and enter their camp with them. Cæsar said to his friends on the occasion, "This day the victory had been the enemy's, had their general known how to conquer†."

* In the printed text it is *Jubius*, but one of the manuscripts gives us *Vibullius*, which is the name he has in *Cæsar's Com.* lib. iii. Vibullius Rufus travelled night and day, without allowing himself any rest, till he reached Pompey's camp, who had not yet received advice of Cæsar's arrival, but was no sooner informed of the taking of Oricum and Apollonia, than he immediately decamped, and by long marches, reached Oricum before Cæsar.

† Yet it may be observed in defence of Pompey, that as his troops were raw and

Pompey's troops, elated with this success, were in great haste to come to a decisive battle. Nay, Pompey himself seemed to give into their opinions, by writing to the kings, the generals, and cities, in his interest, in the style of a conqueror. Yet all this while he dreaded the issue of a general action, believing it much better, by length of time, by famine and fatigue, to tire out men who had been ever invincible in arms, and long accustomed to conquer, when they fought together. Besides, he knew the infirmities of age had made them unfit for the other operations of war, for long marches and countermarches, for digging trenches and building forts, and that, therefore, they wished for nothing so much as a battle. Pompey, with all these arguments, found it no easy matter to keep his army quiet.

After this last engagement, Cæsar was in such want of provisions that he was forced to decamp, and he took his way through Athamania into Thessaly. This added so much to the high opinion Pompey's soldiers had of themselves, that it was impossible to keep it within bounds. They cried out with one voice, "Cæsar is fled!" Some called upon the general to pursue; some to pass over into Italy; others sent their friends and servants to Rome, to engage houses near the *forum*, for the convenience of soliciting the great offices of state, and not a few went of their own accord to Cornelia, who had been privately lodged in Lesbos, to congratulate her upon the conclusion of the war.

On this great emergency, a council of war was called; in which Afranius gave it as his opinion, "That they ought immediately to regain Italy, for that was the great prize aimed at in the war. Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, and both the Gauls, would soon submit to those who were masters there. What should affect Pompey still more was, that his native country, just by, stretched out her hands to him as a suppliant; and it could not be consistent with his honour to let her remain under such indignities, and in so disgraceful a vassalage to the slaves and flatterers of tyrants." But Pompey thought it neither would be for his reputation to fly a second time from Cæsar, and again to be pursued, when fortune put it in his power to pursue; nor agreeable to the laws of piety to leave his

unexperienced, it was not amiss to try them in many skirmishes and light attacks, before he hazarded a general engagement with an army of veterans. Many instances of that kind might be produced from the conduct of the ablest generals. And we are persuaded, that if Pompey had attempted to force Cæsar's camp, he would have been repulsed with loss and disgrace. Pompey's greatest error seems to have been his suffering himself to be brought to an action, at last, by the importunity of his officers and soldiers, against his better judgment.

father-in-law, Scipio, and many other persons of consular dignity, in Greece and Thessaly, a prey to Cæsar, with all their treasures and forces. As for Rome he should take the best care of her, by fixing the scene of war at the greatest distance from her; that, without feeling its calamities, or perhaps hearing the report of them, she might quietly wait for the conqueror.

The opinion prevailing, he set out in pursuit of Cæsar, with a resolution not to hazard a battle, but to keep near enough to hold him, as it were, besieged, and to wear him out with famine. This he thought the best method he could take; and a report was, moreover, brought him, of its being whispered among the equestrian order, "That as soon as they had taken off Cæsar, they could do nothing better than take off him too." Some say, this was the reason why he did not employ Cato in any service of importance, but, upon his march against Cæsar, sent him to the sea-coast, to take care of the baggage, lest, after he had destroyed Cæsar, Cato should soon oblige him to lay down his commission.

While he thus softly followed the enemy's steps, a complaint was raised against him, and urged with much clamour, that he was not exercising his generalship upon Cæsar, but upon the senate, and the whole commonwealth, in order that he might for ever keep the command in his hands, and have those for his guards and servants, who had a right to govern the world. Domitius Ænobarbus, to increase the *odium*, always called him Agamemnon, or king of kings. Favonius piqued him no less with a jest, than others by their unseasonable severity; he went about crying, "My friends, we shall eat no figs in Tusculum this year." And Lucius Afranius, who lost the forces in Spain, and was accused of having betrayed them into the enemy's hand, now when he saw Pompey avoid a battle, said, "He was surprised that his accusers should make any difficulty of fighting that merchant (as they called him), who trafficked for provinces."

These and many other like sallies of ridicule had such an effect upon Pompey, who was ambitious of being spoken well off by the world, and had too much deference for the opinions of his friends, that he gave up his own better judgment to follow them in the career of their false hopes and prospects; a thing which would have been unpardonable, in the pilot or master of a ship, much more in the commander in chief of so many nations, and such numerous armies.—He had often commended the physician who gives no indulgence to the whimsical longings of his patients, and yet he humoured the sickly cravings of his army, and was afraid to give them pain, though necessary for the preservation of their life and being: for who can

say that army was in a sound and healthy state, when some of the officers went about the camp canvassing for the offices of consul and prætor; and others, namely, Spinther, Domitius, and Scipio, were engaged in quarrels and cabals about Cæsar's high-priesthood, as if their adversary had been only a Tigranes, a king of Armenia, or a prince of the Nabathæans, and not that Cæsar, and that army who had stormed a thousand cities, subdued above three hundred nations, gained numberless battles of the Germans and Gauls, taken a million of prisoners, and killed as many fairly in the field! Notwithstanding all this, they continued loud and tumultuous in their demands of a battle, and when they came to the plains of Pharsalia, forced Pompey to call a council of war. Labienus, who had the command of the cavalry, rose up first, and took an oath, "That he would not return from the battle till he had put the enemy to flight." All the other officers swore the same.

The night following, Pompey had this dream*: he thought "he entered his own theatre, and was received with loud plaudits; after which he adorned the temple of Venus *the Victorious* with many spoils." This vision, on one side, encouraged him, and on the other alarmed him. He was afraid that Cæsar, who was a descendant of Venus, would be aggrandized at his expense. Besides a panic† fear ran through the camp, the noise of which awaked him. And about the morning watch, over Cæsar's camp, where every thing was perfectly quiet, there suddenly appeared a great light, from which a stream of fire issued, in the form of a torch, and fell upon that of Pompey. Cæsar himself says he saw it as he was going his rounds.

Cæsar was preparing, at break of day, to march to Scotusa‡; his soldiers were striking their tents, and the servants and beasts of burden were already in motion, when his scouts brought intelligence that they had seen arms handed about in the enemy's camp, and per-

* At nox felicis Magno pars ultima vitæ
Solicitos vana deceptit imagine somnos.
Nam Pompeiani visus sibi sede theatri
Innumeram effigiem Romanæ cernere Plebis,
Attollique suum lætis ad sidera nomen
Vocibus, et plausu cuneos certare sonantes.—*Luc.* l. vii.

† *Panic* fears were so called from the terror which the god *Pan* is said to have struck the enemies of Greece with at the battle of Marathon.

‡ Scotusa was a city of Thessaly. Cæsar was persuaded that Pompey would not come to action, and therefore chose to march in search of provisions, as well as to harass the enemy with frequent movements, and to watch an opportunity, in some of those movements, to fall upon them.

ceived a noise and bustle, which indicated an approaching battle. After these, others came and assured him that the first ranks were drawn up.

Upon this Cæsar said, "The long-wished day is come, on which we shall fight with men, and not with want and famine." Then he immediately ordered the red mantle to be put up before his pavilion, which, among the Romans, is the signal of a battle. The soldiers no sooner beheld it than they left their tents as they were, and ran to arms with loud shouts, and every expression of joy; and when the officers began to put them in order of battle, each man fell into his proper rank, as quietly, and with as much skill and ease, as a *chorus* in a tragedy.

Pompey* placed himself in his right wing, over against Antony; and his father-in-law, Scipio, in the centre, opposite Domitius Calvinus. His left wing was commanded by Lucius Domitius, and supported by the cavalry; for they were almost all ranged on that side, in order to break in upon Cæsar, and cut off the tenth legion, which was accounted the bravest in his army, and in which he used to fight in person. Cæsar, seeing the enemy's left wing so well guarded with horse, and fearing the excellence of their armour, sent for a detachment of six cohorts from the body of reserve, and placed them behind the tenth legion, with orders not to stir before the attack, lest they should be discovered by the enemy; but, when the enemy's cavalry had charged, to make up through the foremost ranks, and then not to discharge their javelins at a distance, as brave men generally

* It is somewhat surprising, that the account which Cæsar himself has left us of this memorable battle should meet with contradiction. Yet so it is; Plutarch differs widely from him, and Appian from both. According to Cæsar (*Bell. Civil.* l. iii.), Pompey was on the left, with the two legions which Cæsar had returned him at the beginning of the war. Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was in the centre, with the legions he had brought from Syria, and the reinforcements sent by several kings and states of Asia. The Cilician legion, and some cohorts which had served in Spain, were on the right, under the command of Afranius. As Pompey's right wing was covered by the Enipeus, he strengthened the left with the seven thousand horse, as well as with the slingers and archers. The whole army, consisting of forty-five thousand men, was drawn up in three lines, with very little spaces between them. In conformity to this disposition, Cæsar's army was drawn up in the following order: the tenth legion, which had on all occasions signalized itself above the rest, was placed in the right wing, and the ninth in the left; but as the latter had been considerably weakened in the action at Dyrrachium, the eighth legion was posted so near it as to be able to support and reinforce it upon occasion. The rest of Cæsars forces filled up the spaces between the two wings. Mark Antony commanded the left wing, Sylla the right, and Cneius Domitius Calvus the main body. As for Cæsar, he posted himself on the right, over against Pompey, that he might have him always in sight.

do in their eagerness to come to sword in hand, but to reserve them till they came to close fighting, and push them forward into the eyes and faces of the enemy; "For those fair young dancers," said he, "will never stand the steel aimed at their eyes, but will fly to save their handsome faces."

While Cæsar was thus employed, Pompey took a view on horseback of the order of both armies; and finding that the enemy kept their ranks with the utmost exactness, and quietly waited for the signal of battle, while his own men, for want of experience, were fluctuating and unsteady, he was afraid they would be broken upon the first onset. He therefore commanded the vanguard to stand firm in their ranks*, and in that close order to receive the enemy's charge. Cæsar condemned this measure, as not only tending to lessen the vigour of the blows, which is always greatest in the assailants, but also to damp the spirit and fire of the men; whereas those who advance with impetuosity, and animate each other with shouts, are filled with an enthusiastic valour and superior ardour.

Cæsar's army consisted of twenty-two thousand men, and Pompey's was something more than twice that number. When the signal was given on both sides, and the trumpets sounded a charge, each common man attended only to his own concern, but some of the principal Romans and Greeks, who only stood and looked on, when the dreadful moment of action approached, could not help considering to what the avarice and ambition of two men had brought the Roman empire. The same arms on both sides, the troops marshalled in the same manner, the same standards, in short, the strength and flower of one and the same city turned upon itself! What could be a stronger proof of the blindness and infatuation of human nature, when carried away by its passions? Had they been willing to enjoy the fruits of their labours in peace and tranquillity, the greatest and best part of the world was their own: or, if they must have indulged their thirst of victories and triumphs, the Parthians and Germans were yet to be subdued; Scythia and India yet remained; together with a very plausible colour for their lust of new acquisitions, the pretence of civilizing barbarians. And what Scythian horse, what Parthian arrows, what Indian treasures, could have resisted seventy thousand Romans, led on by Pompey and Cæsar, with whose names those nations had long been acquainted? Into such a variety of wild and savage countries had these two generals carried their victorious arms: whereas now they stood threatening each other with destruc-

* Vide *Cæs. ubi supra.* This, however, must be said in excuse for Pompey, that generals of great fame and experience have sometimes done as he did.

tion; not sparing even their own glory, though to it they sacrificed their country, but prepared, one of them, to lose the reputation of being invincible, which hitherto they had both maintained. So that the alliance which they had contracted, by Pompey's marriage to Julia, was from the first only an artful expedient; and her charms were to form a self-interested compact, instead of being the pledge of a sincere friendship.

The plain of Pharsalia was now covered with men, and horses, and arms; and the signal of battle being given on both sides, the first on Cæsar's side, who advanced to the charge, was Caius Crastinus*, who commanded a corps of a hundred and twenty men, and was determined to make good his promise to his general. He was the first man Cæsar saw when he went out of the trenches in the morning; and upon Cæsar's asking him what he thought of the battle, he stretched out his hand, and answered in a cheerful tone, "You will gain a glorious victory, and I shall have your praise this day, either alive or dead." In pursuance of this promise, he advanced the foremost, and many following to support him, he charged into the midst of the enemy. They soon took to their swords, and numbers were slain; but as Crastinus was making his way forward, and cutting down all before him, one of Pompey's men stood to receive him, and pushed his sword in at his mouth with such force that it went through the nape of his neck. Crastinus thus killed, the fight was maintained with equal advantage on both sides.

Pompey did not immediately lead on his right wing, but often directed his eyes to the left, and lost time in waiting to see what execution his cavalry would do there. Meanwhile they had extended their squadrons to surround Cæsar, and prepared to drive the few horse he had placed in front back upon the foot. At that instant Cæsar gave the signal, upon which his cavalry retreated a little; and the six cohorts, which consisted of three thousand men, and had been placed behind the tenth legion, advanced to surround Pompey's cavalry; and coming close up to them, raised the points of their javelins, as they had been taught, and aimed them at the face†. Their adversaries, who were not experienced in any kind of fighting, and had not the least previous idea of this, could not parry or endure the blows upon their faces, but turned their backs, or covered their eyes with their hands, and now fled with great dishonour. Cæsar's men took no care to pursue them, but turned their force upon the enemy's

* So Cæsar calls him. His name in Plutarch is *Crassianus*, in Appian *Crassinus*.

† *Milites feri faciem.*

infantry, particularly upon that wing which, now stripped of its horse, lay open to the attack on all sides. The six cohorts, therefore, took them in flank, while the tenth legion charged them in front; and they who had hoped to surround the enemy, and now, instead of that, saw themselves surrounded, made but a short resistance, and then took to a precipitate flight.

By the great dust that was raised, Pompey conjectured the fate of his cavalry; and it is hard to say what passed in his mind at that moment. He appeared like a man moon-struck and distracted; and without considering that he was Pompey the Great, or speaking to any one, he quitted the ranks, and retired step by step towards his camp. A scene which cannot be better painted than in these verses of Homer*:

> But partial Jove, espousing Hector's part,
> Shot heav'n-bred horror through the Grecian's heart;
> Confus'd, unnerv'd in Hector's presence grown,
> Amaz'd he stood, with terrors not his own.
> O'er his broad back his moony shield he threw,
> And glaring round by tardy steps withdrew.—*Pope.*

In this condition he entered his tent, where he sat down and uttered not a word, till at last, upon finding that some of the enemy entered the camp with the fugitives, he said, "What, into my camp too!" After this short exclamation, he rose up, and dressing himself in a manner suitable to his fortune, privately withdrew†. All the other legions fled; and a great slaughter was made, in the camp, of the servants and others who had the care of the tents. But Asinius Pollio, who then fought on Cæsar's side, assures us, that of the regular troops there were not above six thousand men killed‡.

* In the eleventh book of the Iliad, where he is speaking of the flight of Ajax before Hector.

† Cæsar tells us, that the cohorts appointed to defend the camp, made a vigorous resistance, but, being at length overpowered, fled to a neighbouring mountain, where he resolved to invest them: but before he had finished his lines, want of water obliged them to abandon that post, and retire towards Larissa. Cæsar pursued the fugitives at the head of four legions, (not of the fourth legion, as the authors of the Universal History erroneously say), and after six miles march, came up with them; but they, not daring to engage troops flushed with victory, fled for refuge to a high hill, the foot of which was watered by a little river. Though Cæsar's men were quite spent, and ready to faint with the excessive heat and the fatigue of the whole day, yet by his obliging manner, he prevailed upon them to cut off the conveniency of the water from the enemy by a trench. Hereupon, the unfortunate fugitives came to a capitulation, threw down their arms, and implored the clemency of the conqueror. This they all did, except some senators, who, as it was now night, escaped in the dark.—*Vide Cæs. Bell.* liv. iii. c. 80.

‡ Cæsar says, that in all there were fifteen thousand killed, and twenty-four thousand taken prisoners.

Upon the taking of the camp, there was a spectacle which showed in strong colours, the vanity and folly of Pompey's troops. All the tents were crowned with myrtle; the beds were strewed with flowers; the tables covered with cups, and bowls of wine set out. In short, every thing had the appearance of preparations for feasts and sacrifices, rather than for men going out to battle: to such a degree had their vain hopes corrupted them, and with such a senseless confidence they took the field!

When Pompey had got at a little distance from the camp, he quitted his horse. He had very few people about him; and, as he saw he was not pursued, he went softly on, wrapt up in such thoughts as we may suppose a man to have, who had been used for thirty-four years to conquer and carry all before him, and now in his old age first came to know what it was to be defeated and to fly. We may easily conjecture what his thoughts must be, when in one short hour he had lost the glory and the power which had been growing up amidst so many wars and conflicts; and he who was lately guarded with such armies of horse and foot, and such great and powerful fleets, was reduced to so mean and contemptible an equipage, that his enemies, who were in search of him, could not know him.

He passed by Larissa, and came to Tempe, where, burning with thirst, he threw himself upon his face, and drank out of the river; after which he passed through the valley, and went down to the sea coast. There he spent the remainder of the night in a poor fisherman's cabin. Next morning, about break of day, he went on board a small river-boat, taking with him such of his company as were freemen. The slaves he dismissed, bidding them go to Cæsar, and fear nothing.

As he was coasting along, he saw a ship of burden just ready to sail; the master of which was Peticius a Roman citizen, who, though not acquainted with Pompey, knew him by sight. It happened that this man, the night before, dreamed he saw Pompey come and talk to him, not in the figure he had formerly known him, but in mean and melancholy circumstances. He was giving the passengers an account of his dream, as persons, who have a great deal of time upon their hands, love to discourse about such matters, when on a sudden, one of the mariners told him he saw a little boat rowing up to him from the land, and the crew making signs, by shaking their garments, and stretching out their hands. Upon this Peticius stood up, and could distinguish Pompey among them, in the same form as he had seen him in his dream. Then beating his head for sorrow, he ordered the seamen to let down the ship's boat, and held out his hand to Pompey, to invite him aboard; for by his dress he perceived his change of

fortune. Therefore, without waiting for any further application, he took him up, and such of his companions as he thought proper, and then hoisted sail. The persons Pompey took with him were the two Lentuli and Favonius; and a little after, they saw king Deiotarus beckoning to them with great earnestness from the shore, and took him up likewise. The master of the ship provided them the best supper he could, and when it was almost ready, Pompey, for want of a servant, was going to wash himself, but Favonius seeing it, stepped up, and both washed and anointed him. All the time he was on board, he continued to wait upon him in all the offices of a servant, even to the washing of his feet, and providing his supper; insomuch that one who saw the unaffected simplicity, and sincere attachment with which Favonius performed these offices, cried out,

> .... The generous mind adds dignity
> To every act; and nothing misbecomes it.

Pompey, in the course of his voyage, sailed by Amphipolis, and from thence steered for Mitylene, to take up Cornelia and his son. As soon as he reached the island, he sent a messenger to the town, with news far different from what Cornelia expected: for, by the flattering accounts which many officious persons had given her, she understood that the dispute was decided at Dyrrachium, and that nothing but the pursuit of Cæsar remained to be attended to. The messenger finding her possessed with such hopes, had not power to make the usual salutations; but expressing the greatness of Pompey's misfortunes by his tears rather than words, only told her, "She must make haste, if she had a mind to see Pompey with one ship only, and that not his own."

At this news Cornelia threw herself upon the ground, where she lay a long time insensible and speechless. At last, coming to herself, she perceived there was no time to be lost in tears and lamentations, and therefore hastened through the town to the sea. Pompey ran to meet her, and received her to his arms as she was just going to fall. While she hung upon his neck, she thus addressed him: "I see, my dear husband, your present unhappy condition is the effect of my ill fortune, and not your's. Alas! how are you reduced to one poor vessel, who, before your marriage with Cornelia, traversed this sea with five hundred galleys? Why did you come to see me, and not rather leave me to my evil destiny, who have loaded you, too, with such a weight of calamities? How happy had it been for me to have died before I heard that Publius, my first husband, was killed by the Parthians? How wise, had I followed him to the grave, as I once

intended! What have I lived for since, but to bring misfortunes upon Pompey the Great*!"

Such, we are assured, was the speech of Cornelia; and Pompey answered, "Till this moment, Cornelia, you have experienced nothing but the smiles of fortune; and it was she who deceived you, because she staid with me longer than she commonly does with her favourites. But, fated as we are, we must bear this reverse, and make another trial of her: for it is no more improbable that we may emerge from this poor condition, and rise to great things again, than it was that we should fall from great things into this poor condition."

Cornelia then sent to the city for her most valuable moveables, and her servants. The people of Mitylene came to pay their respects to Pompey, and to invite him to their city: but he refused to go, and bade them surrender themselves to the conqueror without fear; "For Cæsar," he told them, "had great clemency." After this, he turned to Cratippus, the philosopher, who was come from the town to see him, and began to complain a little of Providence, and express some doubts concerning it. Cratippus made some concessions, and turning the discourse, encouraged him to hope better things, that he might not give him pain, by an unseasonable opposition to his arguments; else he might have answered his objections against Providence, by showing, that the state, and indeed the constitution, was in such disorder, that it was necessary it should be changed into a monarchy. Or this one question would have silenced him, "How do we know, Pompey, that if you had conquered, you would have made a better use of your good fortune than Cæsar?" But we must leave the determinations of Heaven to its superior wisdom.

As soon as his wife and his friends were embarked, he set sail, and continued his course, without touching at any port, except for water and provisions, till he came to Attalia, a city of Pamphylia. There he was joined by some Cilician galleys; and beside picking up a number of soldiers, he found in a little time sixty senators about him. When he was informed that his fleet was still entire, and that Cato was gone to Africa, with a considerable body of men which he had collected after their flight, he lamented to his friends his great error,

* Cornelia is represented by Lucan, too, as imputing the misfortunes of Pompey to her alliance with him; and it seems, from one part of her speech on this occasion, that she should have been given to Cæsar.

O utinam thalamos invisi Cæsaris issem!

If there were any thing in this, it might have been a material cause of the quarrel between Cæsar and Pompey, as the latter, by means of this alliance, must have strengthened himself with the Crassian interest; for Cornelia was the relict of Publius Crassus, the son of Marcus Crassus.

in suffering himself to be forced into an engagement at land, and making no use of those forces, in which he was confessedly stronger; nor even taking care to fight near his fleet, that, in case of his meeting with a check at land, he might have been supplied from sea with another army capable of making head against the enemy. Indeed, we find no greater mistake in Pompey's whole conduct, nor a more remarkable instance of Cæsar's generalship, than in removing the scene of action to such a distance from the naval forces.

However, as it was necessary to undertake something with the small means he had left, he sent to some cities, and sailed to others himself, to raise money, and to get a supply of men for his ships.—But knowing the extraordinary celerity of the enemy's motions, he was afraid he might be beforehand with him, and seize all that he was preparing. He therefore began to think of retiring to some asylum, and proposed the matter in council. They could not think of any province in the Roman empire that would afford a safe retreat; and when they cast their eyes on the foreign kingdoms, Pompey mentioned Parthia as the most likely to receive and protect them in their present weak condition, and afterwards to send them back with a force sufficient to retrieve their affairs. Others were of opinion, it was proper to apply to Africa, and to Juba in particular. But Theophanes of Lesbos observed, it was madness to leave Egypt, which was distant but three days sail. Besides, Ptolemy*, who was growing towards manhood, had particular obligations to Pompey on his father's account: and should he go then, and put himself in the hands of the Parthians, the most perfidious people in the world? He represented what a wrong measure it would be, if, rather than trust to the clemency of a noble Roman, who was his father-in-law, and be contented with the second place of eminence, he would venture his person with Arsaces†, by whom even Crassus would not be taken alive. He added that it would be extremely absurd to carry a young woman of the family of Scipio among barbarians who thought power consisted in the display of insolence and outrage; and where, if she escaped unviolated, it would be believed she did not, after she had been with those who were capable of treating her with indignity. It is said, this last consideration only prevented his marching to the

* This was Ptolemy Dionysius, the son of Ptolemy Auletes, who died in the year of Rome 704, which was the year before the battle of Pharsalia. He was now in his fourteenth year.

† From this passage it appears, that Arsaces was the common name of the kings of Parthia: for it was not the proper name of the king then upon the throne, nor of him who was at war with Crassus.

Euphrates; but it is some doubt with us, whether it was not rather his fate, than his opinion, which directed his steps another way.

When it was determined that they should seek for refuge in Egypt, he set sail from Cyprus with Cornelia, in a Seleucian galley. The rest accompanied him, some in ships of war, and some in merchantmen, and they made a safe voyage. Being informed that Ptolemy was with his army at Pelusium, where he was engaged in war with his sister, he proceeded thither, and sent a messenger before him to notify his arrival, and to entreat the king's protection. Ptolemy was very young, and Photinus, his prime minister, called a council of his ablest officers; though their advice had no more weight than he was pleased to allow it. He ordered each, however, to give his opinion. But who can, without indignation, consider that the fate of Pompey the Great was to be determined by Photinus, an eunuch; by Theodotus, a man of Chios, who was hired to teach the prince rhetoric; and by Achillas, an Egyptian? For, among the king's chamberlains and tutors, these had the greatest influence over him, and were the persons he most consulted. Pompey lay at anchor at some distance from the place, waiting the determination of the respectable board, while he thought it beneath him to be indebted to Cæsar for his safety. The council were divided in their opinions; some advising the prince to give him an honourable reception, and others to send him an order to depart: but Theodotus, to display his eloquence, insisted that both were wrong. "If you receive him," said he, "you will have Cæsar for your enemy, and Pompey for your master. If you order him off, Pompey may one day revenge the affront, and Cæsar resent your not having put him in his hands: the best method, therefore, is to send for him, and put him to death. By this means you will do Cæsar a favour, and have nothing to fear from Pompey." He added, with a smile, "Dead men do not bite."

This advice being approved of, the execution of it was committed to Achillas: in consequence of which, he took with him Septimius, who had formerly been one of Pompey's officers, and Salvius, who had also acted under him as a centurion, with three or four assistants, and made up to Pompey's ship, where his principal friends and officers had assembled to see how the affair went on. When they perceived there was nothing magnificent in their reception, nor suitable to the hopes which Theophanes had conceived, but that a few men only, in a fishing-boat, came to wait upon them, such want of respect appeared a suspicious circumstance, and they advised Pompey, while he was out of the reach of missive weapons, to get out to the main sea.

Meantime, the boat approaching, Septimius spoke first, addressing Pompey in Latin by the title of *Imperator*. Then Achillas saluted him in Greek, and desired him to come into the boat, because the water was very shallow towards the shore, and a galley must strike upon the sands. At the same time they saw several of the king's ships getting ready, and the shore covered with troops, so that if they would have changed their minds, it was then too late; besides, their distrust would have furnished the assassins with a pretence for their injustice. He therefore embraced Cornelia, who lamented his sad exit before it happened, and ordered two centurions, one of his enfranchised slaves, named Philip, and a servant called Scenes, to get into the boat before him. When Achillas had hold of his hand, and he was going to step in himself, he turned to his wife and son, and repeated that verse of Sophocles,

> Seek'st thou a tyrant's door? then farewell freedom!
> Though free as air before.....

These were the last words he spoke to them.

As there was a considerable distance between the galley and the shore, and he observed that not a man in the boat showed him the least civility, or even spoke to him, he looked at Septimius, and said, "Methinks I remember you to have been my fellow-soldier;" but he answered only with a nod, without testifying any regard or friendship. A profound silence again took place. Pompey took out a paper, in which he had written a speech in Greek that he designed to make to Ptolemy, and amused himself with reading it.

When they approached the shore, Cornelia, with her friends in the galley, watched the event with great anxiety. She was a little encouraged when she saw a number of the king's great officers coming down to the strand, in all appearance to receive her husband and do him honour: but the moment Pompey was taking hold of Philip's hand, to raise him with more ease, Septimius came behind, and ran him through the body; after which Salvius and Achillas also drew their swords. Pompey took his robe in both hands, and covered his face, and, without saying or doing the least thing unworthy of him, submitted to his fate, only uttering a groan, while they despatched him with many blows. He was then just fifty-nine years old, for he was killed the day after his birth-day*.

* Some divines, in saying that Pompey never prospered after he presumed to enter the sanctuary in the temple of Jerusalem, intimate that his misfortunes were owing to that profanation; but we forbear, with Plutarch, to comment upon the providential determinations of the Supreme Being. Indeed, he fell a sacrifice to as vile a set of people as he had before insulted; for, the Jews excepted, there was not upon earth a more despicable race of men than the cowardly cruel Egyptians.

Cornelia, and her friends in the galleys, upon seeing him murdered, gave a shriek that was heard to the shore, and weighed anchor immediately. Their flight was assisted by a brisk gale as they got out more to sea; so that the Egyptians gave up their design of pursuing them.

The murderers, having cut off Pompey's head, threw the body out of the boat naked, and left it exposed to all who were desirous of such a sight. Philip staid till their curiosity was satisfied, and then washed the body with sea-water, and wrapped it in one of his own garments, because he had nothing else at hand. The next thing was to look out for wood for the funeral pile; and casting his eyes over the shore, he spied the old remains of a fishing-boat, which, though not large, would make a sufficient pile for a poor naked body that was not quite entire.

While he was collecting the pieces of plank and putting them together, an old Roman, who had made some of his first campaigns under Pompey, came up, and said to Philip, "Who are you that are preparing the funeral of Pompey the Great?" Philip answered, "I am his freedman." "But you shall not," said the old Roman, "have this honour entirely to yourself. As a work of piety offers itself, let me have a share in it, that I may not absolutely repent my having passed so many years in a foreign country, but, to compensate many misfortunes, may have the consolation of doing some of the last honours* to the greatest general Rome ever produced." In this manner was the funeral of Pompey conducted.

Next day, Lucius Lentulus, who knew nothing of what had passed, because he was upon his voyage from Cyprus, arrived upon the Egyptian shore, and, as he was coasting along, saw the funeral pile, and Philip, whom he did not yet know, standing by it. Upon which he said to himself, "Who has finished his days, and is going to leave his remains upon this shore?" adding, after a short pause, with a sigh, "Ah! Pompey the Great! perhaps thou mayest be the man." Lentulus soon after went on shore, and was taken and slain.

Such was the end of Pompey the Great. As for Cæsar, he arrived not long after in Egypt, which he found in great disorder. When they came to present the head, he turned from it, and the person that brought it, as a sight of horror. He received the seal, but it was with tears. The device was a lion holding a sword. The two assassins, Achillas and Photinus, he put to death; and the king, being defeated in battle, perished in the river. Theodotus, the rheto-

* Of touching and wrapping up the body.

rician, escaped the vengeance of Cæsar, by leaving Egypt; but he wandered about, a miserable fugitive, and was hated wherever he went. At last, Marcus Brutus, who killed Cæsar, found the wretch in his province of Asia, and put him to death, after having made him suffer the most exquisite tortures. The ashes of Pompey were carried to Cornelia, who buried them in his lands near Alba*.

AGESILAUS AND POMPEY COMPARED.

SUCH is the account we have to give of the lives of these two great men; and, in drawing up the parallel, we shall previously take a short survey of the difference in their characters.

In the first place, Pompey rose to power, and established his reputation, by just and laudable means; partly by the strength of his own genius, and partly by his services to Sylla, in freeing Italy from various attempts of despotism. Whereas Agesilaus came to the throne by methods equally immoral and irreligious; for it was by accusing Leotychidas of bastardy, whom his brother had acknowledged as his legitimate son, and by eluding the oracle relative to a lame king†.

In the next place, Pompey paid all due respect to Sylla during his life, and took care to see his remains honourably interred, notwithstanding the opposition it met with from Lepidus; and afterwards he gave his daughter to Faustus, the son of Sylla. On the other hand, Agesilaus shook off Lysander upon a slight pretence, and treated him with great indignity. Yet the services Pompey received from Sylla

* Pompey has, in all appearance, and in all considerations of his character, had less justice done him by historians than any other man of his time. His popular humanity, his military and political skill, his prudence (which he sometimes unfortunately gave up), his natural bravery and generosity, his conjugal virtues, which (though sometimes impeached) were both naturally and morally great; his cause, which was certainly, in its original interests, the cause of Rome; all these circumstances entitled him to a more distinguished and more respectable character than any of his historians have thought proper to afford him. One circumstance, indeed, renders the accounts that the writers who rose after the established monarchy have given of his opposition perfectly reconcileable to the prejudice which appears against him, or rather to the reluctance which they have shown to that praise which they seemed to have felt that he deserved. When the commonwealth was no more, and the supporters of its interests had fallen with it, then history itself, not to mention poetry, departed from its proper privilege of impartiality, and even Plutarch made a sacrifice to imperial power.

† See the Life of Agesilaus.

were not greater than those he had rendered him; whereas Agesilaus was appointed king of Sparta by Lysander's means, and afterwards captain-general of Greece.

In the third place, Pompey's offences against the laws and the constitution were principally owing to his alliances, to his supporting either Cæsar or Scipio (whose daughter he had married) in their unjust demands. Agesilaus not only gratified the passion of his son, by sparing the life of Sphodrias, whose death ought to have atoned for the injuries he had done the Athenians, but he likewise screened Phœbidas, who was guilty of an egregious infraction of the league with the Thebans, and it was visibly for the sake of his crime that he took him into his protection. In short, whatever troubles Pompey brought upon the Romans, either through ignorance or a timorous complaisance for his friends, Agesilaus brought as great distress upon the Spartans through a spirit of obstinacy and resentment; for such was the spirit that kindled the Bœotian war.

If, when we are mentioning their faults, we may take notice of their fortune, the Romans could have no previous idea of that of Pompey; but the Lacedæmonians were sufficiently forewarned of the danger of a lame reign, and yet Agesilaus would not suffer them to avail themselves of that warning*. Nay, supposing Leotychidas a mere stranger, and as much a bastard as he was, yet the family of Eurytion could easily have supplied Sparta with a king who was neither spurious nor maimed, had not Lysander been industrious enough to render the oracle obscure for the sake of Agesilaus.

As to their political talents, there never was a finer measure than that of Agesilaus, when, in the distress of the Spartans how to proceed against the fugitives after the battle of Leuctra, he decreed that the laws should be silent for that day. We have nothing of Pompey's that can possibly be compared to it; on the contrary, he thought himself exempted from observing the laws he had made, and that his transgressing them showed his friends his superior power: whereas Agesilaus, when under a necessity of contravening the laws, to save a number of citizens, found out an expedient which saved both the laws and the criminals. I must also reckon among his political virtues, his inimitable behaviour upon the receipt of the *scytale*, which ordered him to leave Asia in the height of his success: for he

* It is true, the latter part of Agesilaus's reign was unfortunate, but the misfortunes were owing to his malice against the Thebans, and to his fighting (contrary to the laws of Lycurgus) the same enemy so frequently, that he taught them to beat him at last. Nevertheless, the oracle, as we have observed in a former note, probably meant the lameness of the kingdom, in having but one king instead of two, and not the lameness of the king.

did not, like Pompey, serve the commonwealth only in affairs which contributed to his own greatness; the good of his country was his great object, and, with a view to that, he renounced such power and so much glory as no man had either before or after him, except Alexander the Great.

If we view them in another light, and consider their military performances; the trophies which Pompey erected were so numerous, the armies he led so powerful, and the pitched battles he won so extraordinary, that I suppose Xenophon himself would not compare the victories of Agesilaus with them; though that historian, on account of his other excellencies, has been indulged the peculiar privilege of saying what he pleased of his hero.

There was a difference too, I think, in their behaviour to their enemies, in point of equity and moderation. Agesilaus was bent upon enslaving Thebes, and destroyed Messene; the former the city from which his family sprung, the latter Sparta's sister colony*; and in the attempt he was near ruining Sparta itself. On the other hand, Pompey, after he had conquered the pirates, bestowed cities on such as were willing to change their way of life: and when he might have led Tigranes, king of Armenia, captive at the wheels of his chariot, he rather chose to make him an ally; on which occasion he made use of that memorable expression, "I prefer the glory that will last for ever to that of a day."

But if the pre-eminence in military virtue is to be decided by such actions and counsels as are most characteristical of the great and wise commander, we shall find that the Lacedæmonian leaves the Roman far behind. In the first place, he never abandoned his city, though it was besieged by seventy thousand men, while he had but a handful of men to oppose them with, and those lately defeated in the battle of Leuctra. But Pompey†, upon Cæsar's advancing with five thousand three hundred men only, and taking one little town in Italy, left Rome in a panic; either meanly yielding to so trifling a force, or failing in his intelligence of their real numbers. In this flight he carried off his own wife and children, but he left those of the other citizens in a defenceless state, when he ought either to have staid and

* For Hercules was born at Thebes, and Messene was a colony of the Heraclidæ, as well as Sparta. The Latin and French translators have mistaken the sense of this passage.

† Here is another egregious instance of Plutarch's prejudice against the character of Pompey. It is certain, that he left not Rome till he was well convinced of the impossibility of maintaining it against the arms of Cæsar: for he was not only coming against it with a force much more powerful than is here mentioned, but he had rendered even a siege unnecessary, by a previous distribution of his gold amongst the citizens.

conquered for his country, or to have accepted such conditions as the conqueror might impose, who was both his fellow-citizen and his relation. A little while before, he thought it insupportable to prolong the term of his commission, and to grant him another consulship; and now he suffered him to take possession of the city, and to tell Metellus, "That he considered him and all the other inhabitants as his prisoners."

If it is the principal business of a general to know how to bring the enemy to a battle when he is stronger, and how to avoid being compelled to one when he is weaker, Agesilaus understood that rule perfectly well, and, by observing it, continued always invincible: but Pompey could never take Cæsar at a disadvantage; on the contrary, he sufferred Cæsar to take the advantage of him, by being brought to hazard all in an action at land; the consequence of which was, that Cæsar became master of his treasures, his provisions, and the sea itself, when he might have preserved them all, had he known how to avoid a battle.

As for the apology that is made for Pompey in this case, it reflects the greatest dishonour upon a general of his experience. If a young officer had been so much dispirited and disturbed by the tumults and clamours among his troops, as to depart from his better judgment, it would have been pardonable: but for Pompey the Great, whose camp the Romans called their country, and whose tent their senate, while they gave the name of rebels and traitors to those who staid and acted as prætors and consuls in Rome; for Pompey, who had never been known to serve as a private soldier, but had made all his campaigns with the greatest reputation as general; for such a one to be forced, by the scoffs of Favonius and Domitius, and the fear of being called Agamemnon, to risk the fate of the whole empire, and of liberty, upon the cast of a single die—who can bear it. If he dreaded only present infamy, he ought to have made a stand at first, and to have fought for the city of Rome; and not, after calling his flight a manœuvre of Themistocles, to look upon the delaying a battle in Thessaly as a dishonour; for the gods had not appointed the fields of Pharsalia as the lists in which he was to contend for the empire of Rome, nor was he summoned by a herald to make his appearance there, or otherwise forfeit the palm to another. There were innumerable plains and cities; nay, his command of the sea left the whole earth to his choice, had he been determined to imitate Maximus, Marius, or Lucullus, or Agesilaus himself.

Agesilaus certainly had no less tumults to encounter in Sparta, when the Thebans challenged him to come out and fight for his dominions; nor were the calumnies and slanders he met with in Egypt,

from the madness of the king, less grating, when he advised that prince to lie still for a time. Yet by pursuing the sage measures he had first fixed upon, he not only saved the Egyptians in spite of themselves, but kept Sparta from sinking in the earthquake that threatened her: nay, he erected there the best trophy imaginable against the Thebans; for, by keeping the Spartans from their ruin, which they were so obstinately bent upon, he put it in their power to conquer afterwards. Hence it was that Agesilaus was praised by the persons whom he had saved by violence; and Pompey, who committed an error in complaisance to others, was condemned by those who drew him into it. Some say, indeed, that he was deceived by his father-in-law, Scipio, who, wanting to convert to his own use the treasures he had brought from Asia, had concealed them for that purpose, and hastened the action, under pretence that the supplies would soon fail: but, supposing that true, a general should not have suffered himself to be so easily deceived, nor, in consequence of being so deceived, have hazarded the loss of all. Such are the principal strokes that mark their military characters.

As to their voyages to Egypt, the one fled thither out of necessity; the other, without any necessity or sufficient cause, listed himself in the service of a barbarous prince, to raise a fund for carrying on the war with the Greeks: so that, if we accuse the Egyptians for their behaviour to Pompey, the Egyptians blame Agesilaus as much for his behaviour to them. The one was betrayed by those in whom he put his trust; the other was guilty of a breach of trust, in deserting those whom he went to support, and going over to their enemies.

ALEXANDER.

IN this volume we shall give the lives of Alexander the Great, and of Cæsar who overthrew Pompey; and, as the quantity of materials is so great, we shall only premise, that we hope for indulgence, though we do not give the actions in full detail, and with a scrupulous exactness, but rather in a short summary; since we are not writing Histories, but Lives. Nor is it always in the most distinguished achievements that men's virtues or vices may be best discerned; but very often an action of small note, a short saying, or a jest, shall distinguish a person's real character more than the greatest sieges or the most important battles. Therefore, as painters in their portraits labour the likeness in the face, and particularly about

the eyes, in which the peculiar turn of mind most appears, and run over the rest with a more careless hand, so we must be permitted to strike off the features of the soul, in order to give a real likeness of these great men, and leave to others the circumstantial detail of their labours and achievements.

It is allowed as certain, that Alexander was a descendant of Hercules by Caranus*, and of Æacus by Neoptolemus. His father Philip is said to have been initiated, when very young, along with Olympias, in the mysteries at Samothrace; and having conceived an affection for her, he obtained her in marriage of her brother Arymbas, to whom he applied, because she was left an orphan. The night before the consummation of the marriage, she dreamed that a thunder-bolt fell upon her belly, which kindled a great fire, and that the flame extended itself far and wide before it disappeared.—And some time after the marriage, Philip dreamed that he sealed up the queen's womb with a seal, the impression of which he thought was a lion. Most of the interpreters believed the dream announced some reason to doubt the honour of Olympias, and that Philip ought to look more closely to her conduct: but Aristander of Telmesus said, it only denoted that the queen was pregnant; for a seal is never put upon any thing that is empty; and that the child would prove a boy, of a bold and lion-like courage. A serpent was also seen lying by Olympias as she slept; which is said to have cooled Philip's affection for her more than any thing, insomuch that he seldom repaired to her bed afterwards; whether it was that he feared some enchantment from her, or abstained from her embraces, because he thought them taken up by some superior being.

Some, indeed, relate the affair in another manner. They tell us, that the women of this country were of old extremely fond of the ceremonies of Orpheus, and the orgies of Bacchus; and that they were called *Clodones* and *Mimallones*, because in many things they imitated the Edonian and Thracian women about Mount Hæmus; from whom the Greek word *threscuein* seems to be derived, which signifies the exercise of extravagant and superstitious observances. Olympias being remarkably ambitious of these inspirations, and desirous of giving the enthusiastic solemnities a more strange and horrid appearance, introduced a number of large tame serpents, which,

* Caranus the sixteenth in descent from Hercules, made himself master of Macedonia in the year before Christ 794; and Alexander the Great was the twenty-second in descent from Caranus: so that from Hercules to Alexander there were thirty-eight generations. The descent by his mother's side is not so clear, there being many degrees wanting in it. It is sufficient to know, that Olympias was the daughter of Neoptolemus, and sister to Arymbas.

often creeping out of the ivy and the mystic fans, and entwining about the *thrysuses* and garlands of the women, struck the spectators with terror.

Philip, however, upon this appearance, sent Chiron of Megalopolis to consult the oracle at Delphi; and, we are told, Apollo commanded him to sacrifice to Jupiter Ammon, and to pay his homage principally to that god. It is also said he lost one of his eyes, which was that he applied to the chink of the door, when he saw the god in his wife's embraces in the form of a serpent. According to Eratosthenes, Olympias, when she conducted Alexander on his way in his first expedition, privately discovered to him the secret of his birth, and exhorted him to behave with a dignity suitable to his divine extraction. Others affirm, that she absolutely rejected it as an impious fiction, and used to say, "Will Alexander never leave embroiling me with Juno?"

Alexander* was born on the sixth of Hecatombœon† [July], which the Macedonians call *Lous*, the same day that the temple of Diana at Ephesus was burnt; upon which Hegesias the Magnesian has uttered a conceit frigid enough to have extinguished the flames. "It is no wonder," said he, "that the temple of Diana was burnt, when she was at a distance, employed in bringing Alexander into the world." All the *magi* who were then at Ephesus, looked upon the fire as a sign which betokened a much greater misfortune; they ran about the town, beating their faces, and crying, "That the day had brought forth the great scourge and destroyer of Asia."

Philip had just taken the city of Potidæa‡, and three messengers arrived the same day with extraordinary tidings. The first informed him that Parmenio had gained a great battle against the Illyrians; the second, that his race-horse had won the prize at the Olympic games; and the third, that Olympias was brought to bed of Alexander. His joy on that occasion was great, as might naturally be expected; and the soothsayers increased it, by assuring him that his son, who

* In the first year of the hundred and sixth Olympiad, before Christ 354.

† Ælian (*Var. Hist.* l. ii. c. 25.) says expressly, that Alexander was born and died in the sixth day of the month Thargelion: but supposing Plutarch right in placing his birth in the month Hecatombœon, yet not that month, but Boëdromion then answered to the Macedonian month Lous; as appears clearly from a letter of Philip's, still preserved in the Orations of Demosthenes (*in Orat. de Corona*). In after times, indeed, the month Lous answered to Hecatombœon, which, without doubt, was the cause of Plutarch's mistake.

‡ This is another mistake. Potidæa was taken two years before, viz. in the third year of the one hundred and third Olympiad; for which we have again the authority of Domosthenes, who was Philip's cotemporary, (*in Orat. cont. Leptinem*), as well as of Diodorus Siculus, l. xvi.

was born in the midst of three victories, must of course prove invincible.

The statues of Alexander, that most resembled him, were those of Lysippus, who alone had his permission to represent him in marble. The turn of his head, which leaned a little to one side, and the quickness of his eye, in which many of his friends and successors most affected to imitate him, were best hit off by that artist. Apelles painted him in the character of Jupiter armed with thunder, but did not succeed as to his complexion. He overcharged the colouring, and made his skin too brown; whereas he was fair, with a tinge of red in his face and upon his breast. We read in the memoirs of Aristoxenus, that a most agreeable scent proceeded from his skin, and that his breath and whole body were so fragrant, that they perfumed his under garments. The cause of this might possibly be his hot temperament: for, as Theophrastus conjectures, it is the concoction of moisture by heat which produces sweet odures; and hence it is that those countries which are driest, and most parched with heat, produce spices of the best kind, and in the greatest quantity; the sun exhaling from the surface of bodies that moisture which is the instrument of corruption. It seems to have been the same heat of constitution which made Alexander so much inclined to drink, and so subject to passion.

His continence showed itself at an early period; for, though he was vigorous, or rather violent in his other pursuits, he was not easily moved by the pleasures of the body; and if he tasted them, it was with great moderation. But there was something superlatively great and sublime in his ambition, far above his years. It was not all sorts of honour that he courted, nor did he seek it in every track, like his father Philip, who was as proud of his eloquence as any sophist could be, and who had the vanity to record his victories in the Olympic chariot-race in the impression of his coins. Alexander, on the other hand, when he was asked by some of the people about him, "Whether he would not run in the Olympic race?" (for he was swift of foot), answered, "Yes, if I had kings for my antagonists." It appears that he had a perfect aversion to the whole exercise of wrestling*; for though he exhibited many other sorts of games and public diversions, in which he proposed prizes for tragic poets, for musicians who practised upon the flute and lyre, and for rhapsodists too; though he entertained the people with the hunting of all manner of wild beasts, and with fencing or

* Philopœmen, like him, had an aversion for wrestling; because all the exercises which fit a man to excel in it, make him unfit for war.

fighting with the staff, yet he gave no encouragement to boxing or to the *Pancratium**.

Ambassadors from Persia happening to arrive in the absence of his father Philip, and Alexander receiving them in his stead, gained upon them greatly by his politeness and solid sense. He asked them no childish or trifling question, but inquired the distances of places, and the roads through the upper provinces of Asia: he desired to be informed of the character of their king, in what manner he behaved to his enemies, and in what the strength and power of Persia consisted. The ambassadors were struck with admiration, and looked upon the celebrated shrewdness of Philip as nothing in comparison of the lofty and enterprising genius of his son. Accordingly, whenever news was brought that Philip had taken some strong town, or won some great battle, the young man, instead of appearing delighted with it, used to say to his companions, "My father will go on conquering till there be nothing extraordinary left for you and me to do." As neither pleasure nor riches, but valour and glory, were his great objects, he thought, that in proportion as the dominions he was to receive from his father grew greater, there would be less room for him to distinguish himself. Every new acquisition of territory he considered as a diminution of his scene of action; for he did not desire to inherit a kingdom that would bring him opulence, luxury, and pleasure, but one that would afford him wars, conflicts, and all the exercise of great ambition.

He had a number of tutors and preceptors. Leonidas, a relation of the queen's, and a man of great severity of manners, was at the head of them. He did not like the name of preceptor, though the employment was important and honourable; and indeed his dignity and alliance to the royal family gave him the title of the prince's governor. He who had both the name and business of preceptor was Lysimachus the Acarnanian; a man who had neither merit nor politeness, nor any thing to recommend him but his calling himself Phœnix; Alexander, Achilles; and Philip, Peleus. This procured him some attention, and the second place about the prince's person.

When Philonicus the Thessalian offered the horse named Bucephalus in sale to Philip, at the price of thirteen talents†, the king,

* If it be asked, How this shows that Alexander did not love wrestling? the answer is, The *Pancratium* was a mixture of boxing and wrestling.

† That is, £2518:15s. Sterling. This will appear a moderate price, compared with what we find in Varro (*de Re Rustic.* l. iii. c. 2.) viz. That Q. Axius, a senator, gave four hundred thousand sesterces for an ass: and still more moderate, when compared with the account of Tavernier, that some horses in Arabia were valued at a hundred

with the prince and many others, went into the field to see some trial made of him. The horse appeared extremely vicious and unmanageable, and was so far from suffering himself to be mounted, that he would not bear to be spoken to, but turned fiercely upon all the grooms.* Philip was displeased at their bringing him so wild and ungovernable a horse, and bade them take him away: but Alexander, who had observed him well, said, "What a horse are they losing for want of skill and spirit to manage him!" Philip at first took no notice of this; but, upon the prince's often repeating the same expression, and showing great uneasines, he said, "Young man, you find fault with your elders, as if you knew more than they, or could manage the horse better." "And I certainly could," answered the prince. "If you should not be able to ride him, what forfeiture will you submit to for your rashness?" "I will pay the price of the horse."

Upon this all the company laughed; but the king and prince agreeing as to the forfeiture, Alexander ran to the horse, and laying hold of the bridle, turned him to the sun; for he had observed, it seems, that the shadow which fell before the horse, and continually moved as he moved, greatly disturbed him. While his fierceness and fury lasted, he kept speaking to him softly, and stroking him; after which he gently let fall his mantle, leaped lightly upon his back, and got his seat very safe. Then, without pulling the reins too hard, or using either whip or spur, he set him a-going. As soon as he perceived his uneasiness abated, and that he wanted only to run, he put him in a full gallop, and pushed him on both with the voice and spur.

Philip and all his court were in great distress for him at first, and a profound silence took place: but when the prince had turned him, and brought him straight back, they all received him with loud acclamations, except his father, who wept for joy, and, kissing him, said, "Seek another kingdom, my son, that may be worthy of thy abilities; for Macedonia is too small for thee." Perceiving that he did not easily submit to authority, because he would not be forced to any thing, but that he might be led to duty by the gentler hand of reason, he took the method of persuasion rather than of command. He saw that his education was a matter of too great importance to be trusted to the ordinary masters in music, and the common circles

thousand crowns. Pliny, in his natural History, says, the price of Bucephalus was sixteen talents—*Sexdecem talentis ferunt ex Philonici Pharsali grege emptum. Nat. Hist.* l. viii. cap. 42.

of sciences; and that his genius (to use the expression of Sophocles) required

The rudder's guidance, and the curb's restraint.

He therefore sent for Aristotle, the most celebrated and learned of all the philosophers; and the reward he gave him for forming his son was not only honourable, but remarkable for its propriety. He had formerly dismantled the city of Stagira, where that philosopher was born, and now he rebuilt it, and re-established the inhabitants, who had either fled or been reduced to slavery*. He also prepared a lawn, called Mieza, for their studies and literary conversations: where they still show us Aristotle's stone, and seats, and shady walks.

Alexander gained from him not only moral and political knowledge, but was also instructed in those more secret and profound branches of science, which they call *acroamatic* and *epoptic*, and which they did not communicate to every common scholar†: for when Alexander was in Asia, and received information that Aristotle had published some books in which those points were discussed, he wrote him a letter in behalf of philosophy, in which he blamed the course he had taken. The following is a copy of it:

"Alexander to Aristotle, prosperity. You did wrong in publishing the *acroamatic* parts of science‡. In what shall we differ from others, if the sublimer knowledge we gained from you be made common to all the world? For my part, I had rather excel the bulk of mankind in the superior parts of learning, than in the extent of power and dominion. Farewell."

Aristotle, in compliment to this ambition of his, and by way of excuse for himself, made answer, that those points were published and not published. In fact, his book of metaphysics is written in such a manner, that no one can learn that branch of science from it, much less teach it others: it serves only to refresh the memories of those who have been taught by a master.

It appears also to me, that it was by Aristotle, rather than any other person, that Alexander was assisted in the study of physic, for he not only loved the theory, but the practice too, as is clear from his epistles, where we find that he prescribed to his friends medicines, and a proper *regimen*.

He loved polite learning too, and his natural thirst of knowledge

* Pliny the elder, and Valerius Maximus, tell us, that Stagira was rebuilt by Alexander, and this when Aristotle was very old.

† The scholars in general were instructed only in the *exoteric* doctrines.—Vide *Ant. Gell.* lib. xx. cap. 5.

‡ Doctrines taught by private communication, and delivered *viva voce*.

made him a man of extensive reading. The Iliad, he thought, as well as called, a portable treasure of military knowledge, and he had a copy corrected by Aristotle, which is called *the casket copy**. Onesicritus informs us, that he used to lay it under his pillow with his sword. As he could not find many other books in the upper provinces of Asia, he wrote to Harpalus for a supply, who sent him the works of Philistus, most of the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Æschylus, and the Dithyrambics of Telestus† and Philoxenus.

Aristotle was the man he admired in his younger years, and as he said himself, he had no less affection for him than for his own father: "From the one he derived the blessing of life, from the other the blessing of a good life." But afterwards he looked upon him with an eye of suspicion. He never, indeed, did the philosopher any harm; but the testimonies of his regard being neither so extraordinary, nor so endearing as before, he discovered something of a coldness. However, his love of philosophy, which he was either born with, or at least conceived at an early period, never quitted his soul; as appears from the honours he paid Anaxarchus, the fifty talents he sent Xenocrates‡, and his attentions to Dandamis and Calanus.

When Philip went upon his expedition against Byzantium, Alexander was only sixteen years of age, yet he was left regent of Macedonia, and keeper of the seal. The Medari§ rebelling during his regency, he attacked and overthrew them, took their city, expelled the barbarians, planted there a colony of people collected from various parts, and gave it the name of Alexandropolis. He fought in the battle of Chæronea against the Greeks, and is said to have been the first man that broke the *sacred band* of Thebans. In our times an old oak was shown near the Cephisus, called *Alexander's oak*, because his tent had been pitched under it; and a piece of ground

* He kept it in a rich casket, found among the spoils of Darius. A correct copy of this edition, revised by Aristotle, Callisthenes, and Anaxarchus, was published after the death of Alexander. "Darius," said Alexander, "used to keep his ointments in this casket; but I, who have no time to anoint myself, will convert it to a nobler use."

† Telestus was a poet of some reputation, and a monument was erected to his memory by Aristratus the Sicyonian tyrant. Protogenes was sent for to paint this monument, and not arriving within the limited time, was in danger of the tyrant's displeasure; but the celerity and excellence of his execution saved him. Philoxenus was his scholar. Philistus was a historian often cited by Plutarch.

‡ The philosopher took but a small part of this money, and sent the rest back; telling the giver he had more occasion for it himself, because he had more people to maintain.

§ We know of no such people as the Medari; but there was in Thrace a people called Mædi, who, as Livy tells us, (lib. xxvi.) used to make inroads into Macedonia.

at no great distance, in which the Macedonians had buried their dead.

This early display of great talents made Philip very fond of his son, so that it was with pleasure he heard the Macedonians call Alexander *king*, and him only *general*. But the troubles which his new marriage and his amours caused in his family, and the bickerings among the women dividing the whole kingdom into parties, involved him in many quarrels with his son; all which were heightened by Olympias, who, being a woman of a jealous and vindictive temper, inspired Alexander with unfavourable sentiments of his father. The misunderstanding broke out into a flame on the following occasion: Philip fell in love with a young lady named Cleopatra, at an unseasonable time of life, and married her. When they were celebrating the nuptials, her uncle Attalus, intoxicated with liquor, desired the Macedonians to entreat the gods that this marriage of Philip and Cleopatra might produce a lawful heir to the crown. Alexander, provoked at this, said, "What, then, dost thou take me for a bastard?" and at the same time he threw his cup at his head. Hereupon Philip rose up and drew his sword; but, fortunately for them both, his passion, and the wine he had drank made him stumble, and he fell. Alexander, taking an insolent advantage of this circumstance, said, "Men of Macedon, see there the man who was preparing to pass from Europe into Asia! he is not able to pass from one table to another without falling." After this insult, he carried off Olympias, and placed her in Epirus. Illyricum was the country he pitched upon for his own retreat.

In the mean time, Demaratus, who had engagements of hospitality with the royal family of Macedon, and who, on that account could speak his mind freely, came to pay Philip a visit. After the first civilities, Philip asked him, "What sort of agreement subsisted among the Greeks?" Demaratus answered, "There is doubtless much propriety in your inquiring after the harmony of Greece, who have filled your own house with so much discord and disorder."—This reproof brought Philip to himself, and through the mediation of Demaratus, he prevailed with Alexander to return.

But another event soon disturbed their repose. Pexodorus, the Persian governor in Caria, being desirous to draw Philip into a league offensive and defensive, by means of an alliance between their families, offered his eldest daughter in marriage to Aridæus, the son of Philip, and sent Aristocritus into Macedonia, to treat about it. Alexander's friends and his mother now infused notions into him again, though perfectly groundless, that by so noble a match, and the support consequent upon it, Philip designed the crown for Aridæus.

Alexander, in the uneasiness these suspicions gave him, sent one Thessalus, a player, into Caria, to desire the grandee to pass by Aridæus, who was of spurious birth, and deficient in point of understanding, and to take the lawful heir to the crown into his alliance. Pexodorus was infinitely more pleased with this proposal: but Philip no sooner had intelligence of it, than he went to Alexander's apartment, taking along with him Philotas, the son of Parmenio, one of his most intimate friends and companions, and in his presence, reproached him with his degeneracy and meanness of spirit, in thinking of being son-in-law to a man of Caria, one of the slaves of a barbarian king. At the same time he wrote to the Corinthians*, insisting that they should send Thessalus to him in chains. Harpalus and Niarchus, Phrygius and Ptolemy, some of the other companions of the prince, he banished. But Alexander afterwards recalled them, and treated them with great distinction.

Some time after the Carian negociation, Pausanias, being abused by order of Attalus and Cleopatra, and not having justice done him for the outrage, killed Philip, who refused that justice. Olympias was thought to have been principally concerned in inciting the young man to that act of revenge; but Alexander did not escape uncensured. It is said that when Pausanias applied to him, after having been so dishonoured, and lamented his misfortune, Alexander, by way of answer, repeated that line in the tragedy of Medea†,

The bridal father, bridegroom, and the bride.

It must be acknowledged, however, that he caused diligent search to be made after the persons concerned in the assassination, and took care to have them punished; and he expressed his indignation at Olympia's cruel treatment of Cleopatra in his absence.

He was only twenty years old when he succeeded to the crown, and he found the kingdom torn in pieces by dangerous parties and implacable animosities. The barbarous nations, even those that bordered upon Macedonia, could not brook subjection, and they longed for their natural kings. Philip had subdued Greece by his victorious arms; but not having had time to accustom her to the yoke, he had thrown matters into confusion, rather than produced any firm settlement, and he left the whole in a tumultuous state.—The young king's Macedonian counsellors, alarmed at the troubles which threatened him, advised him to give up Greece entirely, or at

* Thessalus, upon his return from Asia, must have retired to Corinth; for the Corinthians had nothing to do in Caria.

† This is the 288th verse of the Medea of Euripides. The persons meant in the tragedy were Jason, Creusa, and Creon; and in Alexander's application of it, Philip is the bridegroom, Cleopatra the bride, and Attalus the father. Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus, is by Arian called Eurydice, l. ii. c. 14.

least to make no attempts upon it with the sword; and to recal the wavering barbarians in a mild manner to their duty, by applying healing measures to the beginning of the revolt. Alexander, on the contrary, was of opinion, that the only way to security, and a thorough establishment of his affairs, was to proceed with spirit and magnanimity: for he was persuaded, that if he appeared to abate of his dignity in the least article, he would be universally insulted. He therefore quieted the commotions, and put a stop to the rising wars among the barbarians, by marching with the utmost expedition as far as the Danube, where he fought a great battle with Syrmus, king of the the Triballi, and defeated him.

Some time after this, having intelligence that the Thebans had revolted, and that the Athenians had adopted the same sentiments, he resolved to show them he was no longer a boy, and advanced immediately through the pass of Thermopylæ. "Demosthenes," said he, "called me a boy while I was in Illyricum, and among the Triballi; and a stripling when in Thessaly; but I will show him, before the walls of Athens, that I am a man."

When he made his appearance before Thebes, he was willing to give the inhabitants time to change their sentiments. He only demanded Phœnix and Prothytes, the first promoters of the revolt, and proclaimed an amnesty to all the rest: but the Thebans, in their turn, demanded that he should deliver up to them Philotas and Antipater, and invited, by sound of trumpet, all men to join them, who chose to assist in recovering the liberty of Greece. Alexander then gave the reins to the Macedonians, and the war began with great fury. The Thebans, who had the combat to maintain against forces vastly superior in number, behaved with a courage and ardour far above their strength: but when the Macedonian garrison fell down from Cadmea, and charged them in the rear, they were surrounded on all sides, and most of them cut in pieces. The city was taken, plundered, and levelled with the ground.

Alexander expected that the rest of Greece, astonished and intimidated by so dreadful a punishment of the Thebans, would submit in silence. Yet he found a more plausible pretence for his severity, giving out that his late proceedings were intended to gratify his allies, being adopted in pursuance of complaints made against Thebes by the people of Phocis and Platæa. He exempted the priests, all that the Macedonians were bound to by the ties of hospitality, the posterity of Pindar, and such as had opposed the revolt; the rest he sold for slaves, to the number of thirty thousand. There were above six thousand killed in the battle.

The calamities which that wretched city suffered were various and

horrible. A party of Thracians demolished the house of Timoclea, a woman of quality and honour; the soldiers carried off the booty; and the captain, after having violated the lady, asked her whether she had not some gold and silver concealed? She said she had; and taking him alone into the garden, showed him a well, into which, she told him, she had thrown every thing of value, when the city was taken. The officer stooped down to examine the well, upon which she pushed him in, and then despatched him with stones. The Thracians coming up, seized and bound her hands, and carried her before Alexander, who immediately perceived, by her look and gait, and the fearless manner in which she followed that savage crew, that she was a woman of quality and superior sentiments. The king demanded who she was? She answered, "I am the sister of Theagenes, who, in capacity of general, fought Philip for the liberty of Greece, and fell in the battle of Chæronea." Alexander, admiring her answer, and the bold action she had performed, commanded her to be set at liberty, and her children with her.

As for the Athenians, he forgave them, though they expressed great concern at the misfortune of Thebes: for, though they were upon the point of celebrating the feast of the great mysteries, they omitted it on account of the mourning that took place, and received such of the Thebans as escaped the general wreck with all imaginable kindness into their city. But whether his fury, like that of a lion, was satiated with blood, or whether he had a mind to efface a most cruel and barbarous action by an act of clemency, he not only overlooked the complaints he had against them, but desired them to look well to their affairs, because, if any thing happened to him, Athens would give law to Greece.

It is said, the calamities he brought upon the Thebans gave him uneasiness long after, and on that account he treated many others with less rigour. It is certain he imputed the murder of Clitus, which he committed in his wine, and the Macedonians' dastardly refusal to proceed in the Indian expedition, through which his wars and his glory were left imperfect, to the anger of Bacchus, the avenger of Thebes. And there was not a Theban who survived the fatal overthrow, that was denied any favour he requested of him.—Thus much concerning the Theban war.

A general assembly of the Greeks being held at the Isthmus of Corinth, they came to a resolution to send their quotas with Alexander against the Persians, and he was unanimously elected captain-general. Many statesmen and philosophers came to congratulate him on the occasion, and he hoped that Diogenes of Sinope, who then lived at Corinth, would be of the number. Finding, however, that he made

but little account of Alexander, and that he preferred the enjoyment of his leisure in a part of the suburbs called Cranium, he went to see him. Diogenes happened to be lying in the sun, and, at the approach of so many people, he raised himself up a little, and fixed his eyes upon Alexander. The king addressed him in an obliging manner, and asked him, "If there was any thing he could serve him in?" "Only stand a little out of my sunshine," said Diogenes. Alexander, we are told, was struck with such surprise at finding himself so little regarded, and saw something so great in that carelessness, that, while his courtiers were ridiculing the philosopher as a monster, he said, "If I were not Alexander, I should wish to be Diogenes."

He chose to consult the oracle about the event of the war, and for that purpose went to Delphi. He happened to arrive there on one of the days called inauspicious, upon which the law permitted no man to put his question. At first he sent to the prophetess, to entreat her to do her office; but finding she refused to comply, and alleged the law in her excuse, he went himself, and drew her by force into the temple. Then, as if conquered by his violence, she said, "My son, thou art invincible." Alexander hearing this, said, "He wanted no other answer, for he had the very oracle he desired."

When he was on the point of setting out upon his expedition, he had many signs from the divine powers. Among the rest, the statue of Orpheus in Libethra*, which was of cypress wood, was in a profuse sweat for several days. The generality apprehended this to be an ill presage; but Aristander bade them dismiss their fears. "It signified," he said, "that Alexander would perform actions so worthy to be celebrated, that they would cost the poets and musicians much labour and sweat."

As to the number of his troops, those that put it at the least say he carried over thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse: and they who put it at the most tell us his army consisted of thirty-four thousand foot, and four thousand horse. The money provided for their subsistence and pay, according to Aristobulus, was only seventy talents. Duris says, he had no more than would maintain them one month; but Onesicritus affirms that he borrowed two hundred talents for that purpose.

However, though his provision was so small, he chose, at his embarkation, to inquire into the circumstances of his friends; and

* This Libethra was in the country of the Odrysæ in Thrace. But besides this city or mountain in Thrace, there was *the Cave of the Nymphs* of Libethra on Mount Helicon, probably so denominated by Orpheus.

to one he gave a farm, to another a village; to this the revenue of a borough, and to that of a post. When in this manner he had disposed of almost all the estates of the crown, Perdiccas asked him, "What he had reserved for himself?" The king answered, "Hope." "Well," replied Perdiccas, "we who share in your labours will also take part in your hopes." In consequence of which he refused the estate allotted him, and some others of the king's friends did the same. As for those who accepted his offers, or applied to him for favours, he served them with equal pleasure; and by these means most of his Macedonian revenues were distributed and gone.—Such was the spirit and disposition with which he passed the Hellespont.

As soon as he landed, he went up to Ilium, where he sacrificed to Minerva, and offered libations to the heroes. He also anointed the pillar upon Achilles's tomb with oil, and ran round it with his friends naked, according to the custom that obtains; after which he put a crown upon it, declaring, "He thought that hero extremely happy in having found a faithful friend while he lived, and after his death, an excellent herald to set forth his praise." As he went about the city to look upon the curiosities, he was asked, whether he chose to see Paris's lyre? "I set but little value," said he, "upon the lyre of Paris; but it would give me pleasure to see that of Achilles, to which he sang the glorious actions of the brave*."

In the mean time, Darius's generals had assembled a great army, and taken post upon the banks of the Granicus; so that Alexander was under the necessity of fighting there, to open the gates of Asia. Many of his officers were apprehensive of the depth of the river, and the rough and uneven banks on the other side; and some thought a proper regard should be paid to a traditionary usage with respect to the time; for the kings of Macedon used never to march out to war in the month *Daisius*. Alexander cured them of this piece of superstition, by ordering that month to be called *the second Artemisius*. And when Parmenio objected to his attempting a passage so late in the day, he said, "The Hellespont would blush, if, after having passed it, he should be afraid of the Granicus." At the same time he threw himself into the stream with thirteen troops of horse; and as he advanced in the face of the enemy's arrows, in spite of the

* This alludes to that passage in the ninth book of the Iliad:

Amus'd, at ease the godlike man they found,
Pleas'd with the solemn harp's harmonious sound
With these he sooths his angry soul, and sings
Th' immortal deeds of heroes and of kings.—

steep banks, which were lined with cavalry well armed, and of the rapidity of the river, which often bore him down, or covered him with its waves, his motions seemed rather the effect of madness than sound sense. He held on, however, till, by great and surprising efforts, he gained the opposite banks, which the mud made extremely slippery and dangerous. When he was there, he was forced to stand an engagement with the enemy, hand to hand, and with great confusion on his part; because they attacked his men as fast as they came over, before he had time to form them: for the Persian troops, charging with loud shouts, and with horse against horse, made good use of their spears, and, when those were broken, of their swords.

Numbers pressed hard on Alexander, because he was easy to be distinguished, both by his buckler, and by his crest, on each side of which was a large and beautiful plume of white feathers. His cuirass was pierced by a javelin at the point; but he escaped unhurt. After this, Rhœsaces and Spithridates, two officers of great distinction, attacked him at once. He avoided Spithridates with great address, and received Rhœsaces with such a stroke of his spear upon the breastplate, that it broke in pieces. Then he drew his sword to despatch him, but his adversary still maintained the combat. Meantime, Spithridates came up on one side of him, and raising himself up on his horse, gave him a blow with his battle-axe, which cut off his crest, with one side of the plume. Nay, the force of it was such, that the helmet could hardly resist it; it even penetrated to his hair. Spithridates was going to repeat his stroke, when the celebrated Clitus prevented him, by running him through the body with his spear. At the same time Alexander brought Rhœsaces to the ground with his sword.

While the cavalry were fighting with so much fury, the Macedonian phalanx passed the river, and then the infantry likewise engaged. The enemy made no great or long resistance, but soon turned their backs, and fled, all but the Grecian mercenaries, who, making a stand upon an eminence, desired Alexander to give his word of honour that they should be spared: but that prince, influenced rather by his passion than his reason, instead of giving them quarter, advanced to attack them, and was so warmly received, that he had his horse killed under him. It was not, however, the famous Bucephalus. In this dispute he had more of his men killed and wounded than in all the rest of the battle, for here they had to do with experienced soldiers, who fought with a courage heightened by despair.

The barbarians, we are told, lost in this battle twenty thousand

foot, and two thousand five hundred horse*; whereas Alexander had no more than thirty-four men killed†, nine of whom were the infantry. To do honour to their memory, he erected a statue to each of them in brass, the workmanship of Lysippus. And that the Greeks might have the share in the glory of the day, he sent them presents out of the spoil: to the Athenians, in particular, he sent three hundred bucklers. Upon the rest of the spoils he put this pompous inscription, WON BY ALEXANDER THE SON OF PHILIP, AND THE GREEKS (EXCEPTING THE LACEDÆMONIANS), OF THE BARBARIANS IN ASIA. The greatest part of the plate, the purple furniture, and other things of that kind, which he took from the Persians, he sent to his mother.

This battle made a great and immediate change in the face of Alexander's affairs; insomuch that Sardis, the principal ornament of the Persian empire on the maritime side, made its submission. All the other cities followed its example, except Halicarnassus and Miletus; these he took by storm, and subdued all the adjacent country. After this, he remained some time in suspense as to the course he should take. One while he was for going, with great expedition, to risk all upon the fate of one battle with Darius; another while he was for first reducing all the maritime provinces, that when he had exercised and strengthened himself by those intermediate actions and acquisitions, he might then march against that prince.

There is a spring in Lycia, near the city of the Xanthians, which, they tell us, at that time turned its course of its own accord, and, overflowing its banks, threw up a plate of brass, upon which were engraved certain ancient characters, signifying, "That the Persian empire would one day come to a period, and be destroyed by the Greeks." Encouraged by this prophecy, he hastened to reduce all the coast, as far as Phœnice‡ and Cilicia. His march through Pamphylia has afforded matter to many historians for pompous description, as if it was by the interposition of Heaven that the sea retired

* Some manuscripts mention only ten thousand foot killed, which is the number we have in Diodorus (505). Arrian (p. 45), makes the number of horse killed only a thousand.

† Arrian (47), says, there were about twenty-five of the king's *friends* killed; and of persons of less note, sixty horse and thirty foot. Q. Curtius informs us, it was only the twenty-five *friends* who had statues. They were erected at Dia, a city of Macedonia, from whence Q. Metellus removed them long after, and carried them to Rome.

‡ This Phœnice, as Palermius has observed, was a district of Lycia or Pamphylia.

before Alexander, which at other times ran there with so strong a current, that the breaker-rocks at the foot of the mountain very seldom were left bare. Menander, in his pleasant way, refers to this pretended miracle in one of his comedies:

> How like ALEXANDER! do I seek
> A friend? Spontaneous he presents himself.
> Have I to march where seas indignant roll?
> The sea retires, and there I march.

But Alexander himself, in his Epistles, makes no miracle of it*; he only says, "He marched from Phaselis by the way called *Climax*."

He had staid some time at Phaselis, and having found in the market-place a statue of Theodectes, who was of that place, but then dead, he went out one evening when he had drank freely at supper, in masquerade, and covered the statue with garlands. Thus, in an hour of festivity, he paid an agreeable compliment to the memory of a man with whom he had formerly had a connexion, by means of Aristotle and philosophy.

After this he subdued such of the Pisidians as had revolted and conquered Phrygia. Upon taking Gordium, which is said to have been the seat of the ancient Midas, he found the famed chariot, fastened with cords, made of the bark of the cornel-tree, and was informed of a tradition, firmly believed among the barbarians, "That the Fates had decreed the empire of the world to the man who should untie the knot." Most historians say, that it was twisted so many private ways, and the ends so artfully concealed within, that Alexander, finding he could not untie it, cut it asunder with his sword, and so made many ends instead of two. But Aristobulus affirms, that he easily untied it, by taking out the pin which fastened the yoke to the beam, and then drawing out the yoke itself.

His next acquisitions were Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; and there news was brought him of the death of Memnon†, who was the

* There is likewise a passage in Strabo, which fully proves there was no miracle in it—"Near the city of Phaselis," says he, "between Lycia and Pamphylia, there is a passage by the sea-side, through which Alexander marched his army. This passage is very narrow, and lies between the shore and the mountain Climax, which overlooks the Pamphylian sea. It is dry at low water, so that travellers pass through it with safety; but, when the sea is high, it is overflowed. It was then the winter season, and Alexander, who depended much upon his good fortune, was resolved to set out without staying till the floods were abated; so that his men were forced to march up to the middle in water."—*Strab.* lib. xiv. Josephus refers to this passage of Alexander, to gain the more credit among the Greeks and Romans to the passage of the Israelites through the Red sea.

† Upon the death of Memnon, who had begun with great success to reduce the Greek

most respectable officer Darius had in the maritime parts of his kingdom, and likely to have given the invader most trouble. This confirmed him in his resolution of marching into the upper provinces of Asia.

By this time Darius had taken his departure from Susa, full of confidence in his numbers, for his army consisted of no less than six hundred thousand combatants; and greatly encouraged besides by a dream, which the *magi* had interpreted rather in the manner they thought would please him, than with a regard to probability. He dreamed, "That he saw the Macedonian phalanx all on fire, and that Alexander, in the dress which he, Darius, had formerly worn when one of the king's couriers, acted as his servant; after which Alexander went into the temple of Belus, and there suddenly disappeared." By this Heaven seems to have signified that prosperity and honour would attend the Macedonians, and that Alexander would become master of Asia, like Darius before him, who of a simple courier became a king; but that he would nevertheless soon die, and leave his glory behind him.

Darius was still more encouraged by Alexander's long stay in Cilicia, which he looked upon as the effect of his fear. But the real cause of his stay was sickness, which some attribute to his great fatigues, and others to his bathing in the river Cydnus, whose water is extremely cold. His physicians durst not give him any medicines, because they thought themselves not so certain of the cure as of the danger they must incur in the application; for they feared the Macedonians, if they did not succeed, would suspect them of some bad practice. Philip, the Acarnanian, saw how desperate the king's case was, as well as the rest; but, besides the confidence he had in his friendship, he thought it the highest ingratitude, when his master was in so much danger, not to risk something with him, in exhausting all his art for his relief. He therefore attempted the cure, and

islands, and was on the point of invading Eubœa, Darius was at a loss whom to employ. While he was in this suspense, Charidemus an Athenian, who had served with great reputation under Philip of Macedon, but was now very zealous for the Persian interest, attempted to set the king and his ministers right. "While you, Sir," said he to Darius, "are safe, the empire can never be in great danger. Let me, therefore, exhort you never to expose your person, but to make choice of some able general to march against your enemy. One hundred thousand men will be more than sufficient, provided a third of them be mercenaries, to compel him to abandon this enterprise; and if you will honour me with the command, I will be accountable for the success of what I advise." Darius was ready to accede to the proposal; but the Persian grandees, through envy, accused Charidemus of a treasonable design, and effected his ruin. Darius repented in a few days, but it was then too late. That able counsellor and general was condemned and executed.—*Diod. Sic.* l. xvii. *Q. Curt.* l. iii.

found no difficulty in persuading the king to wait with patience till his medicine was prepared, or to take it when ready; so desirous was he of a speedy recovery, in order to prosecute the war.

In the mean time, Parmenio sent him a letter from the camp, advising him "to beware of Philip, whom," he said, "Darius had prevailed upon, by presents of infinite value, and the promise of his daughter in marriage, to take him off by poison." As soon as Alexander had read the letter, he put it under his pillow, without showing it to any of his friends. The time appointed being come, Philip, with the king's friends, entered the chamber, having the cup which contained the medicine in his hand. The king received it freely, without the least marks of suspicion, and at the same time put the letter in his hands. It was a striking situation, and more interesting than any scene in a tragedy; the one reading while the other was drinking. They looked upon each other, but with a very different air. The king, with an open and unembarrassed countenance, expressed his regard for Philip, and the confidence he had in his honour; Philip's look showed his indignation at the calumny. One while he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, protesting his fidelity; another while he threw himself down by the bed-side, entreating his master to be of good courage, and trust to his care.

The medicine, indeed, was so strong, and overpowered his spirits in such a manner, that at first he was speechless, and discovered scarce any sign of sense or life. But afterwards he was soon relieved by this faithful physician*, and recovered so well that he was able to show himself to the Macedonians, whose distress did not abate till he came personally before them.

There was in the army of Darius a Macedonian fugitive, named Amyntas, who knew perfectly well the disposition of Alexander. This man, perceiving that Darius prepared to march through the straits in quest of Alexander, begged of him to remain where he was, and take the advantage of receiving an enemy, so much inferior to him in numbers, upon large and spacious plains. Darius answered, "He was afraid in that case the enemy would fly without coming to an action, and Alexander escape him." "If that is all your fear," replied the Macedonian, "let it give you no further uneasiness; for he will come to seek you, and is already on his march." However, his representations had no effect: Darius set out for Cilicia, and Alexander was making for Syria in quest of him: but happening to miss each other in the night, they both turned back; Alexander re-

* In three days time.

joicing in his good fortune, and hastening to meet Darius in the straits; while Darius endeavoured to disengage himself, and recover his former camp; for by this time he was sensible of his error, in throwing himself into ground hemmed in by the sea on one side, and the mountains on the other, and intersected by the river Pinarus; so that it was impracticable for cavalry, and his infantry could only act in small and broken parties; while, at the same time, this situation was extremely convenient for the enemy's inferior numbers.

Thus fortune befriended Alexander as to the scene of action; but the skilful disposition of his forces contributed still more to his gaining the victory. As his army was very small in comparison to that of Darius, he took care to draw it up so as to prevent its being surrounded, by stretching out his right wing farther than the enemy's left. In that wing he acted in person, and, fighting in the foremost ranks, put the barbarians to flight. He was wounded, however, in the thigh, and, according to Chares, by Darius, who engaged him hand to hand. But Alexander, in the account he gave Antipater of the battle, does not mention who it was that wounded him: he only says, he received a wound in his thigh by a sword, and that no dangerous consequences followed it.

The victory was a very signal one; for he killed above a hundred and ten thousand of the enemy*. Nothing was wanting to complete it but the taking of Darius, and that prince escaped narrowly, having got the start of his pursuer only by four or five furlongs. Alexander took his chariot and his bow, and returned with them to his Macedonians. He found them loading themselves with the plunder of the enemy's camp, which was rich and various; though Darius, to make his troops fitter for action, had left most of the baggage in Damascus. The Macedonians had reserved for their master the tent of Darius, in which he found officers of the household magnificently clothed, rich furniture, and great quantities of gold and silver.

As soon as he had put off his armour, he went to the bath, saying to those about him, "Let us go and refresh ourselves, after the fatigues of the field, in the bath of Darius." "Nay, rather," said one of his friends, "in the bath of Alexander; for the goods of the conquered are, and should be called, the conqueror's." When he had taken a view of the basons, vials, boxes, and other vases, curiously wrought in gold; smelled the fragrant odours of essences; and seen the splendid furniture of spacious apartments; he turned

* Diodorus says, a hundred and thirty thousand.

to his friends, and said, "This then, it seems, it was to be a king*."

As he was sitting down to table, an account was brought him, that among the prisoners were the mother and wife of Darius, and two unmarried daughters; and that, upon seeing his chariot and bow, they broke out into great lamentations, concluding that he was dead. Alexander, after some pause, during which he was rather commiserating their misfortunes than rejoicing in his own success, sent Leonatus to assure them, "That Darius was not dead; that they had nothing to fear from Alexander, for his dispute with Darius was only for empire; and that they should find themselves provided for in the same manner as when Darius was in his greatest prosperity." If this message to the captive princesses was gracious and humane, his actions were still more so. He allowed them to do the funeral honours to what Persians they pleased, and for that purpose furnished them out of the spoils with robes, and all the other decorations that were customary. They had as many domestics, and were served in all respects in as honourable a manner as before; indeed, their appointments were greater. But there was another part of his behaviour to them still more noble and princely: though they were now captives, he considered that they were ladies, not only of high rank, but of great modesty and virtue, and took care that they should not hear an indecent word, nor have the least cause to suspect any danger to their honour: nay, as if they had been in a holy temple or asylum of virgins, rather than in an enemy's camp, they lived unseen and unapproached, in the most secret privacy.

It is said, the wife of Darius was one of the most beautiful women, as Darius was one of the tallest and handsomest men in the world, and that their daughters much resembled them. But Alexander, no doubt, thought it more glorious and worthy of a king to conquer himself, than to subdue his enemies, and therefore never approached one of them. Indeed, his continence was such, that he knew not any woman before his marriage, except Barsine, who became a widow by the death of her husband Memnon, and was taken prisoner near Damascus. She was well versed in the Greek literature, a woman of the most agreeable temper, and of royal extraction; for her father Artabazus was grandson to a king of Persia†. According to Aristobulus, it was Parmenio that put Alexander upon this connexion with so accomplished a woman, whose beauty was her least perfection. As for the other female captives, though they were

* As if he had said, "Could a king place his happiness in such enjoyments as these?" For Alexander was not, till long after this, corrupted by the Persian luxury.

† Son to a king of Persia's daughter.

tall and beautiful, Alexander took no further notice of them than to say, by way of jest, "What eye-sores these Persian women are!" He found a counter-charm in the beauty of self-government and sobriety; and, in the strength of that, passed them by as so many statues.

Philoxenus, who commanded his forces upon the coast, acquainted him by letter, that there was one Theodorus, a Tarentine, with him, who had two beautiful boys to sell, and desired to know whether he chose to buy them. Alexander was so much incensed at this application, that he asked his friends several times, "What base inclinations Philoxenus had ever seen in him, that he durst make him so infamous a proposal?" In his answer to the letter, which was extremely severe upon Philoxenus, he ordered him to dismiss Theodorus and his vile merchandise together. He likewise reprimanded young Agnon for offering to purchase Crobylus for him, whose beauty was famous in Corinth. Being informed that two Macedonians, named Damon and Timotheus, had corrupted the wives of some of his mercenaries who served under Parmenio, he ordered that officer to inquire into the affair, and, if they were found guilty, to put them to death, as no better than savages bent on the destruction of human kind. In the same letter, speaking of his own conduct, he expresses himself in these terms: "For my part, I have neither seen, nor desired to see the wife of Darius; so far from that, I have not suffered any man to speak of her beauty before me." He used to say, "That sleep, and the commerce with the sex, were the things that made him most sensible of his mortality:" for he considered both weariness and pleasure as the natural effects of our weakness.

He was also very temperate in eating. Of this there are many proofs; and we have a remarkable one in what he said to Ada, whom he called his mother, and had made queen of Caria*. Ada, to express her affectionate regards, sent him every day a number of excellent dishes and a handsome dessert; and at last she sent him some of her best cooks and bakers: but he said, "He had no need of them; for he had been supplied with better cooks by his tutor Leonidas; a march before day to dress his dinner, and a light dinner to prepare his supper." He added, that "the same Leonidas used to examine the chests and wardrobes in which his bedding and clothes were put, lest something of luxury and superfluity should be introduced there by his mother.

* This princess, after the death of her eldest brother Mausolus, and his consort Artemisia, who died without children, succeeded to the throne with her brother Hidreus, to whom she had been married. Hidreus dying before her, Pexodoruss her third brother, dethroned her, and after his death his son-in-law Orontes seized the crown: but Alexander restored her to the possession of her dominions.

Nor was he so much addicted to wine as he was thought to be. It was supposed so, because he passed a great deal of time at table; but that time was spent rather in talking than drinking; every cup introducing some long discourse: besides, he never made these long meals, but when he had abundance of leisure upon his hands. When business called, he was not to be detained by wine, or sleep, or pleasure, or honourable love, or the most entertaining spectacle, though the motions of other generals have been retarded by some of these things. His life sufficiently confirms this assertion: for, though very short, he performed in it innumerable great actions.

On his days of leisure, as soon as he was risen, he sacrificed to the gods; after which he took his dinner sitting. The rest of the day he spent in hunting, or deciding the differences among his troops, or in reading and writing. If he was on a march which did not require haste, he would exercise himself in shooting and darting the javelin, or in mounting and alighting from a chariot at full speed. Sometimes also he diverted himself with fowling and fox-hunting, as we find by his journals.

On his return to his quarters, when he went to be refreshed with the bath and with oil, he inquired of the stewards of his kitchen, whether they had prepared every thing in a handsome manner for supper. It was not till late in the evening, and when night came on, that he took this meal, and then he ate in a recumbent posture. He was very attentive to his guests at table, that they might be served equally, and none neglected. His entertainments, as we have already observed, lasted many hours; but they were lengthened out rather by conversation than drinking. His conversation, in many respects, was more agreeable than that of most princes, for he was not deficient in the graces of society. His only fault was his retaining so much of the soldier*, as to indulge a troublesome vanity. He would not only boast of his own actions, but suffered himself to be cajoled by flatterers to an amazing degree. These wretches were an intolerable burden to the rest of the company, who did not choose to contend with them in adulation, nor yet to appear behind them in their opinion of their king's achievements.

As to delicacies, he had so little regard for them, that when the choicest fruit and fish were brought him from distant countries and seas, he would send some to each of his friends, and he very often left none for himself. Yet there was always a magnificence at his table, and the expense rose with his fortune, till it came to ten

* The ancients, in their comic pieces, used always to put the rhodomontades in the character of a soldier. At present the army has as little vanity as any set of people whatever.

thousand *drachmas* for one entertainment. There it stood; and he did not suffer those that invited him to exceed that sum.

After the battle of Issus, he sent to Damascus, and seized the money and equipages of the Persians, together with their wives and children. On that occasion the Thessalian cavalry enriched themselves most. They had, indeed, greatly distinguished themselves in the action, and they were favoured with this commission, that they might have the best share in the spoil. Not but the rest of the army found sufficient booty; and the Macedonians, having once tasted the treasures and the luxury of the barbarians, hunted for the Persian wealth with all the ardour of hounds upon scent.

It appeared to Alexander a matter of great importance, before he went farther, to gain the maritime powers. Upon application, the kings of Cyprus and Phœnicia made their submission; only Tyre held out. He besieged that city seven months, during which time he erected vast mounds of earth, plied it with his engines, and invested it on the side next the sea with two hundred galleys. He had a dream in which he saw Hercules offering him his hand from the wall, and inviting him to enter. And many of the Tyrians dreamed*, "That Apollo declared he would go over to Alexander, because he was displeased with their behaviour in the town." Hereupon the Tyrians, as if the god had been a deserter taken in the fact, loaded his statue with chains, and nailed the feet to the pedestal; not scrupling to call him an *Alexandrist*. In another dream Alexander thought he saw a satyr playing before him at some distance; and when he advanced to take him, the savage eluded his grasp.—However, at last, after much coaxing, and taking many circuits round him, he prevailed with him to surrender himself. The interpreters plausibly enough divided the Greek term for *satyr*, into two, *Sa Tyros*, which signifies, *Tyre is thine*. They still show us a fountain, near which Alexander is said to have seen that vision.

About the middle of the siege, he made an excursion against the Arabians who dwelt about Antilibanus. There he ran a great risk of his life, on account of his preceptor Lysimachus, who insisted on attending him; being, as he alleged, neither older nor less valiant than Phœnix: but when they came to the hills, and quitted their horses to march up on foot, the rest of the party got far before

* One of the Tyrians dreamed he saw Apollo flying from the city. Upon his reporting this to the people, they would have stoned him, supposing that he did it to intimidate them. He was obliged, therefore, to take refuge in the temple of Hercules. But the magistrates, upon mature deliberation, resolved to fix one end of a gold chain to the statue of Apollo, and the other to the altar of Hercules.—*Diod. Sic.* lib. xvii.

Alexander and Lysimachus. Night came on, and as the enemy was at no great distance, the king would not leave his preceptor, borne down with fatigue, and the weight of years: therefore, while he was encouraging and helping him forward, he was insensibly separated from his troops, and had a dark and very cold night to pass in an exposed and dismal situation. In this perplexity, he observed at a distance a number of scattered fires which the enemy had lighted; and depending upon his swiftness and activity, as well as accustomed to extricate the Macedonians out of every difficulty, by taking a share in the labour and danger, he ran to the next fire. After having killed two of the barbarians that sat watching it, he seized a lighted brand, and hastened with it to his party, who soon kindled a great fire. The sight of this so intimidated the enemy, that many of them fled, and those who ventured to attack him, were repulsed with considerable loss. By these means he passed the night in safety, according to the account we have from Chares.

As for the siege, it was brought to a termination in this manner: Alexander had permitted his main body to repose themselves after the long and severe fatigues they had undergone, and ordered only some small parties to keep the Tyrians in play. In the mean time Aristander, his principal soothsayer, offered sacrifices, and one day, upon inspecting the entrails of the victim, he boldly asserted among those about him, that the city would certainly be taken that month. As it happened then to be the last day of the month, his assertion was received with ridicule and scorn. The king perceiving he was disconcerted, and making it a point to bring the prophecies of his ministers to completion, gave orders that the day should not be called the thirtieth, but the twenty-eighth of the month. At the same time he called out his forces by sound of trumpet, and made a much more vigorous assault than he at first intended. The attack was violent, and those who were left behind in the camp, quitted it to have a share in it, and to support their fellow soldiers; insomuch that the Tyrians were forced to give out, and the city was taken that very day.

From thence he marched into Syria, and laid siege to Gaza, the capital of that country. While he was employed there, a bird, as it flew by, let fall a clod of earth upon his shoulder, and then going to perch on the cross cords with which they turned the engines, was entangled and taken. The event answered Aristander's interpretation of this sign: Alexander was wounded in the shoulder, but took the city. He sent most of his spoils to Olympias and Cleopatra, and others of his friends. His tutor Leonidas was not forgotten; and the present he made him had something particular in it. It con-

sisted of five hundred talents weight of frankincence*, and a hundred of myrrh, and was sent upon the recollection of the hopes he had conceived when a boy. It seems Leonidas one day had observed Alexander at a sacrifice throwing incense into the fire by handfuls; upon which he said, "Alexander, when you have conquered the country where spices grow, you may be thus liberal of your incense; but in the mean time, use what you have more sparingly." He therefore wrote thus: "I have sent you frankincence and myrrh in abundance, that you may be no longer a churl to the gods."

A casket being one day brought him, which appeared one of the most curious and valuable things among the treasures, and whole equipage of Darius, he asked his friends what they thought most worthy to be put in it? Different things were to be proposed, but he said, "The Iliad most deserved such a case." This particular is mentioned by several writers of credit. And if what the Alexandrians say, upon the faith of Heraclides, be true, Homer was no bad auxiliary, or useless counsellor, in the course of the war. They tell us, that when Alexander had conquered Egypt, and determined to build there a great city, which was to be peopled with Greeks, and called after his own name, by the advice of his architects he had marked out a piece of ground, and was preparing to lay the foundation; but a wonderful dream made him fix upon another situation: he thought a person with grey hair, and a very venerable aspect, approached him, and repeated the following lines:

> "High o'er a gulfy sea the Pharian isle
> Fronts the deep roar of disemboguing Nile:—*Pope.*

Alexander, upon this, immediately left his bed, and went to Pharos, which at that time was an island lying a little above the *Canobic* mouth of the Nile, but now is joined to the continent by a causeway. He no sooner cast his eyes upon the place, than he perceived the commodiousness of the situation. It is a tongue of land, not unlike an *isthmus*, whose breadth is proportionable to its length. On one side it has a great lake, and on the other the sea, which there forms a capacious harbour. This led him to declare, that "Homer, among his other admirable qualifications, was an excellent architect;" and he ordered a city to be planned suitable to the ground, and its appendant conveniences. For want of chalk, they made use of flour, which answered well enough upon a black soil, and they drew a line

* The common Attic talent in Troy weight was 56lb. 11oz. 17grs. and 1-7th. This talent consisted of 60 *minæ*; but there was another Attic talent, by some said to consist of 80, by others, of 100 *minæ*. The *minæ* was 11oz. 7dwt. 16grs. and 2-7ths. The talent of Alexandria was 104lb. 19dwt. 14grs.

with it about the semicircular bay. The arms of this semicircle were terminated by straight lines, so that the whole was in the form of a Macedonian cloke.

While the king was enjoying the design, on a sudden an infinite number of large birds, of various kinds, rose like a black cloud out of the river and the lake, and, lighting upon the place, eat up all the flour that was used in marking out the lines. Alexander was disturbed at the omen; but the diviners encouraged him to proceed, by assuring him it was a sign that the city he was going to build would be blest with such plenty as to furnish a supply to all that should repair to it from other nations.

The execution of the plan he left to his architects, and went to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon. It was a long and laborious journey*; and, besides the fatigue, there were two great dangers attending it: the one was, that their water might fail, in a desert of many days journey, which afforded no supply; and the other, that they might be surprised by a violent south wind amidst the wastes of sand, as it happened long before to the army of Cambyses. The wind raised the sand, and rolled it in such waves, that it devoured full fifty thousand men. These difficulties were considered and represented to Alexander; but it was not easy to divert him from any of his purposes. Fortune had supported him in such a manner, that his resolutions were become invincibly strong; and his courage inspired him with such a spirit of adventure, that he thought it not enough to be victorious in the field, but he must conquer both time and place.

The divine assistances which Alexander experienced in this march met with more credit than the oracles delivered at the end of it; though those extraordinary assistances in some measure confirmed the oracles. In the first place, Jupiter sent such a copious and constant rain, as not only delivered them from all fear of suffering by thirst, but by moistening the sand, and making it firm to the foot, made the air clear, and fit for respiration. In the next place, when they found the marks, which were to serve for guides to travellers, removed or defaced, and in consequence wandered up and down without any certain route, a flock of crows made their appearance, and

* As to his motives in this journey, historians disagree. Arrian (l. iii. c. 3.) tells us, he took it in imitation of Perseus and Hercules, the former of which had consulted that oracle, when he was despatched against the Gorgons; and the latter twice, viz. when he went into Lybia against Antæus, and when he marched into Egypt against Busiris. Now, as Perseus and Hercules gave themselves out to be the sons of the Grecian Jupiter, so Alexander had a mind to take Jupiter Ammon for his father. Maximus Tyrius (*Serm.* xxv.) informs us, that he went to discover the fountains of the Nile; and Justin (l. xi. c. 11.) says, the intention of this visit was to clear up his mother's character, and to get himself the reputation of a divine origin.

directed them in the way. When they marched briskly on, the crows flew with equal alacrity; when they lagged behind, or halted, the crows also stopped. What is still stranger, Callisthenes avers, that at night, when they happened to be gone wrong, these birds called them by their croaking, and put them right again.

When he had passed the desert, and was arrived at the place, the minister of Ammon received him with salutations from the god, as from a father. And when he inquired, "Whether any of the assassins of his father had escaped him?" the priest desired he would not express himself in that manner, "for his father was not a mortal." Then he asked, "Whether all the murderers of Philip were punished; and whether it was given the proponent to be the conqueror of the world?" Jupiter answered, "That he granted him that high distinction; and that the death of Philip was sufficiently avenged." Upon this Alexander made his acknowledgments to the god by rich offerings, and loaded the priests with presents of great value. This is the account most historians give us of the affair of the oracle; but Alexander himself, in the letter he wrote to his mother on that occasion, only says, "He received certain private answers from the oracle, which he would communicate to her, and her only, at his return."

Some say, Ammon's prophet, being desirous to address him in an obliging manner in Greek, intended to say, *O Paidion,* which signifies, *My Son;* but, in his barbarous pronunciation, made the word end with an *s,* instead of an *n,* and so said *O Pai Dios,* which signifies, *O Son of Jupiter.* Alexander (they add) was delighted with the mistake in the pronunciation, and from that mistake was propagated a report that Jupiter himself had called him his son.

He went to hear Psammo an Egyptian philosopher, and the saying of his that pleased him most was, "That all men are governed by God, for in every thing that which rules and governs is divine." But Alexander's own maxim was more agreeable to sound philosophy: He said, "God is the common father of men, but more particularly of the good and virtuous."

When among the barbarians, indeed, he affected a lofty port, such as might suit a man perfectly convinced of his divine original; but it was in a small degree, and with great caution, that he assumed any thing of divinity among the Greeks. We must except, however, that he wrote to the Athenians concerning Samos, "It was not I who gave you that free and famous city, but your then lord, who was called my father," meaning Philip*.

* He knew the Athenians were sunk into such meanness, that they would readily admit his pretensions to divinity. So afterwards they deified Demetrius.

Yet, long after this, when he was wounded with an arrow, and experienced great torture from it, he said, "My friends, this is blood, and not the ichor

"Which blest immortals shed."

One day it happened to thunder in such a dreadful manner, that it astonished all that heard it; upon which, Anaxarchus the sophist, being in company with him, said, "Son of Jupiter, could you do so?" Alexander answered, with a smile, "I do not choose to be so terrible to my friends as you would have me, who despise my entertainments because you see fish served up, and not the heads of Persian grandees." It seems the king had made Hephæstion a present of some small fish, and Anaxarchus observing it, said, "Why did he not rather send you the heads of princes*?" intimating, how truly despicable those glittering things are which conquerors pursue with so much danger and fatigue; since, after all, their enjoyments are little or nothing superior to those of other men. It appears, then, from what has been said, that Alexander neither believed nor was elated with the notion of his divinity, but that he only made use of it as a means to bring others into subjection.

At his return from Egypt to Phœnicia, he honoured the gods with sacrifices and solemn processions; on which occasion the people were entertained with music and dancing, and tragedies were presented in the greatest perfection, not only in respect of the magnificence of the scenery, but the spirit of emulation in those who exhibited them. In Athens persons are chosen by lot out of the tribes to conduct those exhibitions; but in this case the princes of Cyprus vied with each other with incredible ardour; particularly Nicocreon king of Salamis, and Pasicrates king of Soli. They chose the most celebrated actors that could be found; Pasicrates risked the victory upon Athenodorus, and Nicocreon upon Thessalus. Alexander interested himself particularly in behalf of the latter; but did not discover his attachment, till Athenodorus was declared victor by all the suffrages. Then, as he left the theatre, he said, "I commend the judges for what they have done; but I would have given half my kingdom rather than have seen Thessalus conquered."

* Diogenes imputes this saying of Anaxarchus to the aversion he had for Nicocreon, tyrant of Salamis. According to him, Alexander having one day invited Anaxarchus to dinner, asked him how he liked his entertainment? "It is excellent," replied the guest, "it wants but one dish, and that a delicious one, the head of a tyrant." Not the heads of the *Satrapæ*, or governors of provinces, as it is in Plutarch. If the philosopher really meant the head of Nicocreon, he paid dear for his saying afterwards; for, after the death of Alexander, he was forced, by contrary winds, upon the coast of Cyprus, where the tyrant seized him, and put him to death.

However, when Athenodorus was fined by the Athenians for not making his appearance on their stage at the feasts of Bacchus, and entreated Alexander to write to them in his favour; though he refused to comply with that request, he paid his fine for him. Another actor, named Lycon, a native of Scarphia, performing with great applause before Alexander, dexterously inserted in one of the speeches of the comedy a verse, in which he asked him for ten talents. Alexander laughed, and gave him them.

It was about this time that he received a letter from Darius, in which that prince proposed, on condition of a pacification and future friendship, to pay him ten thousand talents in ransom of the prisoners, to cede to him all the countries on this side the Euphrates, and to give him his daughter in marriage. Upon his communicating these proposals to his friends, Parmenio said, "If I were Alexander, I would accept them." "So would I," said Alexander*, "If I were Parmenio." The answer he gave Darius was, "That if he would come to him, he should find the best of treatment; if not, he must go and seek him."

In consequence of this declaration he began his march; but he repented that he had set out so soon, when he received information that the wife of Darius was dead. That princess died in childbed; and the concern of Alexander was great, because he lost an opportunity of exercising his clemency. All he could do was to return and bury her with the utmost magnificence. One of the eunuchs of the bed-chamber, named Tireus, who was taken prisoner along with the princesses, at this time made his escape out of the camp, and rode off to Darius, with news of the queen's death.

Darius smote upon his head, and shed a torrent of tears. After which he cried out, "Ah, cruel destiny of the Persians! Was the wife and sister of their king not only to be taken captive, but, after her death, to be deprived of the obsequies due to her high rank?" The eunuch answered, "As to her obsequies, O king, and all the honours the queen had a right to claim, there is no reason to blame the evil genius of the Persians; for neither my mistress Statira, during her life, nor your royal mother, nor children, missed any of the advantages of their former fortune, except the beholding the light of your countenance, which the great Oromasdes† will again cause

* Longinus takes notice of this as an instance, that it is natural for men of genius, even in their common discourse, to let fall something great and sublime.

† *Oromasdes* was worshipped by the Persians, as the Author of all Good; and *Arimanius* deemed the Author of Evil; agreeably to the principles from which they were believed to spring, Light and Darkness. The Persian writers call them *Yerdan* and *Ahriman*.

to shine with as much lustre as before. So far from being deprived of any of the solemnities of a funeral, the queen was honoured with the tears of her very enemies: for Alexander is as mild in the use of his victories, as he is terrible in battle."

On hearing this, Darius was greatly moved, and strange suspicions took possession of his soul. He took the eunuch into the most private apartment of his pavilion, and said, "If thou dost not revolt to the Macedonians, as the fortune of Persia has done, but still acknowledgest in me thy lord; tell me, as thou honourest the light of Mirtha and the right hand of the king, is not the death of Statira the least of her misfortunes I have to lament? Did not she suffer more dreadful things while she lived? And, amidst all our calamities, would not our disgrace have been less, had we met with a more rigorous and savage enemy? For what engagement in the compass of virtue could bring a young man to do such honour to the wife of his enemy?"

While the king was yet speaking, Tireus humbled his face to the earth, and entreated him not to make use of expressions so unworthy of himself, so injurious to Alexander, and so dishonourable to the memory of his deceased wife and sister; nor to deprive himself of the greatest of consolations in his misfortune, the reflecting that he was not defeated but by a person superior to human nature. He assured him Alexander was more to be admired for the decency of his behaviour to the Persian women, than for the valour he exerted against the men. At the same time, he confirmed all he had said with the most awful oaths, and expatiated still more on the regularity of Alexander's conduct, and on his dignity of mind.

Then Darius returned to his friends; and lifting up his hands to heaven, he said, "Ye gods, who are the guardians of our birth, and the protectors of kingdoms, grant that I may re-establish the fortunes of Persia, and leave them in the glory I found them; that victory may put it in my power to return Alexander the favours which my dearest pledges experienced from him in my fall! But if the time determined by fate and the divine wrath, or brought about by the vicissitude of things, is now come, and the glory of the Persians must fall, may none but Alexander sit on the throne of Cyrus!" In this manner were things conducted, and such were the speeches uttered on this occasion, according to the tenor of history.

Alexander having subdued all on this side the Euphrates, began his march against Darius, who had taken the field with a million of men. During this march, one of his friends mentioned to him, as a matter that might divert him, that the servants of the army had divided themselves into two bands, and that each had chosen a chief,

one of which they called Alexander, and the other Darius. They began to skirmish with clods, and afterwards fought with their fists; and, at last, heated with a desire of victory, many of them came to stones and sticks, insomuch that they could hardly be parted. The king, upon this report, ordered the two chiefs to fight in single combat, and armed Alexander with his own hands, while Philotas did the same for Darius. The whole army stood and looked on, considering the event of this combat as a presage of the issue of the war. The two champions fought with great fury; but he who bore the name of Alexander proved victorious. He was rewarded with a present of twelve villages, and allowed to wear a Persian robe, as Eratosthenes, tells the story.

The great battle with Darius was not fought at Arbela*, as most historians will have it; but at Gaugamela, which, in the Persian language, is said to signify *the house of the camel*†; so called because one of the ancient kings having escaped his enemies by the swiftness of his camel, placed her there, and appointed the revenue of certain villages for her maintenance.

In the month of *September* there happened an eclipse of the moon‡, about the beginning of the festival of the great mysteries at Athens. The eleventh night after that eclipse, the two armies being in view of each other, Darius kept his men under arms, and took a general review of his troops by torch-light. Meantime Alexander suffered his Macedonians to repose themselves, and with his soothsayer Aristander performed some private ceremonies before his tent, and offered sacrifices to Fear. The oldest of his friends, and Parmenio in particular, when they beheld the plain between Niphates and the Gordæan mountains, all illumined with the torches of the barbarians, and heard the tumultuary and appalling noise from their camp, like the bellowings of an immense sea, were astonished at their numbers, and observed among themselves how arduous an enterprise it would be to meet such a torrent of war in open day. They waited upon the king, therefore, when he had finished the sacrifice, and advised him to attack the enemy in the night, when darkness would hide what was most dreadful in the combat. Upon which he gave them that celebrated answer, *I will not steal a victory.*

It is true, this answer has been thought by some to savour of the

* But as Gaugamela was only a village, and Arbela, a considerable town, stood near it, the Macedonians chose to distinguish the battle by the name of the latter.

† Darius, the son of Hystaspes, crossed the deserts of Scythia upon that camel.

‡ Astronomers assure us, this eclipse of the moon happened the 20th of September, according to the Julian kalendar; and therefore the battle of Arbela was fought the 1st of October.

vanity of a young man who derided the most obvious danger: yet others have thought it not only well calculated to encourage his troops at that time, but politic enough in respect to the future; because, if Darius happened to be beaten, it left him no handle to proceed to another trial, under pretence that night and darkness had been his adversaries, as he had before laid the blame upon the mountains, the narrow passes, and the sea: for, in such a vast empire, it could never be the want of arms or men that would bring Darius to give up the dispute; but the ruin of his hopes and spirits, in consequence of the loss of a battle, where he had the advantage of numbers, and of day-light.

When his friends were gone, Alexander retired to rest in his tent, and he is said to have slept that night much sounder than usual; insomuch, that when his officers came to attend him the next day, they could not but express their surprise at it, while they were obliged themselves to give out orders to the troops to take their morning refreshment. After this, as the occasion was urgent, Parmenio entered his apartment, and standing by the bed, called him two or three times by name. When he awaked, that officer asked him, "Why he slept like a man that had already conquered, and not rather like one who had the greatest battle the world ever heard of to fight?" Alexander smiled at the question, and said, "In what light can you look upon us but as conquerors, when we have not now to traverse desolate countries in pursuit of Darius, and he no longer declines the combat?" It was not, however, only before the battle, but in the face of danger, that Alexander showed his intrepidity and excellent judgment: for the battle was some time doubtful. The left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was almost broken by the impetuosity with which the Bactrian cavalry charged; and Mazæus had, moreover, detached a party of horse, with orders to wheel round and attack the corps that was left to guard the Macedonian baggage. Parmenio, greatly disturbed at these circumstances, sent messengers to acquaint Alexander that his camp and baggage would be taken, if he did not immediately despatch a strong reinforcement from the front to the rear: the moment that account was brought him, he was giving his right wing, which he commanded in person, the signal to charge. He stopped, however, to tell the messenger, "Parmenio must have lost his senses, and in his disorder must have forgot that the conquerors are always masters of all that belonged to the enemy; and the conquered need not give themselves any concern about their treasures or prisoners, nor have any thing to think of but how to sell their lives dear, and die in the bed of honour."

As soon as he had returned Parmenio this answer, he put on his

helmet; for in other points he came ready armed out of his tent. He had a short coat, of the Sicilian fashion, girt close about him, and over that a breastplate of linen strongly quilted, which was found among the spoils at the battle of Issus. His helmet, the workmanship of Theophilus, was of iron, but so well polished, that it shone like the brightest silver. To this was fitted a gorget of the same metal, set with precious stones. His sword, the weapon he generally used in battle, was a present from the king of the Citieans, and could not he excelled for lightness or for temper. But the belt which he wore in all engagements was more suberb than the rest of his armour. It was given him by the Rhodians as a mark of their respect, and old Helicon had exerted all his art in it. In drawing up his army and giving orders, as well as exercising and reviewing it, he spared Bucephalus on account of his age, and rode another horse; but he constantly charged upon him; and he had no sooner mounted him than the signal was always given.

The speech he made to the Thessalians and the other Greeks was of some length on this occasion. When he found that they in their turn strove to add to his confidence, and called out to him to lead them against the barbarians, he shifted his javelin to his left hand, and, stretching his right hand towards heaven, according to Callisthenes, he entreated the gods to "defend and invigorate the Greeks, if he was really the son of Jupiter."

Aristander the soothsayer, who rode by his side in a white robe, and with a crown of gold upon his head, then pointed out an eagle flying over him, and directing his course against the enemy. The sight of this so animated the troops, that, after mutual exhortations to bravery, the cavalry charged at full speed, and the *phalanx* rushed on like a torrent*. Before the first ranks were well engaged, the

* Plutarch, as a writer of lives, not of histories, does not pretend to give an exact description of battles: but as many of our readers, we believe, will be glad to see some of the more remarkable in detail, we shall give Arrian's account of this.

Alexander's right wing charged first upon the Scythian horse, who, as they were well armed, and very robust, behaved at the beginning very well, and made a vigorous resistance. That this might answer more effectually, the chariots placed in the left wing bore down at the same time upon the Macedonians. Their appearance was very terrible, and threatened entire destruction; but Alexander's light-armed troops, by their darts, arrows, and stones, killed many of the drivers, and more of the horses, so that few reached the Macedonian line; which opening, as Alexander had directed, they only passed through, and were then either taken or disabled by his bodies of reserve. The horse continued still engaged; and, before any thing decisive happened there, the Persian foot, near their left wing, began to move, in hopes of falling upon the flank of the Macedonian right wing, or of penetrating so far as to divide it from its centre. Alexander, perceiving this, sent Aratas with a corps to charge them, and prevent their intended manœuvre. In the mean time, prosecuting his first design, he broke their cavalry in the

barbarians gave way, and Alexander pressed hard upon the fugitives, in order to penetrate into the midst of the host, where Darius acted in person; for he beheld him at a distance, over the foremost ranks, amidst his royal squadron. Besides that he was mounted upon a lofty chariot, Darius was easily distinguished by his size and beauty. A numerous body of select cavalry stood in close order about the chariot, and seemed well prepared to receive the enemy; but Alexander's approach appeared so terrible, as he drove the fugitives upon those who still maintained their ground, that they were seized with consternation, and the greatest part of them dispersed. A few of the best and bravest of them, indeed, met their death before the king's chariot, and falling in heaps one upon another, strove to stop the pursuit; for, in the very pangs of death, they clung to the Macedonians, and caught hold of their horses' legs as they lay upon the ground.

Darius had now the most dreadful dangers before his eyes. His own forces, that were placed in the front to defend him, were driven back upon him; the wheels of his chariot were, moreover, entangled among the dead bodies, so that it was almost impossible to turn it; and the horses plunging among heaps of the slain, bounded up and down, and no longer obeyed the hands of the charioteer. In this extremity, he quitted the chariot and his arms, and fled, as they tell us, upon a mare which had newly foaled. But, in all probability, he had not escaped so, if Parmenio had not again sent some horsemen to desire Alexander to come to his assistance, because great part of the enemy's forces still stood their ground, and kept a good countenance. Upon the whole, Parmenio is accused of want of spirit and activity in that battle; whether it was that age had damped his courage, or whether, as Callisthenes tells us, he looked upon

left wing, and entirely routed it. He then charged the Persian foot in flank, and they made but a feeble resistance. Darius, perceiving this, gave up all for lost, and fled.—Vide *Arrian*, l. iii. c. 13. *et seq. ubi plura.*

Diodorus ascribes the success which for a time attended the Persian troops entirely to the conduct and valour of Darius. It unfortunately happened that Alexander, attacking his guards, threw a dart at Darius, which though it missed him, struck the charioteer, who sat at his feet, dead; and as he fell forwards, some of the guards raised a loud cry, whence those behind them conjectured that the king was slain, and thereupon fled. This obliged Darius to follow their example, who, knowing the route he took could not be discovered on account of the dust and confusion, wheeled about, and got behind the Persian army, and continued his flight that way, while Alexander pursued right forwards.—*Diod. Sic.* l. xvii.

Justin tells, that when those about Darius advised him to break down the bridge of the Cydnus, to retard the enemy's pursuit, he answered, "I will never purchase safety to myself at the expense of so many thousands of my subjects as must by this means be lost."—*Just*, l. xi. c. 14.

Alexander's power, and the pompous behaviour he assumed, with an invidious eye, and considered it as an insupportable burden*. Alexander, though vexed at being so stopped in his career, did not acquaint the troops about him with the purport of the message; but, under pretence of being weary of such a carnage, and of its growing dark, sounded a retreat. However, as he was riding up to that part of his army which had been represented in danger, he was informed that the enemy were totally defeated, and put to flight.

The battle having such an issue, the Persian empire appeared to be entirely destroyed, and Alexander was acknowledged king of all Asia. The first thing he did was to make his acknowledgments to the gods, by magnificent sacrifices; and then to his friends, by rich gifts of houses, estates, and governments. As he was particularly ambitious of recommending himself to the Greeks, he signified by letter, that all tyrannies should be abolished, and that they should be governed by their own laws, under the auspices of freedom. To the Platæans in particular he wrote, that their city should be rebuilt, because their ancestors had made a present of their territory to the Greeks, in order that they might fight the cause of liberty upon their own lands. He also sent a part of the spoils to the Crotonians in Italy, in honour of the spirit and courage of their countryman Phaylus†, a champion of the wrestling-ring, who, in the war with the Medes, when the rest of the Greeks in Italy sent no assistance to the Greeks their brethren, fitted out a ship at his own expense, and repaired to Salamis, to take a share in the common danger. Such a pleasure did Alexander take in every instance of virtue, and so faithful a guardian was he of the honour of all great actions.

He traversed all the province of Babylon‡, which immediately made its submission; and in the district of Ecbatana he was particularly struck with a gulf of fire, which streamed continually, as

* The truth seems to be, that Parmenio had too much concern for Alexander. Philip of Macedon confessed Parmenio to be the only general he knew, and on this occasion he probably considered, that if the wing under his command had been beaten, that corps of Persians would have been able to keep the field, and the fugitives rallying, and joining it, there would have been a respecable force, which might have regained the day.

† In Herodotus, *Phoyllus*. See l. viii. 47.

‡ In the original it is, *As he traversed the territory of Babylon, he found in the district of Ecbatana*, &c. Every body knows that Ecbatana was in Media, not in the province of Babylon. The gulf here mentioned was near Arbela, in the district of *Artacene*. [See *Strab.* ed. Par. p. 737. D. *et seq.*] But Scaliger proposes that we should read *Arectane* (from *Arec.* mentioned *Gen.* x. 10.) both here, instead of Ecbatana, and in the passage of Strabo above cited.

from an inexhaustible source. He admired also a flood of *naptha*, not far from the gulf, which flowed in such abundance that it formed a lake. The *naptha* in many respects resembles the *bitumen*, but is much more inflammable*. Before any fire touches it, it catches light from a flame at some distance, and often kindles all the intermediate air. The barbarians, to show the king its force and the subtlety of its nature, scattered some drops of it in the street which led to his lodgings, and standing at one end, they applied their torches to some of the first drops, for it was night. The flame communicated itself swifter than thought, and the street was instantaneously on fire.

There was one Athenophanes, an Athenian, who, among others, waited on Alexander when he bathed, and anointed him with oil. This man had the greatest success in his attempts to divert him; and one day a boy named Stephen happening to attend at the bath, who was homely in his person, but an excellent singer, Athenophanes said to the king, "Shall we make an experiment of the *naptha* upon Stephen; if it takes fire upon him, and does not presently die out, we must allow its force to be extraordinary indeed." The boy readily consented to undergo the trial; but as soon as he was anointed with it, his whole body broke out into a flame, and Alexander was extremely concerned at his danger. Nothing could have prevented his being entirely consumed by it, if there had not been people at hand with many vessels of water for the service of the bath. As it was, they found it difficult to extinguish the fire, and the poor boy felt the bad effects of it as long as he lived.

Those, therefore, who desire to reconcile the fable with truth, are not unsupported by probability, when they say it was this drug with which Medea anointed the crown and veil so well known upon the stage†; for the flame did not come from the crown or veil, nor did they take fire of themselves; but upon the approach of fire they soon attracted it, and kindled imperceptibly. The emanations of fire at some distance have no other effect upon most bodies, than merely to give them light and heat; but in those bodies which are dry and porous, or saturated with oily particles, they collect themselves into a point, and immediately prey upon the matter so well fitted to receive them. Still there remains a difficulty as to the generation of this *naptha*; whether it derives its inflammable quality from .....

* Sunt qui et naptham bituminis generi ascribunt. Verum ardens ejus vis igniam naturæ cognata procul omni ab usu est.—*Plin. Hist. Nat.*

† Hoc delibutis ulta donis pellicem
Serpente fugit alite.——*Hor.*

.....*, or rather from the unctuous and sulphureous nature of the soil; for, in the province of Babylon, the ground is of so fiery a quality, that the grains of barley often leap up and are thrown out, as if the violent heat gave a pulsation to the earth: and in the hot months the people are obliged to sleep upon skins filled with water. Harpalus, whom Alexander had left governor of the country, was ambitious to adorn the royal palaces and walks with Grecian trees and plants, and he succeeded in every thing except ivy. After all his attempts to propagate that plant, it died; for it loves a cold soil, and therefore could not bear the temper of that mould. Such digressions as these the nicest readers may endure, provided they are not too long.

Alexander having made himself master of Susa, found in the king's palace forty thousand talents in coined money†, and the royal furniture and other riches were of inexpressible value. Among other things, there was purple of Hermione worth five thousand talents‡, which, though it had been laid up a hundred and ninety years, retained its original freshness and beauty. The reason they assign for this is, that the purple wool was combed with honey, and the white with white oil; and we are assured, that specimens of the same kind and age are still to be seen in all their pristine lustre. Dinon informs us, that the kings of Persia used to have water fetched from the Nile and the Danube, and put among their treasures, as a proof of the extent of their dominions, and their being masters of the world.

The entrance into Persia was difficult, on account of the roughness of the country in that part, and because the passes were guarded by the bravest of the Persians; for Darius had taken refuge there. But a man, who spoke both Greek and Persian, having a Lycian to his father and a Persian woman to his mother, offered himself as a guide to Alexander, and showed him how he might enter, by taking a circuit. This was the person the priestess of Apollo had in view, when, upon Alexander's consulting her at a very early period of life, she foretold, "That a Lycian would conduct him into Persia." Those who first fell into his hands there were slaughtered in vast numbers. He tells us, he ordered that no quarter should be given, because he thought such an example would be of service to his affairs. It is said, he found as much gold and silver coin there as he did at Susa, and

* Something here is wanting in the original.

† Q. Curtius, who magnifies every thing, says fifty thousand.

‡ Or five thousand talents weight. Dacier calls it so many hundred weight; and the eastern talent was nearly that weight. Pliny tells us, that a pound of the double dipped Tyrian purple, in the time of Augustus, was sold for a hundred crowns.

that there was such a quantity of other treasures and rich moveables, that it loaded ten thousand pair of mules, and five thousand camels*.

At Persepolis he cast his eyes upon a great statue of Xerxes, which had been thrown from its pedestal by the crowd that suddenly rushed in, and lay neglected on the ground. Upon this he stopped, and addressed it as if it had been alive:—"Shall we leave you," said he, "in this condition, on account of the war you made upon Greece, or rear you again, for the sake of your magnanimity and other virtues?" After he had stood a long time considering in silence which he should do, he passed by and left it as it was. To give his troops time to refresh themselves, he staid there four months, for it was winter.

The first time he sat down on the throne of the kings of Persia, under a golden canopy, Demaratus the Corinthian, who had the same friendship and affection for Alexander as he had entertained for his father Philip, is said to have wept like an old man, while he uttered this exclamation, "What a pleasure have those Greeks missed, who died without seeing Alexander seated on the throne of Darius!"

When he was upon the point of marching against Darius, he made a great entertainment for his friends, at which they drank to a degree of intoxication; and the women had their share in it, for they came in masquerade to seek their lovers. The most celebrated among these women was Thais, a native of Africa, and mistress of Ptolemy, afterwards king of Egypt. When she had gained Alexander's attention by her flattery and humorous vein, she addressed him over her cups in a manner agreeable to the spirit of her country, but far above a person of her stamp: "I have undergone great fatigues," said she, "in wandering about Asia; but this day has brought me a compensation, by putting it in my power to insult the proud courts of the Persian kings. Ah! how much greater pleasure would it be to finish the carousal with burning the palace of Xerxes, who laid Athens in ashes, and to set fire to it myself in the sight of Alexander†! Then shall it be said in times to come, that the women of his train have more signally avenged the cause of Greece upon the Persians, than all that the generals before him could do by sea or land."

* Diodorus says three thousand.

† These domes were not reared solely for regal magnificence and security, but to aid the appetites of power and luxury, and to secrete the royal pleasures from those that toiled to gratify them. Thus, as this noble structure was possibly raised not only for vanity, but for riot, so probably, by vanity inflamed by riot, it fell; a striking instance of the insignificancy of human labours, and the depravity of human nature.

This speech was received with the loudest plaudits and most tumultuary acclamations. All the company strove to persuade the king to comply with the proposal. At last, yielding to their instances, he leaped from his seat, and with his garland on his head, and a flambeau in his hand, led the way. The rest followed with shouts of joy and, dancing as they went, spread themselves round the palace. The Macedonians who got intelligence of this frolic ran up with lighted torches, and joined them with great pleasure: for they concluded from his destroying the royal palace, that the king's thoughts were turned towards home, and that he did not design to fix his seat among the barbarians. Such is the account most writers give us of the motives of this transaction. There are not, however, wanting those who assert, that it was in consequence of cool reflection: but all agree that the king soon repented, and ordered the fire to be extinguished.

As he was naturally munificent, that inclination increased with his extraordinary acquisitions; and he had also a gracious manner, which is the only thing that gives bounty an irresistible charm. To give a few instances: Ariston, who commanded the Pæonians, having killed one of the enemy, and cut off his head, laid it at Alexander's feet and said, "Among us, Sir, such a present is rewarded with a golden cup." The king answered, with a smile, "An empty one, I suppose; but I will give you one full of good wine; and here, my boy I drink to you." One day, as a Macedonian of mean circumstance was driving a mule, laden with the king's money, the mule tired the man then took the burden upon his own shoulders, and carried it till he tottered under it, and was ready to give out. Alexander happening to see him, and being informed what it was, said, "Hold on, friend, the rest of the way, and carry it to your own tent; for it is your's." Indeed, he was generally more offended at those who refused his presents, than at those who asked favours of him. Hence he wrote to Phocion, "That he could no longer number him among his friends, if he rejected the marks of his regard." He had given nothing to Serapion, one of the youths that played with him at ball because he asked nothing. One day, when they were at their diversion, Serapion took care always to throw the ball to others of the party; upon which Alexander said, "Why do not you give it me?' "Because you did not ask for it," said the youth. The repartee pleased the king much; he laughed, and immediately made him very valuable presents. One Proteas, a man of humour, and a jester by profession, had happened to offend him. His friends interceded for him, and he sued for pardon with tears; which at last the king

granted. "If you do really pardon me," resumed the wag, "I hope you will give me at least some substantial proof of it." And he condescended to do it in a present of five talents.

With what a free hand he showered his gifts upon his friends, and those who attended on his person*, appears from one of the letters of Olympias. "You do well," said she, "in serving your friends, and it is right to act nobly; but by making them all equal to kings, in proportion as you put it in their power to make friends, you deprive yourself of that privilege." Olympias often wrote to him in that manner; but he kept all her letters secret, except one, which Hephæstion happened to cast his eye upon, when he went, according to custom, to read over the king's shoulder: he did not hinder him from reading on; only, when he had done, he took his signet from his finger, and put it to his mouth†.

The son of Mazæus, who was the principal favourite of Darius, was already governor of a province, and the conqueror added to it another government still more considerable. But the young man declined it in a handsome manner, and said, "Sir, we had but one Darius, and now you make many Alexanders." He bestowed on Parmenio the house of Bagaos, in which were found such goods as were taken at Susa, to the value of a thousand talents. He wrote to Antipater to acquaint him, that there was a design formed against his life, and ordered him to keep guards about him. As for his mother, he made her many magnificent presents; but he would not suffer her busy genius to exert itself in state affairs, or in the least to control the proceedings of government. She complained of this as a hardship, and he bore her ill-humour with great mildness. Antipater once wrote him a long letter full of heavy complaints against her; and when he had read it, he said, "Antipater knows not that one tear of a mother can blot out a thousand such complaints."

He found that his great officers set no bounds to their luxury, that they were most extravagantly delicate in their diet, and profuse in other respects; insomuch that Agnon of Teos wore silver nails in his shoes; Leonatus had many camel-loads of earth brought from Egypt to rub himself with when he went to the wrestling-ring; Philotas had hunting-nets that would enclose the space of a hundred furlongs; more made use of rich essences than oil after bathing, and had their grooms of the bath, as well as chamberlains who excelled

* He probably means in particular the fifty young men brought him by Amyntas, who were of the principal families in Macedonia. Their office was to wait on him at table, to attend with horses when he went to fight or to hunt, and to keep guard day and night at his chamber-door.

† To enjoin him silence.

in bed-making. This degeneracy he reproved with all the temper of a philosopher. He told them, "It was very strange to him, that after having undergone so many glorious conflicts, they did not remember that those who come from labour and exercise always sleep more sweetly than the inactive and effeminate; and that, in comparing the Persian manners with the Macedonian, they did not perceive that nothing was more servile than the love of pleasure, or more princely than a life of toil. How will that man," continued he, "take care of his own horse, or furbish his lance and helmet, whose hands are too delicate to wait on his own dear person? Know you not that the end of conquest is, not to do what the conquered have done, but something greatly superior?" After this he constantly took the exercise of war or hunting, and exposed himself to danger and fatigue with less precaution than ever; so that a Lacedæmonian ambassador, who attended him one day when he killed a fierce lion, said, "Alexander, you have disputed the prize of royalty gloriously with the lion." Craterus got this hunting-piece represented in bronze, and consecrated it in the temple at Delphi. There were the lion, the dogs, the king fighting with the lion, and Craterus making up to the king's assistance. Some of these statues were the workmanship of Lysippus, and others of Leochares.

Thus Alexander hazarded his person, by way of exercise for himself and example to others: but his friends, in the pride of wealth, were so devoted to luxury and ease, that they considered long marches and campaigns as a burden, and by degrees came to murmur and speak ill of the king. At first he bore their censures with great moderation, and used to say, "There was something noble in hearing himself ill spoken of while he was doing well*." Indeed, in the least of the good offices he did his friends, there were great marks of affection and respect. We will give an instance or two of it. He wrote to Peucestas, who had been bit by a bear in hunting, to complain that he had given an account of the accident, by letters, to others of his friends, and not to him: "But now," says he, "let me know, however, how you do, and whether any of your company deserted you, that I may punish them, if such there were." When Hephæstion happened to be absent upon business, he acquainted him in one of his letters, that as they were diverting themselves with hunting the ichneumon†, Craterus had the misfortune to be run

* Voltaire says somewhere, that it is a noble thing to make ingrates. He seems to be indebted for the sentiment to Alexander.

† The Egyptian rat, called *ichneumon*, is of the size of a cat, with very rough hair, spotted with white, yellow, and ash colour; its nose is like that of a hog, with which it digs up the earth. It has short black legs, and a tail like a fox. It lives on lizards, serpents,

through the thighs with Perdiccas's lance. When Peucestas recovered of a dangerous illness, he wrote a letter with his own hand to Alexippus the physician, to thank him for his care. During the sickness of Craterus, the king had a dream, in consequence of which he offered sacrifices for his recovery, and ordered him to do the same. Upon Pausanias the physician's design to give Craterus a dose of hellebore, he wrote to him, expressing his great anxiety about it, and desiring him to be particularly cautious in the use of that medicine. He imprisoned Ephialtes and Cissus, who brought him the first news of the flight and treasonable practices of Harpalus, supposing their information false. Upon his sending home the invalids and the superannuated, Eurylochus, the Ægæan, got himself enrolled among the former. Soon after it was discovered that he had no infirmity of body; and he confessed it was the love of Telesippa, who was going to return home, that put him upon that expedient to follow her. Alexander inquired who the woman was, and being informed that, though a courtesan, she was not a slave, he said, "Eurylochus, I am willing to assist you in this affair; but as the woman is free-born, you must see if we can prevail upon her by presents and courtship."

It is surprising that he had time or inclination to write letters about such unimportant affairs of his friends, as to give orders for diligent search to be made in Cilicia for Seleucus's run-away slave; to commend Peucestas for having seized Nicon, a slave that belonged to Craterus; and to direct Megabyzus, if possible, to draw another slave from his asylum, and take him, but not to touch him while he remained in the temple.

It is said, that in the first years of his reign, when capital causes were brought before him, he used to stop one of his ears with his hand, while the plaintiff was opening the indictment, that he might reserve it perfectly unprejudiced for hearing the defendant. But the many false informations which were afterwards lodged, and which, by means of some true circumstances, were so represented as to give an air of truth to the whole, broke his temper. Particularly, in case of aspersions upon his own character, his reason forsook him, and

snails, cameleons, &c. and is of great service in Egypt, by its natural instinct of hunting out and breaking the eggs of the crocodile, and thereby preventing too great an increase of that destructive creature. The naturalists also say, that it is so greedy after the crocodile's liver, that, rolling itself up in mud, it slips down his throat, while he sleeps with his mouth open, and gnaws its way out again.—*Diod. Sic.* p. 32, 78. *Plin.* l. viii. c. 24, 25. The Egyptians worshipped the ichneumon for destroying the crocodiles. They worshipped the crocodile, too, probably as the Indians do the devil, that it might do them no hurt.

he became extremely and inflexibly severe; as preferring his reputation to life and empire.

When he marched against Darius again, he expected another battle. But, upon intelligence that Bessus had seized the person of that prince, he dismissed the Thessalians, and sent them home, after he had given them a gratuity of two thousand talents, over and above their pay. The pursuit was long and laborious, for he rode three thousand three hundred furlongs in eleven days*. As they often suffered more from want of water than by fatigue, many of the cavalry were unable to hold out. While they were upon their march, some Macedonians had filled their bottles at a river and were bringing the water upon mules. These people, seeing Alexander greatly distressed with thirst (for it was in the heat of the day), immediately filled a helmet with water, and presented it to him. He asked them, to whom they were carrying it? and they said "Their sons; but if our prince does but live, we shall get other children, if we lose them." Upon this, he took the helmet in his hands; but looking round, and seeing all the horsemen bending their heads, and fixing their eyes upon the water, he returned it without drinking. However, he praised the people that offered it, and said, "If I alone drink, these good men will be dispirited†." The cavalry, who were witnesses to this act of temperance and magnanimity, cried out, "Let us march! We are neither weary nor thirsty, nor shall we even think ourselves mortal, while under the conduct of such a king." At the same time they put spurs to their horses.

They had all the same affection to the cause, but only sixty were able to keep up with him till he reached the enemy's camp. There they rode over the gold and silver that lay scattered about, and passing by a number of carriages full of women and children, which were in motion, but without charioteers, they hastened to the leading squadrons, not doubting that they should find Darius among them. At last, after much search, they found him extended on his chariot, and pierced with many darts. Though he was near his last moments, he had strength to ask for something to quench his thirst. A Macedonian, named Polystratus, brought him some cold water, and when he had drank, he said, "Friends, this fills up the measure of my misfortunes, to think I am not able to reward thee for this act of

* As this was no more than forty miles a-day, our Newmarket heroes would have beat Alexander hollow. It is nothing when compared to Charles the Twelfth's march from Bender through Germany, nothing to the expedition of Hannibal along the African coast.

† Lucan has embellished this story for Cato, and has possibly introduced it merely upon imitation.

kindness. But Alexander will not let thee go without a recompence; and the gods will reward Alexander for his humanity to my mother, to my wife, and children. Tell him I gave him my hand, for I give it thee in his stead." So saying, he took the hand of Polystratus, and immediately expired. When Alexander came up, he showed his concern for that event by the strongest expressions, and covered the body with his own robe.

Bessus afterwards fell into his hands, and he punished his parricide in this manner: he caused two straight trees to be bent, and one of his legs to be made fast to each; then suffering the trees to return to their former posture, his body was torn asunder by the violence of the recoil*.

As for the body of Darius, he ordered it should have all the honours of a royal funeral, and sent it embalmed to his mother. Oxathres, that prince's brother, he admitted into the number of his friends.

His next movement was into Hyrcania, which he entered with the flower of his army. There he took a view of the Caspian sea, which appeared to him not less than the Euxine, but its water was of a sweeter taste. He could get no certain information in what manner it was formed, but he conjectured that it came from an outlet of the Palus Mæotis. Yet the ancient naturalists were not ignorant of its origin; for, many years before Alexander's expedition, they wrote, that there are four seas which stretch from the main ocean into the continent, the farthest north of which is the Hyrcanian or the Caspian†. The barbarians here fell suddenly upon a party who were leading his horse Bucephalus, and took him. This provoked him so much, that he sent a herald to threaten them, their wives, and children, with utter extermination, if they did not restore him the horse: but, upon their bringing him back, and surrendering to him their cities, he treated them with great clemency, and paid a considerable sum, by way of ransom, to those that took the horse.

From thence he marched into Parthia, where, finding no employment for his arms, he first put on the robe of the barbarian kings; whether it was that he conformed a little to their customs, because he knew how much a similarity of manners tends to reconcile and gain men's hearts; or whether it was by way of experiment, to see if the Macedonians might be brought to pay him the greater deference,

* Q. Curtius tells us, Alexander delivered up the assassin to Oxathres, the brother of Darius; in consequence of which he had his nose and ears cut off, and was fastened to a cross, where he was despatched with darts and arrows.

† This is an error which Pliny, too, has followed. The Caspian sea has no communication with the ocean.

by accustoming them insensibly to the new barbaric attire and port which he assumed. However, he thought the Median habit made too stiff and exotic an appearance, and therefore took not the long breeches, nor the sweeping train, nor the *tiara;* but, adopting something between the Median and Persian mode, contrived vestments less pompous than the former, and more majestic than the latter. At first he used this dress only before the barbarians, or his particular friends within doors; but in time he came to wear it when he appeared in public, and sat for the despatch of business. This was a mortifying sight to the Macedonians; yet, as they admired his other virtues, they thought he might be suffered to please himself a little, and enjoy his vanity. Some indulgence seemed due to a prince, who, besides his other hardships, had lately been wounded in the leg with an arrow, which shattered the bone in such a manner that splinters were taken out: who, another time, had such a violent blow from a stone upon the nape of his neck, that an alarming darkness covered his eyes, which lasted for some time; and yet continued to expose his person without the least precaution. On the contrary, when he had passed the Orexartes, which he supposed to be the Tanais, he not only attacked the Scythians, and routed them, but pursued them a hundred furlongs, in spite of what he suffered at that time from a flux.

There the queen of the Amazons came to visit him, as Clitarchus, Policritus, Onesicritus, Antigenes, Ister, and many other historians, report: but Aristobulus, Chares of Theangela, Ptolemy, Anticlides, Philo the Theban, Philip, who was also of Theangela, as well as Hecatæus of Eretria, Philip of Chalcis, and Duris of Samos, treat the story as a fiction. And indeed Alexander seems to support their opinion; for in one of his letters to Antipater, to whom he gave an exact detail of all that passed, he says, the king of Scythia offered him his daughter in marriage, but he makes not the least mention of the Amazon: nay, when Onesicritus, many years after, read to Lysimachus, then king, the fourth book of his history, in which this story was introduced, he smiled, and said, "Where was I at that time?" But whether we give credit to this particular or not, is a matter that will neither add to nor lessen our opinion of Alexander.

As he was afraid that many of the Macedonians might dislike the remaining fatigues of the expedition, he left the greatest part of the army in quarters, and entered Hyrcania with a select body of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. The purport of his speech upon the occasion was this: "Hitherto the barbarians have seen us only as in a dream. If you should think of returning, after having given Asia the alarm only, they will fall upon you with contempt, as

unenterprising and effeminate. Nevertheless, such as desire to depart have my consent for it: but, at the same time, I call the gods to witness, that they desert their king when he is conquering the world for the Macedonians, and leave him to the kinder and more faithful attachment of those few friends that will follow his fortune." This is almost word for word the same with what he wrote to Antipater; and he adds, "That he had no sooner done speaking, than they cried, he might lead them to what part of the world he pleased." Thus he tried the disposition of these brave men; and there was no difficulty in bringing the whole body into their sentiments; they followed of course.

After this, he accommodated himself more than ever to the manners of the Asiatics, and at the same time persuaded them to adopt some of the Macedonian fashions; for, by a mixture of both, he thought a union might be promoted, much better than by force, and his authority maintained when he was at a distance. For the same reason, he selected thirty thousand boys, and gave them masters to instruct them in the Grecian literature, as well as to train them to arms in the Macedonian manner.

As for his marriage with Roxana, it was entirely the effect of love. He saw her at an entertainment, and found her charms irresistible. Nor was the match unsuitable to the situation of his affairs. The barbarians placed greater confidence in him on account of that alliance, and his chastity gained their affection; it delighted them to think he would not approach the only woman he ever passionately loved, without the sanction of marriage.

Hephæstion and Craterus were his two favourites. The former praised the Persian fashions, and dressed as he did; the latter adhered to the customs of his own country. He therefore employed Hephæstion in his transactions with the barbarians, and Craterus to signify his pleasure to the Greeks and Macedonians.—The one had more of his love, and the other more of his esteem. He was persuaded, indeed, and he often said, "Hephæstion loved Alexander, and Craterus the king." Hence arose private animosities, which did not fail to break out upon occasion. One day, in India, they drew their swords, and came to blows. The friends of each were joining in the quarrel, when Alexander interposed. He told Hephæstion publicly, "He was a fool and a madman, not to be sensible that without his master's favour he would be nothing." He gave Craterus also a severe reprimand in private; and after having brought them together again, and reconciled them, he swore by Jupiter Ammon, and all the other gods, "That he loved them more

than all the men in the world; but, if he perceived them at variance again, he would put them both to death, or him, at least, who began the quarrel." This is said to have had such an effect upon them, that they never expressed any dislike to each other, even in jest, afterwards.

Among the Macedonians, Philotas, the son of Parmenio, had great authority; for he was not only valiant and indefatigable in the field, but, after Alexander, no man loved his friend more, or had a greater spirit of generosity. We are told, that a friend of his one day requested a sum of money, and he ordered it to be given him. The steward said, he had it not to give. "What," said Philotas, "hast thou not plate, or some other moveable?" However, he affected an ostentation of wealth, and a magnificence in his dress and table, that were above the condition of a subject. Besides, the loftiness of his port was altogether extravagant: not tempered with any natural graces, but formal and uncouth, it exposed him both to hatred and suspicion; insomuch that Parmenio one day said to him, "My son, be less." He had long been represented in an invidious light to Alexander. When Damascus, with all its riches, was taken, upon the defeat of Darius in Cilicia, among the number of captives that were brought to the camp, there was a beautiful young woman, called Antigone, a native of Pydna, who fell to the share of Philotas. Like a young soldier with a favourite mistress, in his cups he indulged his vanity, and let many indiscreet things escape him; attributing all the great actions of the war to himself and to his father. As for Alexander, he called him a boy, who by their means enjoyed the title of a conqueror. The woman told these things in confidence to one of her acquaintance, and he (as is common) mentioned them to another. At last they came to the ear of Craterus, who took the woman privately before Alexander. When the king had heard the whole from her own mouth, he ordered her to go as usual to Philotas, but to make her report to him of all that he had said. Philotas, ignorant of the snares that were laid for him, conversed with the woman without the least reserve, and, either in his resentment or pride, uttered many unbecoming things against Alexander. That prince, though he had sufficient proof against Philotas, kept the matter private, and discovered no tokens of aversion; whether it was that he confided in Parmenio's attachment to him, or whether he was afraid of the power and interest of the family.

About this time, a Macedonian named Limnus, a native of Chalæstra, conspired against Alexander's life, and communicated his design to one Nicomachus, a youth that he was fond of, desiring him

to take a part in the enterprise. Nicomachus, instead of embracing the proposal, informed his brother Balinus* of the plot, who went immediately to Philotas, and desired him to introduce them to Alexander; assuring him it was upon business of great importance. Whatever might be his reason (for it is not known), Philotas refused them admittance, on pretence that Alexander had other great engagements then upon his hands. They applied again, and met with a denial. By this time they entertained some suspicion of Philotas, and addressed themselves to Metron, who introduced them to the king immediately. They informed him first of the conspiracy of Limnus, and then hinted to him their suspicions of Philotas, on account of his rejecting two several applications.

Alexander was incensed at this negligence; and when he found that the person who was sent to arrest Limnus had killed him†, because he stood upon his defence, and refused to be taken, it disturbed him still more to think he had lost the means of discovering his accomplices. His resentment against Philotas gave opportunity to those who had long hated that officer to avow their dislike, and to declare how much the king was to blame in suffering himself to be so easily imposed upon, as to think that Limnus, an insignificant Chalæstrean, durst engage, of his own accord, in such a bold design: "No doubt," said they, "he was the agent, or rather the instrument, of some superior hand; and the king should trace out the source of the conspiracy among those who have the most interest in having it concealed."

As he began to listen to these discourses, and to give way to his suspicions, it brought innumerable accusations against Philotas, some of them very groundless. He was apprehended and put to the torture, in presence of the great officers of the court. Alexander had placed himself behind the tapestry to hear the examination; and when he found that Philotas bemoaned himself in such a lamentable manner, and had recourse to such mean supplications to Hephæstion, he is reported to have said, "O Philotas, durst thou, with all this unmanly weakness, embark in so great and hazardous an enterprise?"

After the execution of Philotas, he immediately sent orders into Media that Parmenio should be put to death; a man who had a share in most of Philip's conquests, and who was the principal, if not the only one, of the old counsellors who put Alexander upon his expedition into Asia. Of three sons whom he took over with him, he had seen two slain in battle, and with the third he fell a sacrifice him-

* Q. Curtius calls him *Cebalinus*.

† Other authors say he killed himself.

self. These proceedings made Alexander terrible to his friends, particularly to Antipater. That regent, therefore, sent privately to the Ætolians, and entered into league with them. They had something to fear from Alexander, as well as he, for they had sacked the city of the Œniades; and when the king was informed of it, he said, "The children of the Œniades need not revenge their cause; I will punish the Ætolians myself."

Soon after this happened the affair of Clitus; which, however simply related, is much more shocking than the execution of Philotas. Yet, if we reflect on the occasion and circumstances of the thing, we shall conclude it was a misfortune rather than a deliberate act, and that Alexander's unhappy passion and intoxication only furnished the evil genius of Clitus with the means of accomplishing his destruction. It happened in the following manner: the king had some Grecian fruit brought him from on board a vessel, and as he greatly admired its freshness and beauty, he desired Clitus to see it, and partake of it. It happened that Clitus was offering sacrifice that day; but he left it to wait upon the king. Three of the sheep, on which the libation was already poured, followed him. The king, informed of that accident, consulted his soothsayers, Aristander, and Cleomantis the Spartan, upon it; and they assured him it was a very bad omen. He therefore ordered the victims to be immediately offered for the health of Clitus; the rather, because three days before he had a strange and alarming dream, in which Clitus appeared in mourning, sitting by the dead sons of Parmenio. However, before the sacrifice was finished, Clitus went to sup with the king, who that day had been paying his homage to Castor and Pollux.

After they were warmed with drinking, somebody began to sing the verses of one Pranicus, or, as others will have it, of Pierio, written in ridicule of the Macedonian officers who had lately been beaten by the barbarians. The older part of the company were greatly offended at it, and condemned both the poet and the singer; but Alexander, and those about him, listened with pleasure, and bade him go on. Clitus, who by this time had drank too much, and was naturally rough and forward, could not bear their behaviour. He said, "It was not well done to make a jest, and that among barbarians and enemies, of Macedonians who were much better men than the laughers, though they had met with a misfortune." Alexander made answer, "That Clitus was pleading his own cause, when he gave cowardice the soft name of misfortune." Then Clitus started up, and said, "Yet it was this cowardice that saved you, son of Jupiter as you are, when you were turning your back to the sword of Spithridates. It is by the blood of the Macedonians and these wounds that

you are grown so great, that you disdain to acknowledge Philip for your father, and will needs pass yourself for the son of Jupiter Ammon."

Irritated at this insolence, Alexander replied, "It is in this villanous manner thou talkest of me in all companies, and stirrest up the Macedonians to mutiny; but dost thou think to enjoy it long?" "And what do we enjoy now?" said Clitus; "what reward have we for all our toils? Do we not envy those who did not live to see Macedonians bleed under Median rods, or sue to Persians for access to their king?" While Clitus went on in this rash manner, and the king retorted upon him with equal bitterness, the old men interposed, and endeavoured to allay the flame. Meantime Alexander turned to Xenodochus the Cardian, and Artemius the Colophonian, and said, "Do not the Greeks appear to you among the Macedonians like demigods among so many wild beasts?" Clitus, far from giving up the dispute, called upon Alexander "to speak out what he had to say, or not to invite freemen to his table, who would declare their sentiments without reserve. But perhaps," continued he, "it were better to pass your life with barbarians and slaves, who will worship your Persian girdle and white robe without scruple."

Alexander, no longer able to restrain his anger, threw an apple at his face, and then looked about for his sword. But Aristophanes*, one of his guards, had taken it away in time, and the company gathered about him, and entreated him to be quiet. Their remonstrances, however, were vain. He broke from them, and called out, in the Macedonian language, for his guards, which was the signal of a great tumult. At the same time he ordered the trumpeter to sound, and struck him with his fist, upon his discovering an unwillingness to obey. This man was afterwards held in great esteem, because he prevented the whole army from being alarmed.

As Clitus would not make the least submission, his friends, with much ado, forced him out of the room, but he soon returned by another door, repeating, in a bold and disrespectful tone, those verses from the Andromache of Euripides:

> Are these your customs? Is it thus that Greece
> Rewards her combatants? Shall one man claim
> The trophies won by thousands†?

Then Alexander snatched a spear from one of his guards, and meeting Clitus as he was putting by the curtain, ran him through

* Q. Curtius and Arrian call him Aristones.

† This is the speech of Peleus to Menelaus.

the body: he fell immediately to the ground, and with a dismal groan expired.

Alexander's rage subsided in a moment; he came to himself; and seeing his friends standing in silent astonishment by him, he hastily drew the spear out of the dead body, and was applying it to his own throat, when his guards seized his hands, and carried him by force into his chamber. He passed that night and the next day in anguish inexpressible; and when he had wasted himself with tears and lamentations, he lay in speechless grief, uttering only now and then a groan. His friends, alarmed at this melancholy silence, forced themselves into the room, and attempted to console him: but he would listen to none of them, except Aristander, who put him in mind of his dream and the ill omen of the sheep, and assured him that the whole was by the decree of fate. As he seemed a little comforted, Callisthenes the philosopher, Aristotle's near relation, and Anaxarchus the Abderite, were called in*. Callisthenes began in a soft and tender manner, endeavouring to relieve him without searching the wound. But Anaxarchus, who had a particular walk in philosophy, and looked upon his fellow-labourers in science with contempt, cried out, on entering the room, "Is this Alexander, upon whom the whole world have their eyes? Can it be he who lies extended on the ground, crying like a slave, in fear of the law and the tongues of men, to whom he should himself be a law and the measure of right and wrong? What did he conquer for but to rule and to command, not servilely to submit to the vain opinions of men? Know you not," continued he, "that Jupiter is represented with Themis and Justice by his side, to show that whatever is done by supreme power is right?" By this and other discourses of the same kind, he alleviated the king's grief indeed, but made him, withal, more haughty and unjust. At the same time, he insinuated himself into his favour in so extraordinary a manner, that he could no longer bear the conversation of Callisthenes, who before was not very agreeable on account of his austerity.

One day a dispute had arisen at table about the seasons and the temperature of the climate. Callisthenes held with those who asserted that the country they were then in was much colder, and the winters more severe than in Greece. Anaxarchus maintained the contrary with great obstinacy: upon which Callisthenes said,

† Callisthenes was of the city of Olynthus, and had been recommended to Alexander by Aristotle, whose relation he was. He had too much of the spirit of liberty to be fit for a court. He did not show it, however, in this instance. Aristotle forewarned him, that if he went on to treat the king with the freedom which his spirit prompted, it would one day be fatal to him.

"You must needs acknowledge, my friend, that this is much the colder; for there you went in winter in one cloak, and here you cannot sit at table without three housing coverlets, one over another." This stroke went to the heart of Anaxarchus.

Callisthenes was disagreeable to all the other sophists and flatterers at court; the more so, because he was followed by the young men on account of his eloquence, and no less acceptable to the old for his regular, grave, self-satisfied course of life. All which confirms what was said to be the cause of his going to Alexander, namely, an ambition to bring his fellow citizens back, and to re-people the place of his nativity*. His great reputation naturally exposed him to envy; and he gave some room for calumny himself, by often refusing the king's invitations, and when he did go to his entertainments, by sitting solemn and silent; which showed that he could neither commend, nor was satisfied with what passed: insomuch that Alexander said to him one day,

..... I hate the sage
Who reaps no fruits of wisdom to himself.

Once when he was at the king's table with a large company, and the cup came to him, he was desired to pronounce an eulogium on the Macedonians extempore, which he did with so much eloquence, that the guests, besides their plaudits, rose up and covered him with their garlands. Upon this Alexander said, in the words of Euripides,

When great the theme, 'tis easy to excel.

"But show us now," continued he, "the power of your rhetoric in speaking against the Macedonians, that they may see their faults, and amend."

Then the orator took the other side, and spoke with equal fluency against the encroachments and other faults of the Macedonians, as well as against the divisions among the Greeks, which he showed to be the only cause of the great increase of Philip's power; concluding with these words,

..... Amidst sedition's waves
The worst of mortals may emerge to honour.

By this he drew upon himself the implacable hatred of the Macedonians; and Alexander said, "He gave not in this case a specimen of his eloquence, but of his malevolence."

Hermippus assures us, that Stroibus, a person employed by Callisthenes to read to him, gave this account of the matter to Aristotle.

* Olynthus was one of the cities destroyed by Philip; whether Alexander permitted the philosopher to re-establish it, is uncertain; but Cicero informs us, that, in his time, it was a flourishing place.—Vide *Or. iii. in Verrem.*

He adds, that Callisthenes, perceiving the king's aversion to him, repeated this verse two or three times at parting:

Patroclus, thy superior is no more.

It was not, therefore, without reason that Aristotle said of Callisthenes, "His eloquence, indeed, is great, but he wants common sense." He not only refused, with all the firmness of a philosopher, to pay his respects to Alexander by prostration, but stood forth singly and uttered in public many grievances which the best and oldest of the Macedonians durst not reflect upon but in secret, though they were as much displeased at them as he. By preventing the prostration he saved the Greeks, indeed, from a great dishonour, and Alexander from a greater; but he ruined himself, because his manner was such, that he seemed rather desirous to compel than to persuade.

Chares of Mitylene tells us, that Alexander, at one of his entertainments, after he had drank, reached the cup to one of his friends. That friend had no sooner received it than he rose up, and turning towards the hearth*, where stood the domestic gods, to drink, he worshipped, and then kissed Alexander. This done, he took his place again at the table. All the guests did the same in their order, except Callisthenes. When it came to his turn, he drank, and then approached to give the king a kiss, who, being engaged in some discourse with Hephæstion, happened not to mind him: but Demetrius, surnamed Phidon, cried out, "Receive not his kiss; for he alone has not adored you." Upon which Alexander refused it, and Callisthenes said aloud, "Then I return one kiss the poorer."

A coldness of course ensued: but many other things contributed to his fall. In the first place, Hephæstion's report was believed, that Callisthenes had promised him to adore the king, and broke his word. In the next place Lysimachus and Agnon attacked him, and said, "The sophist went about with as much pride as if he had demolished a tyranny, and the young men followed him as the only freemen among so many thousands. These things, upon the discovery of Hermolaus's plot against Alexander, gave an air of probability to what was alleged against Callisthenes. His enemies said, Hermolaus inquired of him, "By what means he might become the most famous man in the world?" and that he answered, "By killing the most famous." They further asserted, that by way of encouraging

* Dacier is of opinion, that, by this action, the flatterer wanted to insinuate, that Alexander ought to be reckoned among the domestic gods. But, as the king sat in that part of the room where the *Penates* were, we rather think it was a vile excuse to the man's own conscience for this act of religious worship, because their position made it dubious whether it was intended for Alexander or for them.

him to the attempt, he bade him "not be afraid of the golden bed, but remember he had to do with a man who had suffered both by sickness and by wounds."

Neither Hermolaus, however, nor any of his accomplices, made any mention of Callisthenes amidst the extremities of torture. Nay, Alexander himself, in the account he immediately gave of the plot to Craterus, Attalus, and Alcetas, writes, "That the young men, when put to the torture, declared it was entirely their own enterprise, and that no man besides was privy to it." Yet afterwards, in a letter to Antipater, he affirms, that Callisthenes was as guilty as the rest: "The Macedonians," says he, "have stoned the young men to death. As for the sophist, I will punish him myself, and those that sent him too: nor shall the towns that harboured the conspirators, escape." In which he plainly discovers his aversion to Aristotle, by whom Callisthenes was brought up as a relation; for he was the son of Hero, Aristotle's niece. His death is variously related. Some say Alexander ordered him to be hanged; others, that he fell sick and died in chains; and Chares writes, that he was kept seven months in prison, in order to be tried in full council, in the presence of Aristotle; but that he died of excessive corpulency, and the lousy disease, at the time that Alexander was wounded by the Malli Oxydracæ in India. This happened, however, at a later period than that we are upon.

In the mean time Demaratus the Corinthian, though far advanced in years, was ambitious of going to see Alexander. Accordingly he took the voyage, and when he beheld him, he said, "The Greeks fell short of a great pleasure, who did not live to see Alexander upon the throne of Darius." But he did not live to enjoy the king's friendship. He sickened and died soon after. The king, however, performed his obsequies in the most magnificent manner; and the army threw up for him a monument of earth, of great extent, and four-score cubits high. His ashes were carried to the sea-shore in a chariot and four, with the richest ornaments.

When Alexander was upon the point of setting out for India, he saw his troops were so laden with spoils that they were unfit to march. Therefore early in the morning that he was to take his departure, after the carriages were assembled, he first set fire to his own baggage and that of his friends, and then gave orders that the rest should be served in the same manner. The resolution appeared more difficult to take than it was to execute. Few were displeased at it, and numbers received it with acclamations of joy. They freely gave part of their equipage to such as were in need, and burnt and destroyed whatever was superfluous. This greatly encouraged and fortified

Alexander in his design. Besides, by this time he was become inflexibly severe in punishing offences. Menander, though one of his friends, he put to death for refusing to stay in a fortress he had given him the charge of; and one of the barbarians, named Osodates, he shot dead with an arrow, for the crime of rebellion.

About this time a sheep yeaned a lamb with the perfect form and colour of a *tiara* upon its head, on each side of which were testicles. Looking upon the prodigy with horror, he employed the Chaldæans, who attended him for such purposes, to purify him by their expiations. He told his friends on this occasion, "That he was more troubled on their account than his own: for he was afraid that, after his death, fortune would throw the empire into the hands of some obscure and weak man." A better omen, however, soon dissipated his fears. A Macedonian, named Proxenus, who had the charge of the king's equipage, on opening* the ground by the river Oxus, in order to pitch his master's tent, discovered a spring of a gross oily liquor, which after the surface was taken off, came perfectly clear, and neither in taste nor smell differed from real oil, nor was inferior to it in smoothness and brightness, though there were no olives in that country. It is said, indeed, that the water of the Oxus is of so unctuous a quality, that it makes the skins of those who bathe in it smooth and shining†.

It appears from a letter of Alexander's to Antipater, that he was greatly delighted with this incident, and reckoned it one of the happiest presages the gods had afforded him. The soothsayers said it betokened that the expedition would prove a glorious one, but at the same time laborious and difficult, because Heaven has given men oil to refresh them after their labours. Accordingly he met with great dangers in the battles that he fought, and received very considerable wounds. But his army suffered most by want of necessaries and by the climate. For his part he was ambitious to show that courage can triumph over fortune, and magnanimity over force: he thought nothing invincible to the brave, or impregnable to the bold. Pursuant to this opinion, when he besieged Sisimethres‡ upon a rock

* Strabo (lib. ii.) ascribes the same properties to the ground near the river Ochus. Indeed, the Ochus and the Oxus unite their streams, and flow together into the Caspian sea.

† Pliny tells us, that the surface of these rivers was a consistence of salt, and that the waters flowed under it as under a crust of ice. The salt consistence he imputes to the defluxions from the neighbouring mountains, but he says nothing of the unctuous quality of these waters mentioned by Plutarch.—*Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxi.

‡ This strong-hold was situated in Bactriana. Strabo says it was fifteen furlongs high, as many in compass, and that the top was a fertile plain, capable of maintaining

extremely steep, and apparently inaccessible, and saw his men greatly discouraged at the enterprise, he asked Oxyartes, "Whether Sisimethres were a man of spirit?" And being answered, "That he was timorous and dastardly," he said, "You inform me the rock may be taken, since there is no strength in its defender." In fact he found means to intimidate Sisimethres, and made himself master of the fort.

In the siege of another fort, situated in a place equally steep, among the young Macedonians that were to give the assault, there was one called Alexander; and the king took occasion to say to him, "You must behave gallantly, my friend, to do justice to your name." He was informed afterwards that the young man fell as he was distinguishing himself in a glorious manner, and he laid it much to heart.

When he sat down before Nysa*, the Macedonians made some difficulty of advancing to the attack, on account of the depth of the river that washed its walls, till Alexander said, "What a wretch am I, that I did not learn to swim," and was going to ford it with his shield in his hand. After the first assault, while the troops were refreshing themselves, ambassadors came with an offer to capitulate; and along with them were deputies from some other places. They were surprised to see him in armour, without any pomp or ceremony; and their astonishment increased, when he bade the oldest of the ambassadors, named Acuphis, take the sofa that was brought for himself. Acuphis, struck with a benignity of reception so far beyond his hopes, asked what they must do to be admitted into his friendship? Alexander answered, "It must be on condition that they appoint you their governor, and send me a hundred of their best men for hostages." Acuphis smiled at this, and said, "I should govern better if you take the worst instead of the best."

It is said, the dominions of Taxiles in India† were as large as Egypt: they afforded excellent pasturage too, and were the most fertile in all respects. As he was a man of great prudence, he waited on Alexander, and, after the first compliments, thus addressed him: "What occasion is there for wars between you and me, if you are not come to take from us our water and other necessaries of life; the only things that reasonable men will take up arms for? As to gold

five hundred. It was in Bactriana that Alexander married Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes.

* Arrian calls it Nyssa: so indeed does the Vulcob. MS. That historian places it near Mount Meris, and adds, that it was built by Dionysius or Bacchus. Hence it had the name of Dionysiopolis. It is now called Nerg.

† Between the Indus and the Hydaspes.

and silver, and other possessions, if I am richer than you, I am willing to oblige you with part; if I am poorer, I have no objection to sharing your bounty." Charmed with his frankness, Alexander took his hand, and answered, "Think you then with all this civility, to escape without a conflict? You are much deceived if you do: I will dispute it with you to the last; but it shall be in favours and benefits; for I will not have you exceed me in generosity." Therefore, after having received great presents from him, and made greater, he said to him one evening, "I drink to you, Taxiles, and as sure as you pledge me, you shall have a thousand talents." His friends were offended at his giving away such immense sums, but it made many of the barbarians look upon him with a kinder eye.

The most warlike of the Indians used to fight for pay. Upon this invasion they defended the cities that hired them with great vigour, and Alexander suffered by them not a little. To one of the cities he granted an honourable capitulation, and yet seized the mercenaries as they were upon their march homewards, and put them all to the sword. This is the only blot in his military conduct; all his other proceedings were agreeable to the laws of war, and worthy of a king*.

The philosophers gave him no less trouble than the mercenaries, by endeavouring to fix a mark of infamy upon those princes that declared for him, and by exciting the free nations to take up arms; for which reason he hanged many of them.

As to his war with Porus, we have an account of it in his own letters. According to them the river Hydaspes was between the two armies, and Porus drew up his elephants on the banks opposite the enemy, with their heads towards the stream to guard it. Alexander caused a great noise and bustle to be made every day in his camp, that the barbarians, being accustomed to it, might not be so ready to take the alarm. This done, he took the advantage of a dark and stormy night, with part of his infantry, and a select body of cavalry, to gain a little island in the river, at some distance from the Indians. When he was there he and his troops were attacked with a most violent wind and rain, accompanied with dreadful thunder and lightning: but notwithstanding this hurricane, in which he saw several of his men perish by the lightning, he advanced from the island to the opposite bank. The Hydaspes, swelled with the rain,

* It was just and lawful, it seems, to go about harassing and destroying those nations that had never offended him, and upon which he had no claim, except that avowed by the northern barbarians, when they entered Italy, namely, that the weak must submit to the strong! Indeed, those barbarians were much honester men, for they had another and a better plea; they went to seek bread.

by its violence and rapidity made a breach on that side, which received water enough to form a bay, so that, when he came to land, he found the bank extremely slippery, and the ground broken and undermined by the current. On this occasion he is said to have uttered that celebrated saying, "Will you believe, my Athenian friends, what dangers I undergo, to have you the heralds of my fame?" The last particular we have from Onesicritus: but Alexander himself only says, they quitted their boats, and, armed as they were, waded up the breach breast high; and that when they were landed, he advanced with the horse twenty furlongs before the foot, concluding, that if the enemy attacked him with their cavalry, he should be greatly their superior, and that if they made a movement with their infantry, his would come up time enough to receive them. Nor did he judge amiss: the enemy detached against him a thousand horse and sixty armed chariots, and he defeated them with ease. The chariots he took, and killed four hundred of the cavalry upon the spot. By this Porus understood that Alexander himself had passed the river, and therefore brought up his whole army, except what appeared necessary to keep the rest of the Macedonians from making good their passage. Alexander, considering the force of the elephants, and the enemy's superior numbers, did not choose to engage them in front, but attacked the left wing himself, while Cœnus, according to his orders, fell upon the right.—Both wings, being broken, retired to the elephants in the centre, and rallied there. The combat then was of a more mixed kind, but maintained with such obstinacy, that it was not decided till the eighth hour of the day. This description of the battle we have from the conqueror himself in one of his epistles.

Most historians agree that Porus was four cubits and a palm high, and that though the elephant he rode was one of the largest, his stature and bulk were such, that he appeared but proportionably mounted. This elephant, during the whole battle, gave extraordinary proofs of his sagacity and care of the king's person. As long as that prince was able to fight, he defended him with great courage, and repulsed all assailants; and when he perceived him ready to sink under the multitude of darts, and the wounds with which he was covered, to prevent his falling off, he kneeled down in the softest manner, and with his proboscis gently drew every dart out of his body.

When Porus was taken prisoner, Alexander asked him, "How he desired to be treated?" He answered, "Like a king." "And have you nothing else to request?" replied Alexander. "No," said he, "every thing is comprehended in the word *king*." Alexander not only restored him his own dominions immediately, which he was to

govern as his lieutenant, but added very extensive territories to them; for, having subdued a free country, which contained fifteen nations, five thousand considerable cities, and villages in proportion, he bestowed it on Porus*. Another country, three times as large, he gave to Philip, one of his friends, who was also to act there as his lieutenant.

In the battle with Porus, Bucephalus received several wounds, of which he died some time after. This is the account most writers give us: but Onesicritus says, he died of age and fatigue, for he was thirty years old. Alexander showed as much regret as if he had lost a faithful friend and companion: he esteemed him, indeed, as such, and built a city near the Hydaspes, in the place where he was buried, which he called after him, Bucephalia. He is also reported to have built a city, and called it Peritas, in memory of a dog of that name, which he had brought up, and was very fond of. This particular Sotio says he had from Potamo of Lesbos.

The combat with Porus abated the spirit of the Macedonians, and made them resolve to proceed no farther into India. It was with difficulty they had defeated an enemy who brought only twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse into the field; and therefore they opposed Alexander with great firmness, when he insisted that they should pass the Ganges†, which, they were informed, was thirty-two furlongs in breadth, and in depth a hundred fathoms. The opposite shore, too, was covered with numbers of squadrons, battalions, and elephants: for the kings of the Gandarites and Præsians were said to be waiting for them there with eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand chariots, and six thousand elephants trained to war. Nor is this number at all magnified: for Androcottus, who reigned not long after, made Seleucus a present of five hundred elephants at one time‡, and with an army of six hundred thousand men traversed India, and conquered the whole.

Alexander's grief and indignation at this refusal were such, that at first he shut himself up in his tent, and lay prostrate on the ground, declaring, "He did not thank the Macedonians in the least for what they had done, if they did not pass the Ganges; for he considered a

* Some transcriber seems to have given us the number of inhabitants in one city for the number of cities. Arrian's account of this: "He took thirty-seven cities, the least of which contained five thousand inhabitants, and several of them above ten thousand. He took also a great number of villages not less populous than the cities, and gave the government of the country to Porus."

† The Ganges is the largest of all the rivers in the three continents, the Indus the second, the Nile the third, and the Danube the fourth.

‡ Dacier says *five thousand*, but does not mention his authority. Perhaps it was only a slip in the writing, or in the printing.

retreat as no other than an acknowledgment that he was overcome." His friends omitted nothing that might comfort him; and at last their remonstrances, together with the cries and tears of the soldiers, who were suppliants at his door, melted him, and prevailed on him to return. However, he first contrived many vain and sophistical things to serve the purposes of fame; among which were arms much bigger than his men could use, and higher mangers, and heavier bits than his horses required, left scattered up and down. He built also great altars, for which the Præsians still retain much veneration, and their kings cross the Ganges every year to offer sacrifices in the Grecian manner upon them. Androcottus, who was then very young, had a sight of Alexander, and he is reported to have often said afterwards, "That Alexander was within a little of making himself master of all the country; with such hatred and contempt was the reigning prince looked upon, on account of his profligacy of manners, and meanness of birth."

Alexander, in his march from thence, formed a design to see the ocean; for which purpose he caused a number of row-boats and rafts to be constructed, and, upon them, fell down the rivers at his leisure. Nor was this navigation unattended with hostilities. He made several descents by the way, and attacked the adjacent cities, which were all forced to submit to his victorious arms. However, he was very near being cut in pieces by the Malli, who are called the most warlike people in India. He had driven some of them from the wall with his missive weapons, and was the first man that ascended it. But, presently after he was up, the scaling ladder broke. Finding himself and his small company much galled by the darts of the barbarians from below, he poised himself and leaped down into the midst of the enemy.

By good fortune he alighted upon his feet; and the barbarians were so much astonished at the flashing of his arms as he came down, that they thought they beheld lightning or some supernatural splendour issuing from his body. At first, therefore, they drew back and dispersed: but when they had recollected themselves, and saw him attended only by two of his guards, they attacked him hand to hand, and wounded him through his armour with their swords and spears, notwithstanding the valour with which he fought. One of them, standing farther off, drew an arrow with such strength, that it made its way through his cuirass, and entered the ribs under the breast. Its force was so great, that he gave back and was brought upon his knees, and the barbarian ran up with his drawn scimitar to

despatch him. Peucestas and Limnæus* placed themselves before him, but the one was wounded and the other killed. Peucestas, who survived, was still making some resistance, when Alexander recovered himself, and laid the barbarian at his feet. The king, however, received new wounds, and at last had such a blow from a bludgeon upon his neck, that he was forced to support himself by the wall, and there stood with his face to the enemy. The Macedonians, who by this time had got in, gathered about him, and carried him off to his tent.

His senses were gone, and it was the current report in the army that he was dead. When they had, with great difficulty sawed off the shaft, which was of wood, and with equal trouble had taken off the cuirass, they proceeded to extract the head, which was three fingers broad, and four long, and stuck fast in the bone. He fainted under the operation, and was very near expiring; but, when the head was got out, he came to himself. Yet, after the danger was over, he continued weak, and a long time confined himself to a regular diet, attending solely to the cure of his wound. The Macedonians could not bear to be so long deprived of a sight of their king; they assembled in a tumultuous manner about his tent. When he perceived this, he put on his robe, and made his appearance; but, as soon as he had sacrificed to the gods, he retired again. As he was on his way to the place of his destination, though carried in a litter by the water-side, he subdued a large track of land, and many respectable cities.

In the course of this expedition, he took ten of the *Gymnosophists*†, who had been principally concerned in instigating Sabbas to revolt, and had brought numberless other troubles upon the Macedonians. As these ten were reckoned the most acute and concise in their answers, he put the most difficult questions to them that could be thought of, and at the same time declared, he would put the first person that answered wrong to death, and after him all the rest. The oldest man among them was to be judge.

He demanded of the first, "Which were most numerous, the liv-

* Q. Curtius calls him *Timæus*.

† These philosophers, so called from their going naked, were divided into two sects, the Brachmani and the Germani. The Brachmani were most esteemed, because there was a consistency in their principles. Apuleius tells us, that not only the scholars, but the younger pupils, were assembled about dinner-time, and examined what good they had done that day; and such as could not point out some act of humanity, or useful pursuit that they had been engaged in, were not allowed any dinner.

ing or the dead?" He answered, "The living; for the dead no longer exist*."

The second was asked, "Whether the earth or the sea produced the largest animals?" He answered, "That earth; for the sea is part of it."

The third, "Which was the craftiest of all animals?" "That," said he, "with which man is not yet acquainted†."

The fourth, "What was his reason for persuading Sabbas to revolt?" "Because," said he "I wished him either to live with honour, or to die as a coward deserves."

The fifth had this question put to him, "Which do you think oldest, the day or the night?" He answered, "The day, by one day." As the king appeared surprised at this solution, the philosopher told him, "Abstruse questions must have abstruse answers."

Then addressing himself to the sixth, he demanded, "What are the best means for a man to make himself loved?" He answered, "If possessed of great power, do not make yourself feared."

The seventh was asked, "How a man might become a god?" He answered, "By doing what is impossible for man to do."

The eighth, "Which is strongest, life or death?" "Life," said he, "because it bears so many evils."

The last question that he put was, "How long is it good for a man to live?" "As long," said the philosopher, "as he does not prefer death to life."

Then turning to the judge, he ordered him to give sentence. The old man said, "In my opinion they have all answered one worse than another." "If this is thy judgment," said Alexander, "thou shalt die first." "No," replied the philosopher; "not except you choose to break your word: for you declared the man that answered worst should first suffer."

The king loaded them with presents, and dismissed them. After which he sent Onesicritus, a disciple of Diogenes, to the other Indian sages who were of most reputation, and lived a retired life, to desire them to come to him. Onesicritus tells us, Calanus treated him with great insolence and harshness, bidding him to strip himself naked, if he desired to hear any of his doctrine; "You should not hear me on any other condition," said he, "though you came from Jupiter himself." Dandamis behaved with more civility; and when Onesi-

* They did not hold the mortality, but the transmigration, of the soul.

† This we suppose to mean man himself, as not being acquainted with himself.

critus had given him an account of Pythagoras, Socrates, and Diogenes, he said, "They appeared to him to have been men of genius, but to have lived with too passive a regard to the laws."

Others say, Dandamis entered into no discourse with the messenger, but only asked, "Why Alexander had taken so long a journey?" As to Calanus, it is certain Taxiles prevailed with him to go to Alexander. His true name was Sphines; but because he addressed them with the word *Cale*, which is the Indian form of salutation, the Greeks called him Calanus. This philosopher, we are told, presented Alexander with a good image of his empire. He laid a dry and shrivelled hide before him, and first trod upon the edges of it: this he did all round; and as he trod on one side, it started up on the other. At last he fixed his feet on the middle, and then it lay still. By this emblem he showed him, that he should fix his residence, and plant his principal force in the heart of his empire, and not wander to the extremities.

Alexander spent seven months in falling down the rivers to the ocean. When he arrived there, he embarked, and sailed to an island which he called Scillustis*, but others call it Psiltoucis. There he landed, and sacrificed to the gods. He likewise considered the nature of the sea and of the coast, as far as it was accessible. And after having besought Heaven, "That no man might ever reach beyond the bounds of his expedition," he prepared to set out on his way back. He appointed Nearchus admiral, and Onesicritus chief pilot, and ordered his fleet to sail round, keeping India on the right. With the rest of his forces he returned by land through the country of the Orites; in which he was reduced to such extremities, and lost such numbers of men, that he did not bring back from India above a fourth part of the army he entered it with, which was no less than a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse. Violent distempers, ill diet, and excessive heats, destroyed multitudes; but famine made still greater ravages: for it was a barren and uncultivated country; the natives lived miserably, having nothing to subsist on but a few bad sheep, which used to feed on the fish thrown up by the sea; consequently they were poor, and their flesh of a bad flavour.

With much difficulty he traversed this country in sixty days, and then arrived at Gedrosia. There he found provisions in abundance; for, besides that the land is fertile in itself, the neighbouring princes

* Arrian calls it Cilutta. Here they first observed the ebbing and flowing of the sea, which surprised them not a little.

and grandees supplied him. After he had given his army some time to refresh themselves, he marched in Carmenia for seven days in a kind of Bacchanalian procession. His chariot, which was very magnificent, was drawn by eight horses. Upon it was placed a lofty platform, where he and his principal friends revelled day and night. This carriage was followed by many others, some covered with rich tapestry and purple hangings, and others shaded with branches of trees, fresh gathered and flourishing. In these were the rest of the king's friends and generals, crowned with flowers, and exhilarated with wine.

In this whole company there was not to be seen a buckler, a helmet, or spear; but, instead of them, cups, flagons, and goblets.—These the soldiers dipped in huge vessels of wine, and drank to each other, some as they marched along, and others seated at tables, which were placed at proper distances on the way. The whole country resounded with flutes, clarionets, and songs, and with the dances and riotous frolics of the women. This disorderly and dissolute march was closed with a very immodest figure, and with all the licentious ribaldry of the Bacchanals, as if Bacchus himself had been present to carry on the debauch.

When Alexander arrived at the royal palace of Gedrosia, he gave his army time to refresh themselves again, and entertained them with feasts and public spectacles. At one of these, in which the choruses disputed the prize of dancing, he appeared inflamed with wine. His favourite Bagoas, happening to win it, crossed the theatre in his habit of ceremony, and seated himself by the king. The Macedonians expressed their satisfaction with loud plaudits, and called out to the king to kiss him, with which at last he complied.

Nearchus joined him again here, and he was so much delighted with the account of his voyage, that he formed a design to sail in person from the Euphrates with a great fleet, circle the coast of Arabia and Africa, and enter the Mediterranean by the pillars of Hercules. For this purpose, he constructed, at Thapsacus, a number of vessels of all sorts, and collected mariners and pilots. But the report of the difficulties he had met with in his Indian expedition, particularly in his attack of the Malli, his great loss of men in the country of the Orites, and the supposition he would never return alive from the voyage he now meditated, excited his new subjects to revolt, and put his generals and governors of provinces upon displaying their injustice, insolence, and avarice. In short, the whole empire was in commotion, and ripe for rebellion. Olympias and Cleopatra, leaguing

against Antipater, had seized his hereditary dominions, and divided them between them. Olympias took Epirus, and Cleopatra Macedonia: the tidings of which being brought to Alexander, he said, "His mother had considered right; for the Macedonians would never bear to be governed by a woman."

In consequence of this unsettled state of things, he sent Nearchus again to sea, having determined to carry the war into the maritime provinces. Meantime he marched in person to chastise his lieutenants for their misdemeanors. Oxyartes, one of the sons of Abulites, he killed with his own hand, by a stroke of his javelin. Abulites had laid in no provisions for him; he had only collected three thousand talents in money. Upon his presenting this, Alexander bade him offer it to his horses; and as they did not touch it, he said, "Of what use will this provision now be to me?" and immediately ordered Abulites to be taken into custody.

The first thing he did after he entered Persia was to give this money to the matrons, according to the ancient custom of the kings, who, upon their return from any excursion to their Persian dominions, used to give every woman a piece of gold. For this reason several of them, we are told, made it a rule to return but seldom; and Ochus never did: he banished himself to save his money. Having found the tomb of Cyrus broke open, he put the author of that sacrilege to death, though a native of Pella, and a person of some distinction. His name was Polymachus. After he had read the epitaph, which was in the Persian language, he ordered it to be inscribed also in Greek. It was as follows: O MAN! WHOSOEVER THOU ART, AND WHENCESOEVER THOU COMEST, (FOR COME I KNOW THOU WILT), I AM CYRUS, THE FOUNDER OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE. ENVY ME NOT THE LITTLE EARTH THAT COVERS MY BODY. Alexander was much affected at these words, which placed before him, in so strong a light, the uncertainty and vicissitude of things.

It was here that Calanus, after having been disordered a little while with the cholic, desired to have his funeral pile erected. He approached it on horseback, offered up his prayers to Heaven, poured the libations upon himself, cut off part of his hair*, and threw it on the fire; and before he ascended the pile, took leave of the Macedonians, desiring them to spend the day in jollity and drinking with the king: "For I shall see him," said he, "in a little time at Babylon." So saying he stretched himself upon the pile, and covered himself up. Nor did he move at the approach of the

* As some of the hair used to be cut from the forehead of victims.

flames, but remained in the same posture till he had finished his sacrifice, according to the custom of the sages of his country.—Many years after, another Indian did the same before Augustus Cæsar at Athens, whose tomb is shown to this day, and called *the Indian's tomb.*

Alexander, as soon as he retired from the funeral pile, invited his friends and officers to supper, and to give life to the carousal, promised that the man who drank most should be crowned for his victory. Promachus drank four measures of wine*, and carried off the crown, which was worth a talent, but survived it only three days. The rest of the guests, as Chares tells us, drank to such a degree, that forty-one of them lost their lives, the weather coming upon them extremely cold during their intoxication.

When he arrived at Susa, he married his friends to Persian ladies. He set them the example, by taking Statira, the daughter of Darius, to wife, and then distributed among his principal officers the virgins of highest quality. As for those Macedonians who had already married in Persia, he made a general entertainment in commemoration of their nuptials. It is said that no less than nine thousand guests sat down, and yet he presented each with a golden cup for performing the libation. Every thing else was conducted with the utmost magnificence; he even paid off all their debts; insomuch that the whole expense amounted to nine thousand eight hundred and seventy talents.

An officer, who had but one eye, named Antigenes, put himself upon this list of debtors, and produced a person who declared he was so much in his books. Alexander paid the money; but afterwards discovering the fraud, in his anger forbade him the court, and took away his commission. There was no fault to be found with him as a soldier. He had distinguished himself in his youth under Philip, at the siege of Perinthus, where he was wounded in the eye with a dart shot from one of the engines; and yet he would neither suffer it to be taken out, nor quit the field, till he had repulsed the enemy, and forced them to retire into the town. The poor wretch could not bear the disgrace he had now brought upon himself; his grief and despair were so great, that it was apprehended he would put an end to his own life. To prevent such a catastrophe, the king forgave him, and ordered him to keep the money.

The thirty thousand boys whom he left under proper masters, were now grown so much, and made so handsome an appearance, and

* About fourteen quarts. The *chus* was six pints nine-tenths.

what was of more importance, had gained such an activity and address in their exercises, that he was greatly delighted with them. But it was matter of uneasiness to the Macedonians; they were apprehensive that the king would have less regard for them. Therefore, when he gave the invalids their route to the sea, in order to their return, the whole army considered it as an injurious and oppressive measure: "He has availed himself," said they, "beyond all reason, of their services, and now he sends them back with disgrace, and turns them upon the hands of their country and their parents, in a very different condition from that in which he received them. Why does he not dismiss us all? Why does he not reckon all the Macedonians incapable of service, now he has got this body of young dancers? Let him go with them and conquer the world."

Alexander, incensed at this mutinous behaviour, loaded them with reproaches; and ordering them off, took Persians for his guards, and filled up other offices with them. When they saw their king with these new attendants, and themselves rejected and spurned with dishonour, they were greatly humbled. They lamented their fate to each other, and were almost frantic with jealousy and anger. At last coming to themselves, they repaired to the king's tent, without arms, in one thin garment only; and with tears and lamentations delivered themselves up to his vengeance, desiring he would treat them as ungrateful men deserved.

He was softened with their complaints, but would not appear to hearken to them. They stood two days and nights, bemoaning themselves in this manner, and calling for their dear master. The third day he came out to them; and when he saw their forlorn condition, he wept a long time. After a gentle rebuke for their misbehaviour, he condescended to converse with them in a freer manner, and such as were unfit for service he sent over with magnificent presents. At the same time he signified his pleasure to Antipater, that at all public diversions they should have the most honourable seats in the theatres, and wear chaplets of flowers there; and that the children of those who had lost their lives in his service should have their fathers' pay continued to them.

When he came to Ecbatana in Media, and had despatched the most urgent affairs, he employed himself again in the celebration of games and other public solemnities; for which purpose three thousand artificers, lately arrived from Greece, were very serviceable to him. But unfortunately Hephæstion fell sick of a fever in the midst of this festivity. As a young man and as a soldier, he could not bear to be kept to strict diet; and taking the opportunity to dine,

when his physician Glaucus was gone to the theatre, he ate a roasted fowl, and drank a flagon of wine made as cold as possible; in consequence of which he grew worse, and died a few days after.

Alexander's grief on this occasion exceeded all bounds. He immediately ordered the horses and mules to be shorn, that they might have their share in the mourning, and with the same view pulled down the battlements of the neighbouring cities. The poor physician he crucified. He forbade the flute and all other music in his camp for a long time. This continued till he received an oracle from Jupiter Ammon, which enjoined him to revere Hephæstion, and sacrifice to him as a demigod. After this he sought to relieve his sorrow by hunting, or rather by war; for his game was men. In this expedition he conquered the Cussæans, and put all that were come to years of puberty to the sword. This he called a sacrifice to the *manes* of Hephæstion!

He designed to lay out ten thousand talents upon his tomb and the monumental ornaments, and that the workmanship, as well as design, should exceed the expense, great as it was. He therefore desired to have Stasicrates for his architect, whose genius promised a happy boldness and grandeur in every thing that he planned. This was the man who had told him, some time before, that Mount Athos in Thrace was most capable of being cut into a human figure; and that, if he had but his orders, he would convert it into a statue for him, the most lasting and conspicuous in the world. A statue which would have a city with ten thousand inhabitants in its left hand, and a river that flowed to the sea with a strong current in its right. He did not, however, embrace that proposal, though at that time he busied himself with his architects in contriving and laying out even more absurd and expensive designs.

As he was advancing towards Babylon, Nearchus, who was returned from his expedition on the ocean, and come up the Euphrates, declared he had been applied to by some Chaldeans, who were strongly of opinion that Alexander should not enter Babylon: but he slighted the warning, and continued his march. Upon his march to the walls, he saw a great number of crows fighting, some of which fell down dead at his feet. Soon after this, being informed that Apollodorus, governor of Babylon, had sacrificed, in order to consult the gods concerning him, he sent for Pythagoras the diviner, and, as he did not deny the fact, asked him how the entrails of the victim appeared. Pythagoras answered, the liver was without a head. "A terrible presage, indeed!" said Alexander. He let Pythagoras go with impunity: but by this time he was sorry he had not listened

to Nearchus. He lived mostly in his pavilion without the walls, and diverted himself with sailing up and down the Euphrates: for there had happened several other ill omens that much disturbed him. One of the largest and handsomest lions that were kept in Babylon was attacked and kicked to death by an ass. One day he stripped for the refreshment of oil, and to play at ball: after the diversion was over, the young men who played with him, going to fetch his clothes, beheld a man sitting in profound silence on his throne, dressed in the royal robes, with the diadem upon his head. They demanded who he was, and it was a long time before he would answer: at last, coming to himself, he said, "My name is Dionysius, and I am a native of Messene. Upon a criminal process against me, I left the place, and embarked for Babylon: there I have been kept a long time in chains: but this day the god Serapis appeared to me, and broke my chains; after which he conducted me hither, and ordered me to put on this robe and diadem, and sit here in silence."

After the man had thus explained himself, Alexander, by the advice of his soothsayers, put him to death. But the anguish of his mind increased; on one hand he almost despaired of the succours of Heaven, and on the other, distrusted his friends. He was most afraid of Antipater and his sons; one of which, named Iolaus*, was his cupbearer; the other, named Cassander, was lately arrived from Macedonia; and happening to see some barbarians prostrate themselves before the king, like a man accustomed only to the Grecian manners, and a stranger to such a sight, he burst into a loud laugh. Alexander, enraged at the affront, seized him by the hair, and with both hands dashed his head against the wall. Cassander afterwards attempted to vindicate his father against his accusers; which greatly irritated the king. "What is this talk of thine?" said he. "Dost thou think that men, who had suffered no injury, would come so far to bring a false charge?" "Their coming so far," replied Cassander, "is an argument that the charge is false, because they are at a distance from those who are able to contradict them." At this Alexander smiled, and said, "These are some of Aristotle's sophisms, which make equally for either side of the question. But be assured I will make you repent it, if these men have had the least injustice done them."

This and other menaces left such a terror upon Cassander, and made so lasting an impression upon his mind, that many years after, when king of Macedon, and master of all Greece, as he was walking about

* Arrian and Curtius call him *Iollas*. Plutarch calls him *Iolas* below.

at Delphi, and taking a view of the statues, the sudden sight of that of Alexander is said to have struck him with such horror, that he trembled all over, and it was with difficulty he recovered of the giddiness it caused in his brain.

When Alexander had once given himself up to superstition, his mind was so preyed upon by vain fears and anxieties, that he turned the least incident, which was any thing strange and out of the way, into a sign or a prodigy. The court swarmed with sacrifices, purifiers, and prognosticators; they were all to be seen exercising their talents there. So true it is, that though the disbelief of religion, and contempt of things divine, is a great evil, yet superstition is a greater: for as water gains upon low grounds, so superstition prevails over a dejected mind, and fills it with fear and folly. This was entirely Alexander's case. However, upon the receipt of some oracles concerning Hephæstion from the god he commonly consulted, he gave a truce to his sorrows, and employed himself in festive sacrifices and entertainments.

One day, after he had given Nearchus a sumptuous treat, he went, according to custom, to refresh himself in the bath, in order to retire to rest: but in the mean time Medius came and invited him to take part in a carousal, and he could not deny him. There he drank all that night and the next day, till at last he found a fever coming upon him. It did not, however, seize him as he was drinking the cup of Hercules, nor did he find a sudden pain in his back, as if it had been pierced with a spear. These are circumstances invented by writers, who thought the catastrophe of so noble a tragedy should be something affecting and extraordinary. Aristobulus tells us, that in the rage of his fever, and the violence of his thirst, he took a draught of wine, which threw him into a frenzy, and that he died the thirtieth of the month *Daesius, June.*

But in his journals the account of his sickness is as follows: "On the eighteenth of the month Daesius, finding the fever upon him, he lay in his bath room. The next day, after he had bathed, he removed into his own chamber, and played many hours with Medius at dice. In the evning he bathed again, and, after having sacrified to the gods, he ate his supper. In the night the fever returned. The twentieth he also bathed, and after the customary sacrifice, sat in the bath room and diverted himself with hearing Nearchus tell the story of his voyage, and all that was most observable with respect to the ocean. The twenty-first was spent in the same manner. The fever increased, and he had a very bad night. The twenty-second, the fever was violent. He ordered his bed to be removed, and placed by the great

bath. There he talked to his generals about the vacancies in his army, and desired they might be filled up with experienced officers. —The twenty-fourth he was much worse. He chose, however, to be carried to assist at the sacrifice. He likewise gave orders, that the principal officers of the army should be in waiting within the court, and the officers to keep watch all night without. The twenty-fifth he was removed to his palace, on the other side of the river, where he slept a little, but the fever did not abate; and, when his generals entered the room, he was speechless. He continued so the day following. The Macedonians, by this time, thinking he was dead, came to the gates with great clamour, and threatened the great officers in such a manner, that they were forced to admit them, and suffer them all to pass unarmed by the bed-side. The twenty-seventh Python and Seleucus were sent to the temple of Serapis, to inquire whether they should carry Alexander thither, and the deity ordered that they should not remove him. The twenty-eighth, in the evening, he died." These particulars are taken almost word for word from his diary.

There was no suspicion of poison at the time of his death; but six years after (we are told) Olympias, upon some information, put a number of people to death, and ordered the remains of Iolas, who was supposed to have given him the draught, to be dug out of the grave. Those who say Aristotle advised Antipater to such a horrid deed, and furnished him with the poison he sent to Babylon, allege one Agnothemis as their author, who is pretended to have had the information from king Antigonus. They add, that the poison was a water of a cold and deadly quality*, which distils from a rock in the territory of Nonacris; and that they receive it as they would do so many dew-drops, and keep it in an ass's hoof; its extreme coldness and acrimony being such, that it makes its way through all other vessels. The generality, however, look upon the story of the poison as a mere fable; and they have this strong argument in their favour, that though, on account of the disputes which the great officers were engaged in for many days, the body lay unembalmed in a sultry place, it had no sign of any such taint, but continued fresh and clear.

Roxana was now pregnant, and therefore had great attention paid her by the Macedonians: but being extremely jealous of Statira, she laid a snare for her by a forged letter, as from Alexander; and having by this means got her into her power, she sacrificed both her and her sister, and threw their bodies into a well, which she filled up with

* Hence it was called the *Stygian water*. Nonacris was a city of Arcadia

earth. Perdiccas was her accomplice in this murder. Indeed he had now the principal power, which he exercised in the name of Aridæus, whom he treated rather as a screen than as a king.

Aridæus was the son of Philip by a courtesan named Philinna, a woman of low birth. His deficiency in understanding was the consequence of a distemper, in which neither nature nor accident had any share: for it is said there was something amiable and great in him when a boy; which Olympias perceiving, gave him potions that disturbed his brain*.

* Portraits of the same person, taken at different periods of life, though they differ greatly from each other, retain a resemblance upon the whole. And so it is in general with the characters of men. But Alexander seems to be an exception; for nothing can admit of greater dissimilarity than that which entered into his disposition at different times, and in different circumstances. He was brave and pusillanimous, merciful and cruel, modest and vain, abstemious and luxurious, rational and superstitious, polite and overbearing, politic and imprudent. Nor were these changes casual or temporary: the style of his character underwent a total revolution, and he passed from virtue to vice in a regular and progressive manner. Munificence and pride were the only characteristics that never forsook him. If there were any vice of which he was incapable, it was avarice; if any virtue, it was humility.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

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